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# COLLECTIONS.

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## JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGRESS HELD AT ALBANY, IN 1754.

[The following Journal of the Commissioners who met in Congress at Albany, in 1754, for the purpose of treating with the Six Nations of Indians and concerting a scheme of general union of the British American Colonies, is printed from a heretofore unpublished Manuscript deposited in the Library of the Historical Society. Of this assembly Hutchinson, in his History of Massachusetts, Vol. III. p. 20, justly remarks, that it "was the most deserving of respect of any which had ever been convened in America, whether we consider the Colonies which were represented, the rank and characters of the delegates, or the purposes for which it was convened."

Some use was made of this MS. Journal by Mr. Minot, in his Continuation of the History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, Vol. I. p. 188, where may be found "The Plan of Union" which was drawn up by Dr. Franklin, and agreed to by the Convention. This Plan, with reasons and motives for each article, is contained in the different editions of Franklin's Writings; and an imperfect form of the same instrument has been inserted in the 7th volume of the First Series of our Collections, page 203.

This Convention assembled, as it appears by the Journal, in 1754, on the 19th of June, though it is stated in the 7th volume of the Collections, pp. 75 and 203, and in various other authorities, that it met on the 14th of June; and it was dissolved, as it is mentioned on the 77th page of the same volume, on the 11th of July. But the Journal breaks off abruptly on the 10th of July, without giving the Plan of Union that was agreed upon.

Mr. Sparks, in his edition of Franklin's Writings, has made, in relation to this Convention and Plan of Union, a statement of facts and some remarks, from which we make the following extracts.

"The prospect of a French war, and the hostile attitude already assumed by tribes of Indians on the frontiers, induced the British Government to seek for the means of providing for a timely and efficient re-

sistance in the Colonies. With a view to this end an order was sent over by the Lords of Trade, directing that Commissioners should be appointed in several of the Provinces to assemble at Albany. The immediate object was to conciliate the Six Nations, by giving them presents, and renewing a treaty, by which they should be prevented from going over to the French, or being drawn away by the Indians under their influence.

“The day appointed for the assembling of the Commissioners was the 14th of June, 1754, at Albany, but they did not meet till the 19th ; when it was found that the following Colonies were represented, namely, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. The whole number appointed was twenty-five, who all attended.

“Before Franklin [one of the delegates from Pennsylvania] arrived in Albany he had sketched the outline of a plan, which he had shown to some of his friends in New York, particularly to James Alexander and Mr. Kennedy, who he says were “gentlemen of great knowledge in public affairs.” He obtained their remarks on his project, as well as those of Cadwallader Colden, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of New York, and celebrated for his talents and learning. When the members of the Committee met, several plans were presented, but after consultation the preference was given to Franklin’s, which was reported to the Convention on the 28th of June. The debates on the various topics embraced in the plan continued for twelve days. It was considered a question of moment, whether an act of Parliament was not necessary to establish such a union. This question was decided in the affirmative. The Convention dissolved on the 11th of July, and the *Plan of Union* was adopted on that day or the day preceding.

“It is a singular fact, that Franklin and Hutchinson, who were members of the Convention, and Pownall, who was in Albany at the time, all say that the Plan was *unanimously* agreed to. *Hutchinson’s History of Massachusetts*, Vol. III. p. 23. Whereas it is affirmed by Dr. Trumbull, that the “Commissioners from Connecticut were wholly opposed to the plan ; they imagined that it was dangerous to the liberties of the Colonies, and that such a government would not act with that despatch and energy, which might be reasonably expected by his Majesty.” *History of Connecticut*, Vol. II. p. 355. The same assertion is contained in a paper published by the Assembly of Connecticut, assigning reasons for not acceding to the Albany Plan of Union. It is not easy to explain this discrepancy. As the Connecticut delegates voted at first, with the others, that some plan of union was necessary, perhaps they did not



openly oppose the one that was adopted, but acquiesced, and hence it was inferred that they approved it.\*

“But whatever unanimity there was in the convention, the *Plan of Union* met with very little favor abroad. It was rejected by all the Colonial Assemblies before which it was brought. In England it was so unacceptable to the Board of Trade, that they did not even recommend it to the notice of the King. Franklin says, “The Assemblies all thought there was too much *prerogative* in it, and in England it was thought to have too much of the *democratic*.” Considering this rejection by the two parties for opposite reasons, it was his opinion thirty years afterwards, that his plan was near the true medium. The British Government had another scheme, by which the governors of the Provinces, and certain members of the councils, were to assemble at stated times and transact affairs relating to war and to general defence. This was carried into partial effect in the case of General Braddock, and on one or two other occasions.

“The governor of Virginia did not send delegates to the Albany Convention. He was so much occupied with the French on the frontiers of that Province, and with projects for Indian alliances, that he had no leisure for other undertakings. In a letter to Lieutenant-Governor Delancey, dated March 21st, he says; “As to the concerting of measures with the other governments, the time will not admit of it, as what is to be done must be done immediately. I hope to see at least two of the Chiefs of the Six Nations at Winchester in May, as the design of that meeting is to make a peace between the Northern and Southern Indians; after which to make a strict alliance between them and all the British subjects on this continent.” *Dimwiddie's MS. Letter-Books*. The governor failed, however, in this vast project. The meeting at Winchester was attended by a few Indians only, of subordinate rank, who came chiefly to receive his presents, and nothing was done. In truth he had a scheme of his own, which stood in the way of his joining in a general union. The year before he had recommended to the Board of Trade, that the colonies should be divided into two parts, constituting a northern and southern district, in each of which some kind of supervising power was to be established. Similar views were entertained by other persons, and were discussed in the Albany Convention.

“There are evidences that Franklin's thoughts had been for some time turned to a union of the Colonies. He had thrown out hints to this

[\* Gov. Livingston, (1 Hist. Coll. VII. 77) says that the Plan “was approved at the time by every member of the Congress except Mr. Delancey;” and Smith, in his History of New York, II. 183, says, “except Mr. Delancey, every member consented to this Plan, and he made no great opposition.”—*Publishing Committee*.]

effect in his newspaper. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* for May 9th, 1754, contains an account of the capture by the French of Captain Trent's party, who were erecting a fort (afterwards Fort Duquesne) at the Fork of the Ohio. The article was undoubtedly written by the editor. After narrating the particulars, and urging union to resist aggression, he adds ; "The confidence of the French in this undertaking seems well grounded in the present disunited state of the British Colonies, and the extreme difficulty of bringing so many different governments and assemblies to agree in any speedy and effectual measures for our common defence and security ; while our enemies have the great advantage of being under one direction, with one council, and one purse." At the end of the article is a wood-cut, in which is the figure of a snake, separated into parts, to each of which is affixed the initial of one of the Colonies, and at the bottom in large capital letters the motto, JOIN OR DIE. It is well known, that this device was adopted with considerable effect at the beginning of the Revolution. In some of the newspapers of that day the mutilated snake makes a conspicuous head-piece, running across the page, and accompanied with the same significant motto."

[As the Plan of Union which has been inserted in the 7th volume of the Collections above referred to, is imperfect, it is thought advisable to reprint this document in an authentic form from the Writings of Franklin. It will be found at the end of the Journal.—*Publishing Committee.*]

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMISSIONERS.

WILLIAM SHIRLEY, Esq. Captain General and  
(L. S.) Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England,

To Samuel Welles, John Chandler, Thomas Hutchinson, Oliver Partridge, and John Worthington, Esq's, Greeting.

Whereas, in pursuance of letters from the right honorable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and the Plantations, dated the 20th of August and 19th of September, 1753, to the Governors of several of his Majesty's Plantations in North America, a General Convention of Commissioners for their respective Governments is appointed to be held at the city of Albany in the month of June next, for holding an interview with the Indians of the Five Nations and making them presents on the part of the said Governments usual upon such occasions, in order to confirm and establish their ancient attachment to his Majesty and their constant friendship to his Majesty's subjects on this continent; and whereas the Great and General Court or Assembly of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay aforesaid, have elected and appointed you to represent and appear for the said Province at the Convention aforesaid for the purposes abovementioned; as also for entering into articles of Union and Confederation with the aforesaid Governments for the general defence of his Majesty's subjects and interests in North America, as well in time of peace as of war:—

Now I do, by these presents, empower and commissionate you, the said Samuel Welles, John Chandler, Thomas Hutchinson, Oliver Partridge, and John Worthington, as Commissioners (or any three of you) to appear for and represent the Province of the Massachusetts Bay aforesaid, at the proposed Convention of Commissioners to be held at the city of Albany in the month of June next, then and there to concert with the

Commissioners (from all or any of his Majesty's British Governments) that may be there convened, such measures as may be judged proper for the purposes aforesaid, and to agree upon the same ; and herein you must observe such instructions as are herewith delivered you, or may from time to time be given you by the Great and General Court or Assembly of this Province.

Given under my hand and the public seal of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay aforesaid, the nineteenth day of April, 1754, in the twenty-seventh year of his Majesty's reign.

W. SHIRLEY.

By his Excellency's command.

J. WILLARD, *Secretary*.

A true copy.

Attest,

SAMUEL WELLES,  
JOHN CHANDLER,  
OL'R. PARTRIDGE,  
JOHN WORTHINGTON.

*Province of New Hampshire.*

(*Loc.*)  
(*Sig.*) GEORGE THE SECOND, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

Whereas we have ordered a sum of money to be issued for presents to the Six Nations of Indians, and to direct our Governor of New York to hold an interview with them for delivering those presents, for burying the hatchet, and for renewing the covenant chain with them ; and inasmuch as the attempts that have been made to withdraw them from our interest appear to us to make a general interview more particularly necessary at this time, and that all our Colonies whose interest and security is connected with and depends upon those Indians, should be present at and join in such interview :—

Know ye therefore that we, reposing much trust and confidence in the integrity and ability of the Hon. Theodore Atkinson, Esq. the Hon. Richard Wibird, Esq. two of our Council of



our said Province, the Hon. Meshech Weare, Esq., Speaker of the General Assembly of our said Province, and Henry Sherburne, Jr., Esq., also a member of the said General Assembly, have, by and with the advice of our trusty and well beloved Benning Wentworth, Esq., our Governor and Commander in Chief of our Province of New Hampshire aforesaid, named, made, constituted and appointed, and we by these presents name, make, constitute and appoint the said Theodore Atkinson, Esq., Richard Wibird, Esq., Meshech Weare, Esq., Henry Sherburne, Esq., our true and undoubted Commissioners, hereby giving unto them full power and authority as well as our special command, to repair to our city of Albany, or other place where the said interview may be held and carried on, and there, by the whole or major part of those of them that shall be present at the said interview, for us and in our name, together with such other Commissioners as shall be regularly appointed from our other Colonies and Provinces in America to attend at the said interview, to agree upon, consult and conclude what may be necessary for establishing a sincere and lasting friendship and good harmony with the said Six Nations of Indians, and, if necessary, for us and in our name to sign every thing so agreed upon and concluded, and to do and transact all matters and things that may appertain to the finishing the abovesaid work.

In testimony whereof, we have caused the seal of our said Province of New Hampshire to be hereunto affixed. Witness, Benning Wentworth, Esq., our Governor and Commander in Chief of our said Province of New Hampshire in New England, this third day of June, 1754, and in the twenty-seventh year of our reign.

B. WENTWORTH.

By his Excellency's command.

THEODORE ATKINSON, *Secretary.*

Copy examined per

THEODORE ATKINSON,  
R. WIBIRD,  
MESHECH WEARE,  
HEN. SHERBURNE, JR.

(*Sigillum Colo-  
niæ Connecti-  
cuttensis.*)

THOMAS FITCH, Esq., Governor and Com-  
mander in Chief of his Majesty's English Colo-  
ny of Connecticut in New England, in America,

To William Pitkin, Roger Wolcott, Jr., and Elisha Wil-  
liams, Esq'rs, Greeting.

Whereas you are by the General Assembly of the said Colony nominated and appointed to be Commissioners in behalf of said Colony to meet such Commissioners as are or shall be appointed by his Majesty's other Governments in America, at a general interview at Albany, on the fourteenth day of June next, and join with them in concerting proper measures for the general defence and safety of his Majesty's subjects in said Governments and the Indians in alliance with them, against the French and their Indians:—

Therefore, in pursuance of said Act of Assembly, you, the said William Pitkin, Roger Wolcott, Jr., and Elisha Williams, Esquires, are commissioned, authorized and empowered in behalf of his Majesty's Colony of Connecticut, to meet the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty's other Governments in America, at Albany on the fourteenth day of June next, and in concert with such Commissioners from his Majesty's other Governments as shall meet there, to consult proper measures for the general defence and safety of his Majesty's subjects in said Governments and the Indians in his alliance against the French and their Indians, and to use and pursue proper measures in pursuance of your instructions from the said General Assembly relating to the matters aforesaid.

Given under my hand and the public seal of the Colony of Connecticut, in Hartford, this 30th day of May, Anno regni Regis Georgij 2di: Magn: Brittan: &c. 27mo. Annoq: Domini, 1754.

THOMAS FITCH.

By his Honor's command.

GEORGE WYLLYS, *Secretary.*

True copy, examined per

WM. PITKIN,

ROGER WOLCOTT, JR.

ELISHA WILLIAMS,

} *Commis-  
sioners.*

(Locus  
Sigilli.) By the Honorable WILLIAM GREENE, Esq. Governor and Captain General of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England, in America.

To Stephen Hopkins and Martin Howard, Jr., Esq'rs,  
Greeting.

Whereas the General Assembly of this Colony have on their part chosen and appointed you to meet with the Commissioners of the other Governments at Albany, on the fourteenth day of this instant June, and join with them in a treaty with the Six Nations of Indians, in order to secure the interest of his Majesty and his good subjects in those parts :—

I do therefore, by virtue of an Act of the General Assembly of this Colony, authorize, empower and commissionate you, the said Stephen Hopkins and Martin Howard, Jr., forthwith to repair to Albany aforesaid, and there, in behalf of this Colony, to meet and join with the other Commissioners in consulting what methods are proper to be used to preserve the friendship of the aforesaid Six Nations of Indians, and their attachment to the British interest in America ; and also what else may be necessary to prohibit the French and their allies the Indians from encroaching on the lands within the dominions of his Majesty ; and in general, as far as the abilities of this Government will permit, to act in conjunction with the said Commissioners in every thing necessary for the good of his Majesty's subjects in those parts, and to answer, as far as we can, the designs of his Majesty's instructions to this Colony communicated to us by the Earl of Holderness.

In testimony whereof, I do hereunto set my hand and cause the seal of the Colony aforesaid to be hereunto affixed, this twelfth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, and in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of his most sacred Majesty George the Second, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, &c.

W. GREENE.

By his Honor's command.

THO. WARD, *Secretary.*

A true copy, examined by

STEPHEN HOPKINS,  
MAR. HOWARD, JR.

## PENNSYLVANIA, SS.

GEORGE THE SECOND, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth,

To our trusty and well beloved John Penn, Richard Peters, Isaac Norris and Benjamin Franklin, of the city of Philadelphia, Esquires, Greeting.

Whereas the honorable James Delancey, Esq., our Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of our Province of New York, has received our directions to hold an interview with our loving and good allies the Six United Nations of Indians, at the city of Albany within our said Province, for delivering to them our presents and for renewing the covenant chain with them, and has fixed upon the fourteenth day of June ensuing for this purpose; and it has been usual, when an interview has been held with these Indians, for all his Majesty's Colonies whose interest and security is connected with and depends upon them, to join in such interview; and it appears to us that the present disposition of those Indians and the attempts which have been made to withdraw them from our interest, do make such a general interview more particularly necessary at this time, when the subjects of the French have actually marched into, and erected forts, and committed hostilities within the known limits of our dominions:—

Know ye, that reposing special trust and confidence in your loyalty, abilities and prudence, we have thought fit to nominate and appoint you, the said John Penn, Richard Peters, Isaac Norris and Benjamin Franklin, and every of you, our Commissioners on behalf of our Governor of our Province of Pennsylvania aforesaid, in conjunction with our Lieutenant Governor of New York, and with the Commissioners of the the other Governments, to treat with the Six United Nations of Indians at Albany, or with their or any or every of their chiefs or delegates, and with them to renew, ratify and confirm the leagues of amity subsisting between us and the said nations of Indians, and to make them the presents that have been provided for them by the Governor and Assembly of our said Province of Pennsylvania; and further to do, act, transact and finally to conclude and agree with the Indians aforesaid, all and every other matter and thing, which to you shall



appear necessary for the engaging them heartily in our interest and for frustrating any attempts which have been made to withdraw them from it, as fully and amply to all intents, constructions and purposes, as our Governor of our Province of Pennsylvania aforesaid might or could do, being personally present; hereby ratifying, confirming and holding for firm and effectual whatsoever you, the said John Penn, Richard Peters, Isaac Norris and Benjamin Franklin, or any of you, shall lawfully do in and about the premises.

In testimony whereof we have caused the great seal of our said Province to be hereunto affixed. Witness, James Hamilton, Esq., (by virtue of a commission from Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, Esquires, true and absolute proprietaries of the said Province, and with our royal approbation) Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province aforesaid, and counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware, at Philadelphia, the thirteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, and in the twenty-seventh year of our reign.

JAMES HAMILTON.

A true copy, examined.

RICHARD PETERS,  
IS. NORRIS,  
B. FRANKLIN.

---

WHEREAS his Majesty has been pleased to order a sum of money to be issued for presents to the Six Nations of Indians, and to direct his Governor of New York to hold an interview with them for delivering those presents, for burying the hatchet, and for renewing the covenant chain with them; and whereas, in obedience to his Majesty's pleasure signified to them by the Lords of Trade, his Majesty's several Colonies on this continent have resolved to join in such interview, and have made a provision for sending each their Commissioners, with such presents as have been usual on the like occasions to the said Indian nations, as a means of securing more effectually their affections to his Majesty and the British interest; now, in dutiful compliance with his Majesty's requisition, as well as from a sense of the importance it must be of to us

and the several neighboring Provinces, that these nations be retained in our alliance, more especially at this time, when our enemies are endeavoring to withdraw them from our friendship; we have thought fit to commission you, Col. Benjamin Tasker and Major Abraham Barnes, fully trusting in your known abilities and approved honor, to represent this Province at the interview appointed to be held at Albany, the fourteenth day of June next, and then and there to renew the covenant chain, and enter into a league of amity with the said Indian nations; and you shall deliver to them, with such speeches as have been used on similar occasions, a present as from his Majesty's dutiful subjects of this Province of Maryland, in money or goods (as to you shall appear most proper) to the value of five hundred pounds, current money of this Province, which money you will receive from the Treasurer of the Western Shore; and for the better conducting yourselves in regard to the manner and form of the treaty to be entered into at Albany with the said Six Allied Nations, you shall refer yourselves for directions to the honorable James Delancey, Esq., his Majesty's Lieutenant Governor of New York.

And whereas I have had intimation that the Commissioners from the several neighboring Colonies will receive instructions from their respective Governments, to concert measures with the Commissioners from the other Provinces for the better securing these Indians for the future in our alliance, and prevent their being alienated from our interests by the artifices or insinuations of our enemies, as well as for the more easy defence of his Majesty's dominions on this continent; you shall, if any propositions of that nature are made by the Commissioners in behalf of their respective Governments, let them know that this Province is also disposed to contribute to the execution of any general scheme to promote such desirable ends; and you will take care to observe well what proposition shall or may be made concerning such general scheme, and commit the substance thereof to writing for my information, and to be laid before the General Assembly for their consideration. But you are to understand that you are not empowered to stipulate or engage that this Province will advance any sum of money or number of men toward erecting forts or garrisoning them, or to any such purposes; but you shall only well observe, what proposals are made by the other Commissioners, and endeavor to learn how far the execution of

what they may propose can be necessary or useful, and consider well the reasonableness of any such propositions, and inform yourselves whether the other Commissioners are authorized to stipulate and agree thereon; and at your return you shall inform me of these several particulars, and any other things that may possibly occur to your notice; that I may not be ignorant after what manner we can best contribute to the success of any such scheme as shall be proposed at the aforesaid interview, for the defence or utility of his Majesty's American dominions and subjects.

HOR'O. SHARPE.

*Annapolis, June 30th, 1754.*

A true copy, examined by

BENJ. TASKER, Jr.  
A. BARNES.

*Albany, 19th June, 1754.*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGRESS HELD AT ALBANY BY THE HONORABLE JAMES DELANCEY, ESQ., LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK, AND THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE SEVERAL PROVINCES, NOW MET IN THIS CITY.

At a meeting in the Court House at Albany, on Wednesday, the 19th June, 1754, A. M. Present,

The Honorable the Lieutenant Governor of New York, Joseph Murray, William Johnson, John Chambers, William Smith, Esquires, of his Majesty's Council of this Province ;—

Samuel Welles, John Chandler, Oliver Partridge, John Worthington, Esquires, Commissioners for Massachusetts Bay ;—

Theodore Atkinson, Richard Wibird, Meshech Weare, Henry Sherburne, Jr., Esquires, Commissioners for his Majesty's Province of New Hampshire ;—

William Pitkin, Roger Wolcott, Elisha Williams, Esquires, Commissioners for the Colony of Connecticut ;—

Stephen Hopkins, Martin Howard, Jr., Esquires, Commissioners for the Colony of Rhode Island ;—

John Penn, Richard Peters, Isaac Norris, Benjamin Franklin, Esquires, Commissioners for the Government of Pennsylvania ;—

Benjamin Tasker, Abraham Barnes, Esquires, Commissioners for the Government of Maryland.

His Honor the Lieutenant Governor of New York having yesterday directed Mr. Banyar, Deputy Secretary of the said Province, to wait upon the Commissioners of the several Provinces above named, to acquaint them that his Honor desired they would meet him in Council in the City Hall of Albany this morning in order to produce their powers and proceed upon business,

The said Commissioners being now accordingly met, took their seats and produced their respective commissions, which were read.



His Honor then produced a letter from the right honorable the Lords of Trade, bearing date the eighteenth of September last, out of which a paragraph was read.

Afterwards were read two minutes of the proceedings of the Commissioners of Indian affairs in this city, dated the 15th and 18th instant; also a remonstrance from the Oswego traders to his Honor.

It was recommended as the first step necessary to be taken at this Congress, that the Commissioners should consider of the several matters they may judge proper to be proposed to the Indians at the intended interview with them, and to prepare the speech to be made on that occasion; for which purpose his Honor acquainted the Commissioners he would direct the Secretary or Agent for Indian affairs to attend them with the records of that office, and the Commissioners of Indian affairs to meet together as often as there should be occasion, in order that they might give them all the information relative to Indian affairs.

---

At a meeting in the Court House at Albany, Wednesday afternoon, the 19th June, 1754. Present,

The Council of New York and all the Commissioners, as particularly named in the minutes of this morning.

The Board proceeded to take into consideration the matters recommended by his Honor in the morning. The whole letter from the Lords of Trade was read, and is as follows:

*Whitehall, September 18th, 1753.*

SIR,

A few days after you sailed from Portsmouth, we received a letter from Mr. Clinton, enclosing minutes of the proceedings between him and a deputation of the Mohawk Indians at Fort George, in the city of New York, in June last, with the Journals of the Assembly then sitting.

You will, without doubt, upon your arrival be fully informed of the particular circumstances of this affair, the resentment expressed by the Indians, and the abrupt and hasty manner in which they went away; and though, from the confidence we have of your vigilant attention to whatever may concern your Government, we are persuaded you will not

have failed to have taken every necessary and prudent measure to obviate the fatal consequences which might attend this affair, yet we think it no less our duty to embrace the first opportunity of writing our sentiments to you upon it, and of pointing out to you what appears to us necessary to be done.

When we consider of how great consequence the friendship and alliance of the Six Nations is to all his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America in general, as well as to New York in particular; when we consider that this friendship and alliance is only to be gained and preserved by making presents to them at proper times and upon proper occasions, and by an inviolable observance of all our engagements with them; and when we recollect the attempts which have lately been made to withdraw them from the British interest, we cannot but be greatly concerned and surprised that the Province of New York should have been so inattentive to the general interest of his Majesty's subjects in America, as well as to their own particular security, as to have given occasion to the complaints made by the Indians. But we are still more surprised at the manner in which these complaints were received, the dissatisfactory answers given to the Indians, and at their being suffered to depart (though the Assembly was then sitting) without any measures taken to bring them to temper or to redress their complaints.

This being the light in which we see this affair, we think it for his Majesty's service that you should take the very first opportunity of representing to the Council and Assembly, in the strongest manner, of how great importance it is to the Province of New York to preserve the friendship and affections of the Indians, and the fatal consequences which must inevitably follow from a neglect of them; that you should press them to join with and support you in every measure you shall find it necessary to pursue in order to fix them in the British interest, more especially by making proper provision for presents for them; which, joined to the presents allowed by his Majesty, and which you will receive by this conveyance, may serve to facilitate this great end and to wipe away all remembrance of that neglect the Indians now complain of. As a speedy interview with the Indians is from their present disposition become the more necessary, you will no doubt think it proper to advise with the Council as to the time and

place of meeting the Indians, in which points we trust you will have a due regard to their convenience; and as it appears from their complaints that Albany, which has been the usual place of meeting, is obnoxious to them, you will, if you find sufficient foundation for this complaint, appoint some other place you shall think more for their ease and satisfaction; and we observe from a report of the Council and Assembly to Mr. Clinton, that Onondago is proposed as the most proper place. We likewise hope that in the choice of the persons who are to attend and assist you at this interview, you will have a regard to such as are best acquainted with the Indians and their affairs, and not obnoxious to them; and as a great deal depends upon the interpreters, we desire you will be particularly careful to appoint such as are well acquainted with the Indian language, and men of ability and integrity.

We hope that the threats of the Mohawk Indians, when they left New York, have not been carried into execution; but think it of absolute necessity, in order to obviate any ill consequences which might attend these threats, that some person of character and discretion should be immediately sent amongst the Indians to acquaint them of your arrival, of the presents his Majesty has ordered to be delivered to them, and of your intention of holding an interview with them for burying the hatchet and renewing the covenant chain; that this person should be carefully instructed to endeavor to remove any prejudices which the Six Nations may have imbibed from the representations of the Mohawks, to obviate the ill effects which would attend a general discontent amongst them at so critical a conjuncture, and to put them upon their guard against any attempts which may be made to withdraw them from his Majesty's interest. And that nothing may be wanting to convince the Indians of the sincerity of our intentions, you will do well to examine into the complaints they have made of being defrauded of their lands, to take all proper and legal methods to redress their complaints, and to gratify them, by reasonable purchases, or in such other matter as you shall find most proper and agreeable to them, for such lands as have been unwarrantably taken from them, or for such other as they may have a desire to dispose of; and we recommend it to you to be particularly careful for the future, that you do not make grants to any



persons whatsoever of lands purchased by them of the Indians upon their own account. Such practices have been found in a neighboring Government to be attended with great mischief and inconvenience. But when the Indians are disposed to sell any of their lands, the purchase ought to be made in his Majesty's name and at the public charge.

As we find it has been usual upon former occasions when an interview has been held with the Indians, for the other neighboring Governments in alliance with them to send Commissioners to be joined with those of New York; and as the present wavering disposition of the Indians equally affects the other Provinces, we have wrote to the Governors of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay and New Jersey, desiring them to represent to their respective Assemblies the utility and necessity of this measure, and to urge them to make proper provision for it; and therefore it will be necessary, that when you have settled the time and place of meeting, you should give them early notice of it; and this leads us to recommend one thing more to your attention, and that is, to take care that all the Provinces be (if practicable) comprised in one general treaty, to be made in his Majesty's name; it appearing to us that the practice of each Province making a separate treaty for itself in its own name is very improper, and may be attended with great inconvenience to his Majesty's service.

So we bid you heartily farewell, and are your very loving friends and humble servants,

DUNK HALIFAX,  
J. GRENVILLE,  
DUPPLIN.

To Sir Danvers Osborn, Governor of New York.

*Albany, June, 1754.*

A true copy of the original,

Examined by

GEO. BANYAR, *D. Sec'y.*

And also were read the following papers from the Commissioners of Indian affairs at Albany, viz.

*Albany, 15th June, 1754.*

At a meeting of the Commissioners of Indian affairs at Mr. Lutteridge's, Present,



Col. Mynd't. Schuyler, Robert Sanders, Esq., Mayor of the City, Syl't. Van Schaack, Recorder, Capt. Hubart Marshall, Commander of the Fort, Cornelius Cuyler, John Beekman, John Rensselaer, Jacob Coen't. Ten Eyck, Peter Winne, Esquires, Peter Wraxall, Sec'y.

His Honor the Lieut. Governor, the Hon. James Delancey, Esq. having directed Col. Mynd't. Schuyler to convene the Commissioners of Indian affairs, that they might consult together if they had any matters in particular to recommend to his Honor upon the approaching interview with the Six Nations ;—

In consequence hereof, the Commissioners are of opinion that the Six Nations, who now live dispersed and confused, should in the most earnest manner be exhorted to unite and dwell together in their respective castles, and that the Mohawk nation should live in one castle only.

That his Honor apply to the Onondago Indians in particular, to direct and exhort them to live together in one castle, according to their ancient and prudent custom, and to cause all their friends and relations wherever dispersed to join them, particularly those who have separated themselves and live at present at Oswegatchie, (on the south side of the river St. Lawrence, to the eastward of Cadaraqui,) where the French have lately fortified, have a garrison, and where a French missionary constantly resides in order to draw them off from our alliance. At this Oswegatchie the French have lately made a settlement of Indians belonging to the Six Nations, of which the greatest part are from Onondago and Cayuga.

That whereas the French have long been endeavoring to prevail on the Senecas to come and settle at Irondequot, in order to have them nearer to their settlements, the more easily to effect their design of debauching them from the British interest, the Commissioners are of opinion that his Honor should insist on the Senecas, who at present live very remote from one another, to make a general castle near the mouth of the Senecas' river, where they have already begun to build a new castle. This point has been several times recommended to them by former Governors, and which they have faithfully promised to do, but have not hitherto effected.

The Commissioners are of opinion that the most effectual

method to retain and secure the Six Nations to the British interest, will be to build two forts, one in Onondago, the other in the Senecas' country, and that each fort be supplied with a proper missionary.

They are further of opinion that the carrying and selling rum in the castles of the Six Nations is of most pernicious consequence to the public interest of this Colony in particular, and to the British interest in general, with respect to our Indian connections.

The Commissioners are also of opinion that no Frenchman, upon any pretence whatsoever, should be suffered to reside or trade amongst the Six Nations ; and that the said Six Nations should be directed to send those Frenchmen away who now trade or reside amongst them, and to warn them not to return, those French emissaries having always been of fatal consequence to the British interest amongst the Six Nations.

A true copy from the records of Indian Affairs.

PETER WRAXALL, *Sec'y.*

*Albany, 18th June, 1754.*

At a meeting of the Commissioners of Indian affairs at the house of Robert Lutteridge, Present,

Peter Winne, Sylvant. Van Schaaek, Recorder, Mynd't. Schuyler, John Beekman, Jacob Coen't. Ten Eyck, Esquires.

His Honor the Lieut. Governor having sent to Col. Mynd't. Schuyler to know what he should do with regard to the river Indians at the approaching interview, Col. Schuyler thought proper to convene the Commissioners that they might answer his Honor upon this point.

They are of opinion that after the Six Nations arrive in town, it will be time enough to send a message to the said river Indians.

Whereas divers complaints have been made to the Commissioners of Indian affairs, that the Indians at Canajoharie castle do forcibly take rum from the Oswego traders in their passage by the said castle ; and also that the Oneida Indians obliged the traders to let them carry their goods over the carrying place, and to pay them double and something more than double the customary price which the Germans are ready and willing to take ; it is the opinion therefore of this Board that

his Honor be pleased, at the approaching interview, to represent the injustice of these proceedings to the Six Nations, and that it is a breach of their promises so solemnly made, and a violation of their engagements entered into and frequently renewed with former Governors.

A true copy from the records of Indian Affairs.

PETER WRAXALL, *Sec'y.*

A remonstrance was then read to the Board from the Oswego traders to his Honor the Lieut. Governor of New York, of which the following is a copy.

To his Honor James Delancey, Esq., Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of New York, &c. &c. &c.

We, the traders (or handlers) to Oswego, most humbly beg leave to remonstrate to your Honor the many hazards and difficulties we are subject to in our passage thither, from the ill treatment we meet with from the Indians: i. e. in passing the Mohawks' and Canajoharie castles they board our batteaux with axes, knives, &c., and by force take what rum they think proper, whooping and yelping as if they gloried in their depredations, and threatening murder to any that opposed them. And on our arrival at the great carrying place, the Oneida Indians force our goods from us at pleasure to carry over; and not content with making us pay a most exorbitant price for each freight, but rob us of our rum, stores and other goods, with a great deal of invective, threatening language; and are generally so numerous that we are obliged to submit to those impositions, or run the risk of being murdered, and robbed of every thing we have. And to put their schemes the better in execution, they force away the High Germans, who generally attend with their horses, that we may be under a necessity of employing them and paying whatsoever they please to demand.

We therefore humbly pray your Honor to take these our most severe grievances under due consideration, and fall upon such methods to redress them as to you in your great wisdom shall seem most expedient.

Accept of our most fervent prayers for your welfare and prosperity, as we ever remain with all due deference, grat-

itude and esteem, Sir, your Honor's most dutiful and most humble servants.

To which forty-seven names were signed.

*Oswego, June 1st, 1754.*

The following gentlemen were appointed a Committee to prepare the draught of a general speech to be made by his Honor to the Indians, viz. William Johnson, Samuel Welles, Theodore Atkinson, Elisha Williams, Martin Howard, Jr. Isaac Norris, Benj. Tasker, Jr., Esquires, to whom were delivered the aforesaid papers.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning.

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At a meeting at the Court House in Albany, on Thursday, the 20th June, 1754, A. M. Present,

His Honor and the aforesaid Council of New York, and several of the Commissioners.

The Committee appointed yesterday to prepare a draught of a general speech to be made to the Indians, not being ready to make their report, the Board adjourned till to-morrow morning.

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At a meeting in the Court House at Albany, on Friday, the 21st June, 1754, A. M. Present,

His Honor the Lieut. Governor, the Council of New York aforesaid, all the Commissioners, and Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., one of the Commissioners of Massachusetts Bay.

It was proposed by the Governor, that to avoid all disputes about the precedency of the Colonies, they should be named in the minutes according to their situation from north to south; which was agreed to.

Peter Wraxall, Esq. was chosen Secretary to this Board.

The Committee delivered in their draught of the general speech, which was read through, and afterwards paragraph by paragraph. Objections were made to some parts. The Board not coming to any conclusion on the same, they adjourned till to-morrow morning.



At a meeting in the Court House at Albany, on Saturday, the 22d June, 1754, A. M. Present,

The Council of New York aforesaid, and all the Commissioners, except John Chandler, Esq., one of the Commissioners for Massachusetts Bay.

The consideration of the draught of the general speech was resumed, and one being agreed upon, Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Peters were desired to wait upon the Lieut. Governor with the same.

Adjourned to Monday morning.

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At a meeting in the Court House at Albany, on Monday, the 24th June, 1754, A. M. Present,

The Council of New York aforesaid, and all the Commissioners.

A motion was made that the thanks of this Board be given to the Rev. Mr. Peters, one of the Commissioners for Pennsylvania, for his sermon preached yesterday, and that he be desired to suffer the same to be printed. Which was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Chambers and Mr. Peters were desired to wait upon his Honor to request him to administer an oath to Mr. Wraxall for the due and faithful discharge of his office of Secretary to this Board.

Adjourned to three o'clock this afternoon.

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At a meeting as aforesaid, Monday afternoon, the 24th June, 1754. Present,

His Honor the Lieut. Governor and the Council aforesaid of the Province of New York, and all the Commissioners.

Mr. Chambers and Mr. Peters reported to the Board that Mr. Wraxall had been sworn into his office by his Honor, conformable to their desire in the morning.

A motion was made that the Commissioners deliver their opinion whether a Union of all the Colonies is not at present absolutely necessary for their security and defence.

The question was accordingly put, and it passed in the affirmative unanimously.

His Honor the Lieut. Governor made a proposal, as a branch of Indian affairs under the consideration of this Board, to build two forts in the Indian country to protect them, their wives and children, as the best expedient to secure their fidelity to his Majesty.

Which proposal the Board determined to proceed upon after they had considered some method of effecting the Union between the Colonies.

On a motion that a committee be appointed to prepare and receive plans or schemes for the Union of the Colonies, and to digest them into one general plan, for the inspection of this Board,

*Resolved*, That each Government choose one of their own number to be of that committee.

Accordingly were appointed,  
 Thomas Hutchinson, Esq. for Massachusetts Bay,  
 Theodore Atkinson, Esq. for New Hampshire,  
 William Pitkin, Esq. for Connecticut,  
 Stephen Hopkins, Esq. for Rhode Island,  
 Benjamin Franklin, Esq. for Pennsylvania,  
 Benjamin Tasker, Esq. for Maryland.

It was left to his Honor to appoint one of his Majesty's Council for the Government of New York; and he named William Smith, Esq.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning, at eleven o'clock.

At a meeting at the Court House at Albany, on Tuesday, the 25th June, 1754, A. M. Present,

Joseph Murray, William Johnson, John Chambers, Esq'rs, of the Council of New York; Samuel Welles, John Chandler, Oliver Partridge, John Worthington, Esq'rs, Commissioners for Massachusetts Bay; Richard Wibird, Meshech Weare, Henry Sherburne, Esq'rs, Commissioners for New Hampshire; Roger Wolcott, Elisha Williams, Esq'rs, Commissioners for Connecticut; Martin Howard, Jun. Esq. Commissioner for Rhode Island; John Penn, Isaac Norris, Esq'rs, Commissioners for Pennsylvania; Abraham Barnes, Esq. Commissioner for Maryland.

The draught of the general speech not being returned to the Board from his Honor the Lieut. Governor of New York, Adjourned to five o'clock this afternoon.

At a meeting as aforesaid, Tuesday, the 25th June, 1754,  
P. M. Present,

All the gentlemen of the Council of New York, and all the Commissioners.

Mr. Murray delivered to the Board for their approbation his Honor's alterations and additions to the draught of the speech presented to his Honor by Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Peters the 22d instant; which were read to the Board by the Secretary, and the further consideration thereof was deferred till to-morrow morning.

Adjourned till eleven o'clock to-morrow morning.

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At a meeting in the Court House at Albany, on Wednesday, the 26th June, 1754, A. M. Present,

William Johnson, John Chambers, Esq's, of the Council of New York; Samuel Welles, John Chandler, Thomas Hutchinson, and Oliver Partridge, Esq's, Commissioners for Massachusetts Bay; William Pitkin, Roger Wolcott, and Elisha Williams, Esq's, Commissioners for Connecticut; Martin Howard, Jun. Esq. Commissioner for Rhode Island.

The draught of the general speech to the Six Nations was further debated, but not being fully concluded upon, the Board adjourned till ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

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At a meeting in the Court House at Albany, on Thursday, the 27th June, 1754, A. M. Present,

The four gentlemen of the Council of New York, and all the Commissioners.

The draught of the general speech was further debated, and not being fully concluded upon, the Board adjourned till five o'clock this afternoon.

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At a meeting in the Court House at Albany, on Thursday, the 27th June, 1754, P. M. Present,

The four gentlemen of the Council of New York, and all the Commissioners.

A motion was made that the commissions or powers from

the several Governments should be made part of the records of this Congress.

It was unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be prefixed to these records.

The draught of the general speech was settled, read, and unanimously approved of; and is as follows:

Brethren,

I have invited you here by the command of the great King, our common Father, to receive a present from him, and in his name to renew the ancient treaty between this and all his other Governments, and you our brethren; and I have the pleasure to tell you, that by his special order, there are now present Commissioners from Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania and Maryland. Virginia and Carolina likewise desire to be considered as present, although some great affairs which those Governments are engaged in, have prevented their sending Commissioners. We are glad to see our brethren here in health, and heartily bid you welcome. *A Belt.*

Brethren,

We condole your and our loss in the death of some of your people since the last interview in this place. We wipe away all tears from your eyes, and take away sorrow from your hearts, that you may speak freely.

*Three Strings of Wampum.*

Brethren,

We come to strengthen and brighten the chain of friendship. It gives us great satisfaction that you have lately added two links to the chain, the Shanihadaradighroones and the Tedderighroones, as it will always give us pleasure to see your strength increased. This chain hath remained firm and unbroken from the beginning. This Belt will represent to you our disposition to preserve it strong and bright, so long as the sun and moon shall endure; and in the name of the great King our Father, and in the behalf of all his Majesty's Colonies, we now solemnly renew, brighten and strengthen the ancient covenant chain, and promise to keep the same inviolable and free from rust; and we expect the like confirmation and assurance on your part. *A Chain Belt.*

Brethren,

We are informed that you now live dispersed from each



other, contrary to the ancient and prudent custom of your forefathers; and as you are by this means exposed to the attempts of your enemies, we therefore, in the most earnest manner, recommend to and expect it from you, for your own safety, to collect yourselves together, and dwell in your national castles. We desire you, brethren of the Onondago Nation in particular, to call in your friends and relations to join you, especially those of your nation who now live at Oswegatchie. A brave people, separated from each other, may easily fall a sacrifice, whereas united, they may live secure and uninjured.

*A Belt.*

Brethren,

We have something to say to you of great importance. The treaties subsisting between us and you our brethren, as well as the great affection we bear towards you, oblige us to mention it. The French profess to be in perfect friendship with us, as well as you. Notwithstanding this, they are making continual encroachments upon us both. They have lately done so in the most insulting manner, both to the northward and westward. Your fathers by their valor, above one hundred years ago, gained a considerable country, which they afterwards, of their own accord, put under the protection of the Kings of Great Britain. The French are endeavoring to possess themselves of this whole country, although they have made the most express treaties with the English to the contrary.

Brethren,

It appears to us that these measures of the French must necessarily soon interrupt and destroy all trade and intercourse between the English and the several Indian nations on the continent, and will block up and obstruct the great roads, which have hitherto been open, between you and your allies and friends who live at a distance. We want to know whether these things appear to you in the same light as they do to us, or whether the French taking possession of the lands in your country, and building forts between the lake Erie and the river Ohio, be done with your consent or approbation.

*A Large Belt.*

Brethren,

Open your hearts to us; deal with us as brethren. We are ready to consult with you how to scatter these clouds that hang over us. This is a matter of so great weight that

we think it best to defer mentioning any other affairs till you have considered this, lest they should take away part of that attention which is necessary on so extraordinary an occasion.

*A Bell.*

Adjourned till to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock.

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At a meeting in the Court House at Albany, on Friday, the 28th June, 1754, A. M. Present,

John Chandler, Oliver Partridge, and John Worthington, Esquires, Commissioners for Massachusetts Bay; Richard Wibird, Meshech Weare, and Henry Sherburne, Esquires, Commissioners for New Hampshire; Roger Wolcott and Elisha Williams, Esquires, Commissioners for Connecticut; Martin Howard, Jr. Esq., a Commissioner for Rhode Island; John Penn, Esq., one of the Commissioners for Pennsylvania.

The Board was adjourned till five o'clock this afternoon.

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At a meeting, &c. Friday afternoon, the 28th June, 1754. Present,

The four gentlemen of the Council of New York; all the Commissioners from Massachusetts Bay; all the Commissioners from New Hampshire; all the Commissioners from Connecticut; Stephen Hopkins, one of the Commissioners from Rhode Island; John Penn and Benj. Franklin, Esq'rs. Commissioners from Pennsylvania; Benj. Tasker, Jr. Esq., one of the Commissioners from Maryland.

The Committee appointed the 24th inst. to prepare and receive plans or schemes for the Union of the Colonies, presented short hints of a scheme for that purpose, of which copies were taken by the Commissioners of the respective Provinces.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning at nine o'clock.

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At a meeting at the Court House in Albany, on Saturday, the 29th June, 1754, A. M. Present,

William Smith, Esq. one of the Council of New York, and all the Commissioners.

His Honor the Lieut. Governor of New York having given notice to this Board that he was going to speak to the Indians, the Board adjourned till five o'clock this afternoon, and attended his Honor whilst he delivered the speech.

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At a meeting in the Court House at Albany on Saturday, the 29th June, 1754, P. M. Present,

Joseph Murray, John Chambers, and William Smith, Esquires, of the Council of New York; all the Commissioners from Massachusetts Bay; Theodore Atkinson and Richard Wibird, Esquires, Commissioners for New Hampshire; all the Commissioners from Connecticut; the Commissioners from Rhode Island; all the Commissioners from Pennsylvania; the Commissioners from Maryland.

The Board being informed that a considerable number of Indians from Stockbridge, being of the nation known by the name of the River Indians, were in town, a motion was made that his Honor the Lieut. Governor might be acquainted with the circumstances of said Indians, and desired to give orders for their support.

The said motion was agreed to, and Mr. Welles and Mr. Franklin were appointed to wait on his Honor accordingly.

The hints of a scheme for the Union of the Colonies were debated on, but came to no conclusion.

Adjourned to Monday morning at 9 o'clock.

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At a meeting at the Court House at Albany, on Monday, the 1st of July, 1754. Present,

The Lieut. Governor and the four gentlemen of the Council of New York; all the Commissioners for Massachusetts Bay, except John Chandler, Esq.; Theodore Atkinson and Henry Sherburne, Esq's, Commissioners for New Hampshire; the Commissioners for Connecticut; the Commissioners for Rhode Island; all the Commissioners for Pennsylvania; the Commissioners for Maryland.

Mr. Franklin reported to the Board that he had, with Mr.

Welles, (Mr. Welles was not then present,) waited on the Lieut. Governor and delivered the message from the Board of Saturday last relating to the River Indians, living near Stockbridge; and that his Honor was pleased to answer that he had not sent for those Indians; that he had consulted his Council, and inquired of the Commissioners of Indian affairs, and was informed that it had never been usual to afford subsistence to those Indians at any treaty in Albany; that it was a great expense to New York to maintain the other Indians; that these properly belonged to Massachusetts Bay Government, and it appeared to him that they should be supported by that Government.

Upon a motion, the records of Indian affairs of the Province of New York were sent for; and it appeared that the River Indians have usually been present at the treaties with the Six Nations, and that a speech has always been made to said River Indians; and it was moved to the Lieut. Governor of New York that he would now speak to them in the name of the Commissioners from the several Colonies, and also give orders for their support.

His Honor agreed to the proposal of speaking to them, and offered to give orders for their support; but was pleased to say that he expected the Commissioners for the several Provinces would contribute to the charge of it.

His Honor delivered to the Board copies of two minutes of Council, which are as follows.

At a Council held in the city of Albany, the 27th June, 1754, P. M. Present,

The Honorable James Delancey, Esq. Lieut. Governor, &c. Mr. Murray, Col. Johnson, Mr. Chambers, Mr. Smith.

His Honor being informed by the Indian interpreter that the lower castle of the Mohawk Indians, now in this city, had some business to lay before him, and desired to be admitted to an audience, appointed them to attend at four o'clock this afternoon in Council; and they attending accordingly were introduced with the interpreter. The Governor told them he was very glad to see them, that he was now met in Council, and ready to hear what they had to say. Whereupon Canadagaia, their speaker, addressing himself to his Honor, spoke as follows.

Brother,

We are here this day by God's will and your Honor's or-



der, to which place you have led us as it were by the hand. This is our old meeting place, where, if we have any grievances, we can lay them open. You are lately come to the administration, and we are glad to see you, to lay our complaints before you. We take it very kind that you have given us this opportunity to unfold our minds, and we will now proceed to declare our grievances.

Brother,

We shall now open our minds, and we beg you will take time to consider what we shall say, and not give us too hasty an answer, or in two or three words, and then turn your back upon us. As you are a new Governor, we beg you will treat us tenderly, and not as the former Governor did, who turned his back upon us before we knew he intended to depart; so that we had no opportunity to finish our business with him. The reason we desire you would treat us in this tender manner is, because this is the place where we are to expect a redress of our grievances; and we hope all things will be settled, that we may part good friends.

Brother,

We told you a little while ago that we had an uneasiness on our minds, and we shall now tell you what it is; it is concerning our land. We understand there are writings for all our lands, so that we shall have none left but the very spot we live upon, and hardly that. We have examined amongst the elderly people, who are now present, if they have sold any of it; who deny that they ever have; and we earnestly desire you will take this into consideration, which will give us great satisfaction, and convince us that you have a friendship for us. We don't complain of those who have honestly bought the land they possess, or of those to whom we have given any, but of some who have taken more than we have given them. We find we are very poor. We thought we had yet land round about us; but it is said there are writings for it all. It is one condition of the ancient covenant chain, that if there be any uneasiness on either side, or any request to be made, that they shall be considered with a brotherly regard; and we hope you will fulfil that condition upon your side, as we shall be always ready to do on ours. We have embraced this opportunity of unbosoming ourselves to you with regard to our castle, and we are well assured that the other castle of the Mohawks have complaints of the same na-

ture to make when they come down. We have now declared our own grievances and the Canajoharies will declare theirs ; but that we shall leave to them. By this Belt we desire you to consider what we have said, and by the same we inform you that the Five Nations have something to say to you before you speak to them. *Gave a Belt.*

The Governor said :

You have now unbosomed yourselves to me, and desire I would seriously consider of what you have said, and not give you a hasty answer. I will consider of it seriously, and you shall always find me ready to redress any of your grievances, as far as it may be in my power. But your complaints are general. I must therefore desire you to tell me where those lands lie, and the names of the persons of whom you complain.

To which the speaker answered :

Brother,

We are told a large tract of land has been taken up, called Kayadarosseras, beginning at the half moon, and so up along Hudson's river to the third fall, and thence to the Caghnawaga or Canada Creek, which is about four or five miles above the Mohawks ; which, upon inquiry among our old men, we cannot find was ever sold ; and as to the particular persons, many of them live in this town ; but there are so great a number, we cannot name them.

The Governor said :

I will send for some of the patentees, or the persons claiming that land, and hear what they have to say, and consider the matter, and give you an answer before you leave this place. It is agreeable to justice to hear both parties, before the judgment is given ; and to manifest my friendship for you, I will do you all the justice in my power.

A true copy, examined by

GEO. BANYAR, *D. Sec'y. of the Council.*

At a Council held in the city of Albany, the 28th day of June, 1754. Present,

The Hon. James Delancey, Esq. Lieut. Governor, &c. Mr. Murray, Col. Johnson, Mr. Chambers, Mr. Smith.

His Honor being informed that the Canajoharie or the upper castle of the Mohawk Indians, and several Sachems of each of the other Five Nations, attended without, and desired to speak to him, they were introduced with the interpreter.

Hendrick, their speaker, spoke as follows :

Brother,

We had a message from you some time ago to meet you at this place, where the fire burns. We of Canajoharie met the messenger you sent with a letter at Col. Johnson's ; and as soon as we received it, we came down running, and the Six Nations are now here complete.

The Governor then said :

Brethren of the Six Nations,

You are welcome. I take this opportunity, now you are all together, to condole the loss in the death of your friends and relations since you last met here ; and with this string of wampum I wipe away your tears and take sorrow from your hearts, that you may open your minds and speak freely.

*A String of Wampum.*

Hendrick replied :

Brother,

We thank you for condoling our loss and for wiping away our tears, that we may speak freely ; and as we do not doubt but you have lost some of your great men and friends, we give you this string of condolence in return, that it may remove your sorrow, and that we may both speak freely.

*Gave a String.*

Then Hendrick, addressing himself to the Six Nations, said, that last year he attended Col. Johnson to Onondago, to do service to the King and their people ; that Col. Johnson told them a new Governor was expected soon, and they would then have an opportunity of seeing him at Albany, and laying their grievances before him ; that the new Governor arrived soon after, and scarcely had they heard of his arrival, but they had an account of his death ;\* and that now he was glad to see his Honor, to whom he would declare his grievances ; and then proceeded :

Brother,

We thought you would wonder why we of Canajoharie stayed so long. We shall now give you the reason. Last summer, we of Canajoharie were down at New York, to make our complaints ; and we then thought the covenant chain was

[\* The new Governor, who died so soon after his arrival, was Sir Danvers Osborn. He superseded Gov. Clinton, arrived at New York Oct. 7th, and committed suicide by hanging himself, Oct. 12th, 1753. See 1 Hist. Coll. VII. 80, 81, and Smith's History of New York, II. 153.—*Pub. Com.*]

broken, because we were neglected; and when you neglect business, the French take advantage of it, for they are never quiet. It seemed to us that the Governor had turned his back upon the Five Nations, as if they were no more; whereas the French are doing all in their power to draw us over to them. We told the Governor last summer we blamed him for the neglect of the Five Nations; and at the same time we told him the French were drawing the Five Nations away to Oswegatchie, owing to that neglect; which might have been prevented, if proper use had been made of that warning; but now we are afraid it is too late. We remember how it was in former times, when we were a strong and powerful people. Col. Schuyler used frequently to come among us, and by this means we were kept together.

Brother,

We, the Mohawks, are in very difficult circumstances, and are blamed for things behind our backs which we don't deserve. Last summer, when we went up with Col. Johnson to Onondago, and he made his speech to the Five Nations, the Five Nations said they liked the speech very well, but that the Mohawks had made it. We are looked upon by the other nations as Col. Johnson's counsellors, and supposed to hear all news from him; which is not the case, for Col. Johnson does not receive from, or impart much news to us. This is our reason for staying behind; for if we had come first, the other nations would have said that we made the Governor's speech; and therefore, though we were resolved to come, we intended the other nations should go before us, that they might hear the Governor's speech, which we could hear afterwards.

There are some of our people who have large open ears, and talk a little broken English and Dutch; so that they sometimes hear what is said by the Christian settlers near them; and by this means we came to understand that we are looked upon to be a proud nation, and therefore stayed behind. 'Tis true and known we are so, and that we, the Mohawks, are the head of all the other nations. Here they are, and they must own it. But it was not out of pride we Canajoharies stayed behind, but for the reason we have already given.

His Honor answered:

Brethren of Canajoharie,

You have now told me the reason why you stayed behind,



because you would not be blamed by the other nations, as you have been before. I am satisfied with what you say, that your staying behind did not proceed from pride.

You tell me you have large open ears, and that some of you understand a little of the language of the settlers about you. But I must caution you not to hearken to common reports, neither of us or your brethren of the other nations. I desire that we may all speak freely, and open our hearts to each other, and so remove any jealousies from amongst us.

I hope that at another interview you will all be more punctual, and keep as near as you can to the time appointed. You are sensible it must be very inconvenient to me and the Commissioners from the other Governments to be detained so long in this place, at so great a distance from our homes.

A true copy, examined by

GEO. BANYAR, *Dep. Sec'y. of the Council.*

A motion was made that a committee should be appointed to draw up a representation of the present state of the Colonies; which was agreed to, and that the gentlemen who were appointed to prepare and receive plans or schemes for the Union of the Colonies the 24th ult. should be a committee for this purpose.

The plan for a Union of the Colonies was debated, but the Board came to no resolves upon it.

Adjourned to nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

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At a meeting in the Court House at Albany, on Tuesday, the 2d July, 1754, A. M. Present,

All the Commissioners from Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

After debates held on the plan of a Union, it was moved if the Board should proceed to form the plan of a Union of the Colonies, to be established by an Act of Parliament.

Whereupon it was moved to put the previous question, which passed in the negative.

The question was then put whether the Board should proceed to form the plan of a Union of the Colonies, to be established by Act of Parliament; which passed in the affirmative.

Adjourned till three o'clock in the afternoon.

At a meeting as aforesaid, on Tuesday, the 2d July, 1754,  
P. M. Present,

The Lieut. Governor and the four gentlemen of the Council of New York, and all the Commissioners from the several Governments above mentioned.

The answer of the Six Nations to the general speech made to them on Saturday last by his Honor the Lieut. Governor of New York, in his Majesty's name, and in the presence and behalf of the several Governments on the continent therein named, was read; and is as follows.

Abraham, sachem of the upper castle of the Mohawks, rose up and said:

Brethren, you the Governor of New York, and the Commissioners of the other Governments, are you ready to hear us?

The Governor replied they were all ready.

Then Hendrick, brother to the said Abraham, and a sachem of the said castle, rose up and spake in behalf of the Six Nations as follows:

Brethren,

Just now you told us you were ready to hear us. Hearken to me. Brother Corlaer and brothers of the other Governments, Saturday last you told us that you came here by order of the great King, our common father, and in his name to renew the ancient chain of friendship between this and the other Governments on the continent and us the Six United Nations; and you said also that there were then present Commissioners from Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania and Maryland; and that Virginia and Carolina desired to be considered also as present. We rejoice that by the King's orders we are all met here this day, and are glad to see each other face to face. We are very thankful for the same, and we look upon the Governors of South Carolina and Virginia as also present.

*Gave a Belt.*

Brethren,

We thank you in the most hearty manner for your condolence to us. We also condole all your friends and relations who have died since our last meeting here.

*Gave three Strings of Wampum.*

Brethren,

(Holding the chain belt given by his Honor and the several Governments in his hand,)

We return you all our grateful acknowledgements for renewing and brightening the covenant chain. This chain belt is of very great importance to our United Nations, and all our allies. We will therefore take it to Onondago, where our council fire always burns, and keep it so securely that neither thunder nor lightning shall break it. There we will consult over it; and as we have lately added two links to it, so we will use our endeavors to add as many links more to it as lies in our power; and we hope when we show you this belt again, we shall give you reason to rejoice at it, by your seeing the vacancies in it filled up, (referring to his Honor's explanations of it in the general speech.) In the mean time we desire that you will strengthen yourselves, and bring as many into this covenant chain as you possibly can. We do now solemnly renew and brighten the covenant chain with our brethren here present, and all our other absent brethren on the continent.

Brethren,

As to the accounts you have heard of our living dispersed from each other, 'tis very true. We have several times endeavored to draw off those our brethren who are settled at Oswegatchie; but in vain, for the Governor of Canada is like a wicked deluding spirit. However, as you desire, we shall persist in our endeavors.

You have asked us the reason of our living in this dispersed manner. The reason is your neglecting us for these three years past. (Then taking a stick and throwing it behind his back,) you have thus thrown us behind your backs and disregarded us; whereas the French are a subtle and vigilant people, ever using their utmost endeavors to seduce and bring our people over to them.

*Gave a Belt.*

Brethren,

As to the encroachments of the French, and what you have said to us on that article, on the behalf of the King our father; as these matters were laid before us as of great importance, so we have made a strict inquiry amongst all our people, if any of them have either sold or given the French leave to build the forts you mention; and we cannot find that either any sale has been made, or leave has been given. But the French have gone thither without our consent or approbation, nor ever mentioned it to us.

Brethren,

The Governor of Virginia and the Governor of Canada are both quarrelling about lands which belong to us; and such a quarrel as this may end in our destruction. They fight who shall have the land. The Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania have made paths through our country to trade, and built houses, without acquainting us with it. They should first have asked our consent to build there, as was done when Oswego was built.

*Gave a Belt.*

Brethren,

It is very true, as you told us, that the clouds hang heavy over us, and it is not very pleasant to look up. But we give you this belt (giving a belt) to clear away all clouds, that we may all live in bright sunshine, and keep together in strict union and friendship. Then we shall become strong, and nothing can hurt us.

Brethren,

This is the ancient place of treaty, where the fire of friendship always used to burn; and 'tis now three years since we have been called to any public treaty here. 'Tis true there are Commissioners here, but they have never invited us to smoke with them, (by which they mean the Commissioners had never invited them to any conference.) But the Indians of Canada come frequently and smoke here, which is for the sake of their beaver. But we hate them, (meaning the French Indians.) We have not as yet confirmed the peace with them. 'Tis your fault, brethren, that we are not strengthened by conquest; for we would have gone and taken Crown Point, but you hindered us. We had concluded to go and take it, but we were told it was too late, and that the ice would not bear us. Instead of this, you burnt your own fort at Saratoga, and ran away from it, which was a shame and a scandal to you. Look about your country, and see, you have no fortifications about you; no, not even to this city. 'Tis but one step from Canada hither, and the French may easily come and turn you out of your doors.

Brethren,

You desired us to speak from the bottom of our hearts, and we shall do it. Look about you and see all these houses full of beaver, and the money is all gone to Canada; likewise powder, lead, and guns, which the French now make use of at Ohio.



Brethren,

The goods which go from hence to Oswego, go from thence to Ohio, which further enables the French to carry on their designs at the Ohio.

Brethren,

You were desirous that we should open our minds and our hearts to you. Look at the French; they are men; they are fortifying every where. But, we are ashamed to say it, you are all like women, bare and open, without any fortifications.

Here Hendrick ended his speech. His brother Abraham then rose up and said :

Brethren,

We would let you know what was our desire three years ago, when Col. Johnson laid down the management of Indian affairs, which gave us great uneasiness. The Governor then told us it was not in his power to continue him, but that he would consult the Council at New York; that he was going over to England, and promised to recommend our desire that Col. Johnson should have the management of Indian affairs to the King, that the new Governor might have power to reinstate him. We long waited in expectation of this being done; but hearing no more of it, we embrace this opportunity of laying this belt (and gave a belt) before all our brethren here present, and desire them that Col. Johnson may be reinstated and have the management of Indian affairs; for we all lived happy whilst they were under his management, for we love him, and he us, and he has always been our good and trusty friend.

Brethren,

I forgot something; we think our request about Col. Johnson, which Governor Clinton promised to carry to the King our father, is drowned in the sea. The fire here is burnt out and (turning his face to the New York Commissioners of Indian affairs at Albany, who were there present,) desired them to take notice of what he said.

Which answer from the Indians was debated paragraph by paragraph, and those gentlemen who were appointed a committee to prepare a general speech the 19th ult. were now appointed to draw up a reply.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning, at 9 o'clock.



At a meeting in the Court House at Albany, on Wednesday, the 3d July, 1754, A. M. Present,

John Chambers and William Smith, Esq'rs, of the Council of New York; Samuel Welles, John Chandler, and Oliver Partridge, Esquires, Commissioners for Massachusetts Bay; Theodore Atkinson and Richard Wibird, Esquires, Commissioners from New Hampshire; the Commissioners from Connecticut; Martin Howard, Esq. a Commissioner from Rhode Island; all the Commissioners from Pennsylvania; Benjamin Tasker, Jun. Esq. one of the Commissioners from Maryland.

A draught of the reply proposed to be made to the speech of the Six Nations of the 1st inst. which the committee appointed yesterday afternoon had drawn up, was read. Mr. Chambers desired to carry it to his Honor the Lieut. Governor for his opinion; which was agreed to.

Took their seats at the Board,

His Honor the Lieut. Governor, Joseph Murray and William Johnson, Esq'rs, of the Council of New York; Thomas Hutchinson and John Worthington, Esq'rs, Commissioners for Massachusetts Bay; Meshech Weare and Henry Sherburne, Esq'rs, Commissioners for New Hampshire; Stephen Hopkins, Esq. one of the Commissioners from Rhode Island; Abraham Barnes, Esq. one of the Commissioners from Maryland.

His Honor laid before the Board certain matters which he proposed to be inserted in the reply to be made to the Six Nations; which, together with the draught from the committee, was read and debated.

The Commissioners from Pennsylvania also laid before the Board an addition in behalf of their Province, and proposed it to be added to the reply. The Commissioners from Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut proposed also some additions.

These several draughts being read and considered, the following reply to the Six Nations was agreed upon by the Board.

Brethren,

It gives us great pleasure to see you so ready to renew and brighten the ancient chain of friendship. We wish the farther extension of it, and shall not fail joining our utmost endeavors for that purpose.

Brethren,

We are sorry that any neglect has been shown to you, and we hope that nothing of that kind will happen hereafter, or any misunderstanding arise between you and any of his Majesty's Governments. You are our old and steady friends. We assure you not one thought has ever come into our minds of rejecting you. Our hearts have ever been warm towards you; and we now gladly meet, and open our hearts to you. The covenant is renewed, the chain is brightened, the fire burns clear, and we hope all things will be pleasant on both sides for the future.

*A Belt.*

Brethren,

We gladly understand that you gave no countenance to the French who went to Ohio and have entered on your lands. They are always your and our open or secret enemies. You did put this land under the King our father. He is now taking care to preserve it for you. For this end, among others, he has directed us to meet you here; for although the land is under the King's government, yet the property or power of selling it to any of his Majesty's subjects, having authority from him, we always consider as vested in you.

Brethren,

You say that the Governors of Virginia and Canada are fighting about lands belonging to you, and that the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania have opened new roads and built houses at Ohio.

What you say is a great surprise to us. We all know that for five years past, in the face of all the Six Nations, in open daylight, the French have been marching troops into that country, which we ever did and do still acknowledge to belong to you, though within your father the King of Great Britain's dominions, and under his protection. And the French did publish everywhere their designs to build forts and drive away the English traders, and they did carry them into execution by seizing the traders, and did last year actually build two forts in that country. But we never heard, notwithstanding these open hostilities of the French, that ever Virginia or Pennsylvania sent one soldier or built one house for their or your protection till this present year.

It is fortunate that Mr. Weiser, who transacts the public business of Virginia and Pennsylvania with your nations, and is one of your council, and knows these matters well, is now

present. Hear the account he gives, and that will set this matter in a true light.

Brethren,

The road to Ohio is no new road ; it is an old and frequented road. The Shawanese and Delawares removed thither above thirty years ago from Pennsylvania ; ever since which that road has been travelled by our traders at their invitation, and always with safety, until within these few years that the French, with their usual faithlessness, sent armies there, threatened the Indians, and obstructed our trade with them. The Governor of Virginia, observing these hostilities in time of full peace, sent his Majesty an account of them. His Majesty was pleased to order his Governor to hold an interview with the Six Nations, to consult measures with them how to put a stop to these French proceedings, equally injurious to them as to his subjects ; and that they might better know them, it was thought the interview might best be held at some place near the country where these hostile proceedings were carried on. His Majesty likewise ordered a present to the Six Nations, as a further token of his affection for them. Accordingly Mr. Weiser in 1750 was sent to Onondago by the Governor of Virginia, and invited the Indians to come and treat at Fredericksburg, in that Province, and receive the King's presents ; but could not prevail. The Governor of Virginia, finding the French still continuing their hostilities, sent Commissioners in 1751 to the Indians at Ohio, and delivered them the King's present ; and by a belt of wampum proposed that a strong house might be built near the mouth of Monongahela for their mutual protection. The Indians made answer that they were well pleased with the proposal, and would send that belt to Onondago, and join one of their own to it. Nothing was heard of this belt, and the last year the French invaded the country of Ohio with a strong hand. Whereupon the Indians residing there, your flesh and blood, sent repeated messages to the Governor of Virginia to send his young men to their assistance. But he being a person of great forethought and prudence, still forebore to do it ; and instead thereof, sent two messages by Mr. Andrew Montour to Onondago, for your advice how to act. It happened that no council could be called at either time. The chiefs of Onondago desired Mr. Montour to tell their brother the Governor of Virginia to act cautiously, and let the French strike the first blow.

The French then coming nearer and nearer, Tanacharisson, (otherwise called the half king) was sent to them by the United Nations at Ohio, together with the Shawanese and Delawares, to forewarn them off their land. In the mean time, other chiefs of these several nations came to Virginia and Pennsylvania, and told us what they had agreed upon in council, viz. that they, the rest of the chiefs, should come to us and desire us to call our people from over the Alleghany hills, to prevent bloodshed between the English and French. But when these Indians returned, and found that the French paid no regard to their warning, but told them positively that if they opposed their taking possession of that country, they would cut them off, they sent repeated messages to the Governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia to apprize them of their (the Indians') immediate danger, telling them they would find nothing but the ashes of their houses and their bones, if they did not forthwith send warriors, and build them a house to fly to; having a late example before their eyes in that the French had fallen upon their brethren the Twightwees on a sudden, and killed them in their houses, as well as some English who were there trading with them.

On this melancholy account the Governor of Virginia, agreeable to the request of the Indians, sent people to build a house at the mouth of Monongahela. But before they had finished it, the French came down the river with a thousand men, and eighteen cannon, and told the people who were building it, and were but forty-four in number, that they must either fight or give up possession; which last they were obliged to do, on account of the superior force of the French.

Brethren,

This is the truth, which we have thought proper to relate so particularly, that the prudent and cautious conduct of Virginia might be known to the Six Nations. As to Pennsylvania, they have never sent a warrior or built a fort at Ohio. This belt is given to confirm what is said, and that you may remember what has been now related to you.

*A Belt.*

Brethren,

You tell us we are open and defenceless. We are consulting how far it will be necessary to fortify our frontiers. At the same time we expect you will take care to keep your people from going over to the French. We are able, when united



with you, to resist any force the French and their allies can bring against us.

The following paragraphs were to be spoken by the Governor of New York in his own name.

Brethren,

You have told me that this is the place of treaty ; that it is now three years ago since you were asked to smoke a pipe here ; that there are Commissioners, but they have never invited you to smoke with them. It was their duty, on their appointment, to acquaint you with it, and to invite you to smoke with them, and to rekindle the fire which was then almost extinguished ; and if they had done it earlier, and before I sent them directions, it would have been very agreeable to me.

Brethren,

You say the houses here are full of beaver. This is a trading-place, and the merchants have a right to traffic for beaver or other skins, which they sometimes pay for in goods, and sometimes in money. But as to what you say about guns and powder being sold to the French, I have made all the inquiry I could into this matter, and am assured you are misinformed, for that neither guns nor powder are sold by any persons here to the French.

Brethren,

You tell me that whilst Col. Johnson had the management of Indian affairs, you all lived happy ; that you loved him, and he you, and that he has always been your good and trusty friend. I am very sensible you had good reason to look upon him in this light, and fully convinced that he is still your friend. But as this is the place where the ancient fire was kindled which was nearly burnt out, and as Col. Johnson for some reasons declined the management of Indian affairs, it was thought proper to rekindle the fire here by appointing Commissioners ; whom I shall direct to receive and consult with you upon all business that may concern our mutual interests ; and I expect that you will for the future apply to them, according to the custom of your forefathers, to tell your news, and in return to receive from them what shall be thought necessary to be imparted to you ; and I will give them directions that they treat you with the affection due to you as brethren. I will make trial of them another year ; and if you do not meet with the kind treatment you have a right to



expect, complain to this Government, and effectual measures shall be taken for your satisfaction. *Gave a Belt.*

The following was to be spoke by Mr. Kellogg, interpreter from Massachusetts Bay ; which was accordingly done.

Brethren,

We have agreed to tell all news, and take council together. We cannot part till we have told you the news from New England, though at a considerable distance from you. The French have the same bad designs there as well as at Ohio. They are very fond to get Kennebeck river ; we have news of their beginning a fort at the head of that river ; a priest of theirs has built a house a great way down that river. Governor Shirley has raised eight hundred men and is gone down to drive them away, and to build an English fort at the head or far up the said river Kennebeck.

We have news also that the French are building a fort up Connecticut river, northward of Coos. The Governor of New Hampshire has now sent a company of men up that river to inquire into that fact, and if true, to drive them immediately off. In another part of the Government of New Hampshire a number of the St. Francis' Indians have lately taken a family, consisting of a man and his wife and three children, and carried them into captivity, from an out settlement on Merrimack river ; and this contrary to their solemn engagement at a treaty held with them.

We have also news that a number of Indians have murdered twenty-one English fishermen at Canso, had carried their scalps to Cape Breton, where they were well received, and, it is said, rewarded.

The Board then adjourned till to-morrow morning at nine o'clock.

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At a meeting in the Court House at Albany, on Thursday, the 4th July, 1754, A. M. Present,

The four gentlemen of the Council of New York, and all the Commissioners for the several Governments.

The plan for a Union of the Colonies was debated, but nothing finally determined on.

Adjourned to three o'clock this afternoon.

At a meeting as above, Thursday, the 4th July, 1754,  
P. M. Present,

All the Commissioners for the several Governments.

The plan for a Union was further considered, but no resolves made thereupon.

The Board receiving a message from his Honor the Lieut. Governor of New York, that the Indians were seated in order to speak to his Honor and the Commissioners, the Board adjourned to nine o'clock to-morrow morning, and waited upon the Governor.

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At a meeting in the Court House at Albany, on Friday, the 5th July, 1754, A. M. Present,

All the Commissioners for the several Governments.

The rejoinder of the Six Nations, spoke yesterday afternoon, was read to the Board, and ordered to be minuted as follows. (The following speech is chiefly a rejoinder to the reply made to the Six Nations on the 3d inst.)

Brother of New York and brethren of the several Governments,

We, on our side, are equally as much rejoiced as you have expressed yourselves, on the renewing and brightening the ancient covenant chain between all his Majesty's Governments on the continent and us of the Six United Nations. As to what the Governor of New York told us yesterday relating to the Commissioners of Indian affairs at Albany, we are much obliged to him for his promise to direct them to take due notice of us for the future; that he will try them for one year longer; and for giving us leave to acquaint this Government if they do not treat us as brethren.

Brethren,

We have told the Governor of New York how Col. Johnson has behaved to us, and our opinion of him, and the danger we thought ourselves in by his leaving off the management of Indian affairs. If he fails us, we die. However, we agree to what the Governor has proposed to us. He is master of all to do what he pleases, and we submit the whole affair to him.

*Gave a Belt.*

Brethren,

We are very thankful to the King our father for ordering

Commissioners from so many Governments to meet here, in order to inquire into all matters relating to us, and to put every thing upon a right footing. We rejoice that we have opened our hearts to each other, and we return the Governor and all the Commissioners from the several Governments our thanks for the same.

Brethren,

Some time ago the King our father sent a present to the Governor of Virginia, who sent a messenger to the Six Nations that we should come down to Virginia and receive it; but we could not come. We have since been informed that the present was sent to Ohio. (The speaker then proceeded to repeat the substance of what was said to them yesterday on the part of the Government of Pennsylvania by their interpreter, Mr. Weiser.) We allow that the road from Pennsylvania to Ohio is no new road, but has been travelled these thirty years by the traders. We thank the Governor of Virginia for assisting the Indians at Ohio, who are our relations and allies, and we approve of the Governor of Pennsylvania's not having hitherto intermeddled in this affair. He is a wise and prudent man, and will know his own time. We return the Governor of New York and all the other Governments our most hearty thanks (here the speaker made bows to his Honor and all the Commissioners) for the promise of protection given us of our land, and the acknowledgment that the right of selling it is in us. *Gave a Belt.*

Brethren,

We put you in mind in our former speech of the defenceless state of your frontiers, particularly of this city of Schenectady, and of the country of the Five Nations. You told us yesterday you were consulting about securing both yourselves and us. We beg you will resolve upon something speedily; you are not safe from danger one day; the French have their hatchet in their hands both at Ohio and in two places in New England; we don't know but this very night they may attack us.

One of the principal reasons why we desire you will be speedy in these matters is, that since Col. Johnson has been in this city, there has been a French Indian at his house, who took measure of the wall round it and made very narrow observation on everything thereabouts. We think him (Col. Johnson) in very great danger, because the French will take

more than ordinary pains either to kill him or take him prisoner, upon account of his great interest among us, and being also one of the Five Nations. (Col. Johnson is one of their sachems.) *Upon this they gave four Strings of Wampum.*

The Board then proceeded to consider the plan for a Union, but did not go through with it.

Adjourned to 9 o'clock, to-morrow morning.

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At a meeting held in the Court House at Albany, on Saturday, the 6th July, 1754, A. M. Present,

All the Commissioners from Massachusetts Bay ; \*William Pitkin and Roger Wolcott, Esq's, Commissioners for Connecticut ; the Commissioners for Rhode Island ; John Penn, Isaac Norris, and Benj. Franklin, Esq's, Commissioners for Pennsylvania ; the Commissioners for Maryland.

His Honor the Lieut. Governor sent to the Board the speech he proposes to make to the river Indians ; which the Board agreed to, with a small addition, which was sent in writing to his Honor.

The Board having been informed by Mr. Peters that the Lieut. Governor of New York sent for him last night, and told him his provisions were expended and he could no longer maintain the Indians, and expected the Commissioners would maintain them, and gave him the list of what had been allowed per day to the Five Nations, exclusive of the river Indians,

The Board hereupon resolved, that they would take the charge of supporting the Indians upon themselves.

Meshech Weare and Henry Sherburne, Esq's, Commissioners for New Hampshire took their seats.

The committee appointed the 1st inst. to draw up a representation of the present state of the Colonies with relation to the French, delivered the same to the Board ; which was read, and ordered to lie upon the table for the consideration of the Commissioners.

The Secretary presented to the Board a draught of the speech which his Honor proposed to deliver to the Six Nations this afternoon, and also the following message from his Honor, that the Board would please to send him any altera-



tions or additions which they might think proper to be made to the said draught ; that his Honor intended, when he made the speech, to read to them the Act of the General Assembly of New York concerning the sale of rum to the Indians ; and that he also recommended the request of the upper castle of the Mohawks for a church to the Board. The Secretary also brought back his Honor's approbation to the small addition proposed to be made to the speech intended to be made to the river Indians : which speech is as follows.

Brethren,

I have sent for you here to give you fresh assurances of the great King your father's protection ; and that we might, with the Commissioners whom you now see assembled here from the Governments of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania and Maryland, strengthen and brighten the covenant chain.

We are glad to see you at this your old meeting-place, and we do now, in his Majesty's name, and behalf of all his Colonies, renew the ancient covenant chain of friendship, that it may be stronger and brighter than ever ; which we recommend to you to preserve clean and free from rust, by a peaceable and affectionate behavior to all your brethren, and especially to those who live near you ; and you may then with confidence rely on the favor of this and all his Majesty's Governments.

As a proof of the King your father's tender regard for you, I shall deliver you a present he has sent over for you, consisting of such necessaries as you may want. And the Commissioners from each of the Governments have contributed towards a present for you also, all which presents shall be here ready for you in the afternoon.

Elisha Williams, Esq. Commissioner for Connecticut, took his seat.

On a motion made and seconded that a message be sent to his Honor the Lieut. Governor of New York, relating to the answer he proposes to make to the Six Nations, Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Franklin were appointed to prepare the same.

Theodore Atkinson and Richard Wibird, Esq's, Commissioners for New Hampshire, took their seats ; as did also Richard Peters, Esq. one of the Commissioners for Pennsylvania.



Mr. Hutchinson reported the following message.

May it please your Honor,

The Commissioners from the several Governments now met at Albany observe, that in the speech your Honor proposes to make this day to the Indians of the Six Nations, and which you have caused to be communicated to the Board by their Secretary, no notice is taken of the complaints of the said Indians relating to their lands.

This complaint seems, by the letter from the right honorable the Lords of Trade, which your Honor has laid before the Board, to have been the principal occasion of this unusual and expensive meeting of Commissioners from so many Colonies; and it appears by the last answer from the Indians, that their uneasiness still remains.

The Commissioners therefore think it incumbent on them to pray your Honor, that they may be acquainted with the particulars of the complaint, and that they may have an opportunity of consulting with your Honor proper measures for removing the causes thereof.

Which was read, and unanimously agreed to; and it was thereupon ordered that Mr. Welles and Mr. Pitkin wait upon his Honor the Lieut. Governor of New York with the same.

Adjourned to three o'clock this afternoon.

At a meeting, &c. on Saturday, the 6th July, 1754, P. M. Present,

All the Commissioners for Massachusetts Bay; all the Commissioners for New Hampshire; the Commissioners from Connecticut; Stephen Hopkins, Esq. one of the Commissioners from Rhode Island.

Mr. Welles reported to the Board, that he and Mr. Pitkin had delivered the message they were appointed in the morning to deliver to his Honor the Lieut. Governor of New York.

The four gentlemen of the Council of New York, Martin Howard, Esq. Benj. Franklin and Abraham Barnes, Esq's, took their seats.

Mr. Murray delivered to the Board his Honor the Lieut. Governor's answer in writing to the message delivered to his Honor in the morning by Mr. Welles and Mr. Pitkin; which was read, and is as follows:

Gentlemen,

In answer to your message to me of this day, I acquaint you that yesterday I had the sachems of the Canajoharie castle before me in Council, to conclude the matter in controversy between some Germans and one Teady Magin, relating to an Indian purchase, that had occasioned the greatest uneasiness among the Indians of that castle ; which, after two meetings, was then formally and finally settled, to the satisfaction of all parties.

I then took occasion to observe to them, that at their meeting on the 2d inst. I desired them to open their minds fully, and that I expected they would then have laid all their complaints before me ; that as to what they had mentioned in their public speech on the 4th inst. I was not acquainted with any other particular complaints until I came to this place, being abroad on the circuit at the time they made them at New York ; and then I promised, as soon as I returned thither, I would look into them, and do them all the justice that lay in my power ; with which they declared themselves well satisfied, and thanked me.

JAMES DELANCEY.

*Albany, 6th July, 1754.*

The Board being obliged to attend at the interview of the Schaticook and River Indians, adjourned to Monday morning at nine o'clock.

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At a meeting in the Court House at Albany, on Monday, the 8th July, 1754, A. M. Present,

William Johnson and William Smith, Esq's, two of the Council of New York, and all the Commissioners.

The speech proposed by his Honor to be made to the Indians of the Six Nations having been again read to the Board, and the complaints of the Indians relative to their lands coming under their consideration, the Board were acquainted that Mr. William Livingston and Mr. William Alexander, two of the heirs or devisees of Philip Livingston, Esq. deceased, the proprietor or patentee of the lands on which Canajoharie castle stands, had declared their readiness to give up all right to said patents, or such parts as shall be

thought necessary. It was ordered, that the said Mr. Livingston and Mr. Alexander be informed that the Board desired to speak with them.

Mr. Livingston and Mr. Alexander, being present, informed the Board that their father was one amongst other patentees of the lands mentioned; that they were interested one eighth each of them in their father's right. The circumstances of his title they had made no inquiry into, but were ready to make any resignation which either justice or the public service required.

The Board being informed that his Honor the Lieut. Governor desired a gentleman from each Government might be appointed to be present with him in making inquiry of the Indians of the Canajoharie castle how far they were satisfied respecting their land, Mr. Peters and Mr. Howard were appointed to wait on his Honor and acquaint him that the Board agreed to the proposal.

Accordingly, Mr. Hutchinson was appointed for Massachusetts Bay; Col. Atkinson for New Hampshire; Major Wolcott for Connecticut; Mr. Hopkins for Rhode Island; Mr. Norris for Pennsylvania; Col. Tasker for Maryland.

Joseph Murray and John Chambers, Esq's, of the Council of New York, took their seats.

His Honor's draught of the speech he proposes to make to the Six Nations, which was delivered to the Board the 6th inst. was read, and after debate had thereon relative to the sale of rum amongst them, and the Canajoharies' desire about a church, some alterations and additions to it were agreed to be proposed to his Honor.

The representation of the present state of the Colonies was again read through, but no final resolution thereon agreed to.

The answers of the Schaticook and River Indians to the speech made them the 6th inst. were read, and are as follows.

The speech of the Schaticook Indians:

Father,

We are glad that the Governor sees his children now before him. We are small in number, but next time we hope we sh ll be more. Your Honor may see that we are but young and inexperienced, our ancient people being almost all dead, so that we have nobody to give us any advice; but we will do as our fathers have done before us. *Gave a Belt.*

Father,

This belt came from our forefathers, and we will be true and faithful to the King, as they were. *Gave a Belt.*

They gave also to the Governor a small bundle of skins, and desired that the sale of rum might be stopped at Schaticook; and that if they want it, they will come and buy it at Albany.

The speech of the River Indians :

Fathers,

We are greatly rejoiced to see you all here. It is by the will of Heaven that we are met here, and we thank you for this opportunity of seeing you all together; as it is a long while since we have had such a one.

Fathers who sit present here,

We will just give you a short relation of the long friendship which has subsisted between the white people of this country and us.

Our forefathers had a castle on this river. As one of them walked out, he saw something on the river; but was at a loss to know what it was. He took it at first for a great fish. He ran into the castle, and gave notice to the other Indians. Two of our forefathers went to see what it was, and found it a vessel with men in it. They immediately joined hands with the people in the vessel, and became friends. The white people told them they should not come any further up the river at that time, and said to them they would return back from whence they came, and come again in a year's time. According to their promise they returned back in a year's time, and came as far up the river as where the old fort stood. Our forefathers invited them ashore, and said to them, Here we will give you a place to make you a town. It shall be from this place up to such a stream, (meaning where the Patroon's mill now stands) and from the river back up to the hill.

Our forefathers told them though they were now a small people, they would in time multiply, and fill up the land they had given them. After they were ashore some time, some other Indians, who had not seen them before, looked fiercely at them; and our forefathers observing it, and seeing the white people so few in number, lest they should be destroyed, took and sheltered them under their arms. But it turned out that those Indians did not desire to destroy them, but



wished also to have the said white people for their friends. At this time which we have now spoken of, the white people were small, but we were very numerous and strong; we defended them in that low state. But now the case is altered; you are numerous and strong, we are few and weak. Therefore we expect that you will act by us in these circumstances as we did by you in those we have just now related. We view you now as a very large tree, which has taken deep root in the ground, whose branches are spread very wide. We stand by the body of this tree, and we look round to see if there be any who endeavor to hurt it; and if it should so happen that any are powerful enough to destroy it, we are ready to fall with it. *Gave a Belt.*

Fathers,

You see how early we made friendship with you. We tied each other in a very strong chain. That chain has not yet been broken. We now clean and rub that chain, to make it brighter and stronger; and we determine, on our part, that it never shall be broken; and we hope you will take care that neither you nor any one else shall break it. And we are greatly rejoiced that peace and friendship have so long subsisted between us. *Gave a Belt.*

Fathers,

Don't think strange at what we are about to say. We would say something respecting our lands. When the white people purchased from time to time of us, they said they only wanted to purchase the low lands. They told us the hilly land was good for nothing, and that it was full of wood and stones. But now we see people living all about the hills and woods, although they have not purchased the lands. When we inquire of the people who live on the lands, what right they have to them, they reply to us that we are not to be regarded, and that these lands belong to the King. But we were the first possessors of them; and when the King has paid us for them, then they may say they are his. Hunting now has grown very scarce, and we are not like to get our livings that way. Therefore we hope that our fathers will take care that we are paid for our lands, that we may live. *Gave a Belt.*

*Made a present of a bundle of skins.*

The Board then adjourned to 3 o'clock this afternoon.

At a meeting, &c. on Monday, 8th July, 1754, P. M.  
Present,

All the Commissioners, except Col. Atkinson, Mr. Norris, and the Commissioners from Maryland.

The Board proceeded in their consideration upon the plan for a Union, but did not go through with it.

The speech proposed to be made to the Six Nations was returned to the Board from his Honor, with the alterations and additions proposed by the Board in the morning.

Ordered, that the said speech lay upon the table till some further matters relating to it be agreed on by the Board.

The committee appointed in the morning to be present with the Lieut. Governor of New York at a conference with the Canajoharie Indians, returned from the same and reported as follows :

That his Honor inquired of the Indians whether they had not expressed themselves satisfied with the measures he had taken concerning their lands, and the promise that he would inquire further into the affair when he came to New York. To which they replied, that they were sensible his Honor was at Albany when they made their complaint at New York last year; that he had told them he had now left the papers there, but he would inquire into it when he came there; that they were willing to try one year more, and if matters were not made up by the Governor whom they looked upon as their elder brother, but neglected as they used to be, they would send to all their other brothers (pointing to the Commissioners) for their assistance; and that they agreed to this the rather, as there were French Indians in town, and they did not think it convenient to have any difference before them. Upon which his Honor again assured them he would inquire into their affairs, in order to their being satisfied, especially as he had the King's orders for it.

The Board receiving a message from his Honor that the sachems of the Six Nations were attending to be spoke to, the Board adjourned to 9 o'clock to-morrow morning, and waited upon the Governor.

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At a meeting in the Court House at Albany, on Tuesday, the 9th July, 1754, A. M. Present,

Joseph Murray and William Smith, Esq's, of the Council of New York ; all the Commissioners, except Col. Partridge and Mr. Hopkins.

The public conference between his Honor the Licut. Governor of New York and the Commissioners of the several Governments with the sachems of the Six Nations yesterday evening was read, and ordered to be entered as follows.

Brethren,

You told me your hearts were deeply concerned at the sad effects which may arise from selling rum in your respective countries. I will give orders that the laws already made for preventing the sale of this liquor among you shall be strictly put in execution ; and whatever further provision in the law is necessary, I will endeavor it shall be made ; that you may see I take care of your health and your peace, which are hurt and disturbed by the use of this liquor among you of the five upper nations. And as to what you of the Mohawks have said, I shall consider how far it may be necessary to restrain the people living round you from selling rum ; and if I can think of a proper remedy for this evil, I will endeavor to apply it.

Brethren of the upper castle of the Mohawks,

I am well pleased with your earnest request to have a church built amongst you, and shall do every thing in my power to promote so good a work ; and it is very agreeable to me and the Commissioners from all the Governments present, to find a disposition in you to receive the Christian religion.

Brethren,

As I have given you satisfaction with respect to one of your complaints about your land, which lay heavy on your minds, and have assured you that I shall endeavor to do you justice as to the rest when I come to New York, I shall not say any thing farther to you on that affair now.

The Governor being informed by the interpreter that they chose to have the powder divided on the hill, told them it was in his opinion better for them to have it sent to Schenectady.

Hendrick answered for them, " Just as his Honor pleased ;" who told them he would order the powder to Schenectady, and the rum above the settlements ; with which they expressed themselves satisfied.

His Honor then said :

I have now done speaking to you. But before I cover up the fire, I must recommend it to you to behave quietly and peaceably to all your brethren and their cattle in your return home.

Hendrick then replied :

Your Honor told us you now covered up the fires ; and we are highly pleased that all things have been so amicably settled, and hope that all that has passed between us may be strictly observed on both sides.

Brethren of the several Governments,

We hope that you will not fail in the covenant chain, wherewith we have mutually bound ourselves, and now so solemnly renewed and strengthened. If we don't hold fast by this chain of friendship, our enemies will laugh us to scorn.

Brethren,

We wish you would all contribute to provide some provision for us in our way home, which will effectually prevent our people from killing the inhabitants' cattle ; and we desire you will provide some wagons for us to go to Schenectady. We think this expense will fall too heavy upon one province, as we have the presents from all to carry up.

We beg we may all take care of the fire of friendship, and preserve it by our mutual attention from any injuries. We will take care of it on our sides, and we hope our brethren will do so on theirs. We wish this tree of friendship may grow up to a great height, and then we shall be a powerful people.

Brethren,

We, the United Nations, shall rejoice in the increase of our strength, so that all other nations may stand in awe of us.

Brethren,

I will just tell you what a people we were formerly. If any of our enemies rose against us, we had no occasion to lift up our whole hand against them ; for our little finger was sufficient. And as we have now made so strong a confederacy, if we are truly earnest therein, we may retrieve the ancient glory of the Five Nations.

Brethren,

We have now done ; but one word we must add. The interpreter, if the French continue their hostilities, will want



assistance, three or four to be joined with him ; but this matter we submit to the Governor. We have now finished all that we have to say.

The Governor replied :

Brethren,

It gives me and all the Commissioners here present great satisfaction, that this interview has concluded so amicably on all sides. I have ordered thirty wagons to be provided for your service, which I expect here to-morrow morning, and I have ordered provisions for you to serve you on your journey.

I hope that by this present union we shall grow up to a great height, and be as powerful and famous as you were of old. As to the interpreter, when the circumstances of this country require it, he shall have the necessary assistance ; and I assure you, in the name of this Government and all the Governments here present, that we shall endeavor to extend and preserve the covenant chain by every possible method in our power.

They asked his Honor when himself and the Commissioners proposed to return home. His Honor answered, that they had some matters yet to settle about the Union, and then they should set out for their respective habitations.

The Governor then, in his own name and that of the Commissioners, wished them a good journey, and they returned the compliment ; and then the conferences broke up.

The answers of the Lieut. Governor and the Commissioners to the Schaticook and River Indians were next read, and ordered to be entered as follows.

The answer to the Schaticook Indians.

Children,

We condole with you on the loss of your old and experienced people.

*A String.*

Children,

I and the Commissioners from the other Governments here present are glad to see that although you are young and inexperienced, yet you are willing to take advice, and are determined to remain faithful to the King and friendly to all his subjects.

*A Belt.*

Answer to the River Indians.

Children,

We are glad to find that you treasure up in your memories the mutual instances of friendship between our ancestors and

yours. The remembrance of that friendship will descend to our posterity, and we desire you to hand it down to yours; and although there is a great alteration in circumstances since our predecessors first came among you, yet we have not less affection for you than they had. *A Belt.*

Children,

Your brightening and strengthening the covenant chain is well-pleasing to me and the Commissioners. We acknowledge you have never broken it. We have likewise preserved it entire, and are determined to continue to do so. *A Belt.*

Children,

You complain that some of the people of this province are in possession of your lands, which you never sold. This is a complaint which affects persons who live at a distance. I have ordered notice to be given them of it; and if, upon inquiry into the affair, it shall appear that you have been injured, I will endeavor to get you redressed. But I shall observe to you, that the constant method of granting lands in this Province is and has been by license from the Governor to purchase from the Indians; and upon the purchase being returned before him in Council, he with their advice orders a patent; and that most of these lands concerning which you complain were patented when you were children; some before any of you were born.

Ordered, that the following minutes be made. That the last paragraph of the foregoing answer to the River Indians about the manner of patenting lands in this Province, beginning with the words, "I shall observe," was an addition made by his Honor to the draught sent him yesterday by this Board.

Col. Johnson, Mr. Chambers, Col. Partridge and Mr. Hopkins took their seats.

The plan of the Union was debated and agreed upon, and Mr. Franklin was desired to make a draught of it as now concluded upon.

Adjourned to 5 o'clock this evening.

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At a meeting, &c. on Tuesday, the 9th July, 1754, P. M.  
Present,

The Honorable the Lieut. Governor, and the four gentle-

men of the Council of New York, and all the Commissioners, except Mr. Franklin, absent by his appointment in the morning.

The draught of the representation, &c. was read, and considered paragraph by paragraph, some amendments made, and the whole was agreed to, and ordered to be minuted as follows.

That his Majesty's title to the northern continent of America appears to be founded on the discovery thereof first made and the possession thereof first taken in 1497, under a commission from Henry VII. of England to Sebastian Cabot.

That the French have possessed themselves of several parts of this continent, which by treaties have been ceded and confirmed to them.

That the right of the English to the whole seacoast from Georgia on the south to the river St. Lawrence on the north, excepting the island of Cape Breton and the islands in the Bay of St. Lawrence, remains plain and indisputable. That all the lands or countries westward, from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea, between 48 and 34 degrees north latitude, were expressly included in the grant of King James the First, to divers of his subjects so long since as the year 1606, and afterwards confirmed in 1620; and under this grant the Colony of Virginia claims extent as far west as the South Sea; and the ancient Colonies of the Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut were by their respective charters made to extend to the said South Sea. So that not only the right to the seacoast, but to all the inland countries from sea to sea, has at all times been asserted by the crown of England.

That the Province of Nova Scotia or Acadie hath known and determinate bounds by the original grant from King James the First; and that there is abundant evidence of the sense which the French had of these bounds while they were in possession of it; and that these bounds being thus known, the said Province, by the treaty of Utrecht, according to its ancient limits, was ceded to Great Britain, and remained in possession thereof until the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which it was confirmed. But by said treaty it is stipulated that the bounds of the said Province shall be determined by commissaries, &c.

That by the treaty of Utrecht the country of the Five Cantons of the Iroquois is expressly acknowledged to be under the dominion of the crown of Great Britain.

That the lake Champlain, formerly called lake Iroquois, and the country southward of it as far as the Dutch or English settlements, the lakes Ontario, Erie, and all the countries adjacent, have by all ancient authors, French and English, been allowed to belong to the Five Cantons or Nations; and the whole of these countries, long before the said treaty of Utrecht, were by the said nations put under the protection of the crown of Great Britain.

That by the treaty of Utrecht there is reserved to the French a liberty of frequenting the countries of the Five Nations and other Indians in friendship with Great Britain, for the sake of commerce; as there is also to the English a liberty of frequenting the countries of those in friendship with France, for the same purpose.

That after the treaty of Utrecht the French built several fortresses in the country of the Five Nations, and a very strong one at a place called Crown Point, to the south of lake Champlain.

That the French Court hath evidently, since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, made this northern continent more than ever the object of its attention.

That the French have most unjustly taken possession of part of the Province of Nova Scotia, and in the river St. John's and other parts of said Province they have built strong fortresses; and from this river they will have during the winter and spring season a much easier communication between France and Canada than they have heretofore had, and will be furnished with a harbor more commodiously situated for the annoying the British Colonies by privateers and men of war than Louisburg itself.

That they have taken possession of and begun a settlement at the head of the river Kennebeck, within the bounds of the Province of Maine, the most convenient situation for affording support and safe retreat to the eastern Indians in any of their attempts upon the Governments of New England.

That it appears, by information of the natives, the French have been making preparations for another settlement at a place called Coos, on Connecticut river, near the head thereof, where it is but about ten miles distant from a branch of Merrimack river, and from whence there is a very near and easy communication with the Abenakis Indians, who are settled on the river St. Francis, about forty miles from the river St.



Lawrence; and it is certain that the inhabitants of New Hampshire, in which province this Coos is supposed to lie, have been interrupted and impeded by the French Indians from making any settlement there.

That since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the French have increased the number of their forts in the country of the great Lakes and of the rivers which run into the Mississippi, and are securing a communication between the two Colonies of Louisiana and Canada, and at the same time putting themselves into a capacity of annoying the southern British Colonies, and preventing any further settlement of his Majesty's dominions.

That they have been gradually increasing their troops in America, transporting them in their ships of war, which return to France with a bare complement of men, leaving the rest in their Colonies; and by this means they are less observed by the powers of Europe than they would be if transports, as usual heretofore, were provided for this purpose.

That they have taken prisoners, divers of his Majesty's subjects, trading in the country of the Iroquois and other inland parts, and plundered such prisoners of several thousand pounds sterling; and they are continually exciting the Indians to destroy or make prisoners the inhabitants of the frontiers of the British Colonies, which prisoners are carried to Canada, and a price equal to what slaves are sold for in the plantations is demanded for their redemption and release.

That they are continually drawing off the Indians from the British interest, and have lately persuaded one half of the Onondago tribe, with many from the other nations along with them, to remove to a place called Oswegatchie, on the river Cadaraqui, where they have built them a church and fort; and many of the Senecas, the most numerous nation, appear to be wavering, and rather incline to the French; and it is a melancholy consideration, that not more than one hundred and fifty men of all the several nations have attended this treaty; although they had notice that all the Governments would be here by their Commissioners, and that a large present would be given.

That it is the evident design of the French to surround the British Colonies, to fortify themselves on the back thereof, to take and keep possession of all the important rivers, to draw over the Indians to their interest, and with the help of

such Indians, added to such forces as are already arrived and may hereafter be sent from Europe, to be in a capacity of making a general attack on the several Governments; and if at the same time a strong naval force be sent from France, there is the utmost danger that the whole continent will be subjected to that crown. And that the danger of such a naval force is not merely imaginary, may be argued from past experience; for if it had not been for the most extraordinary interposition of Heaven, every seaport town on the continent, in the year 1746, might have been ravaged and destroyed by the squadron under the command of the Duke D'Anville, notwithstanding the then declining state of the French, and the very flourishing state of the British navy, and the further advantage accruing to the English from the possession of Cape Breton.

That the French find by experience they are able to make greater and more sure advantages upon their neighbors in peace than in war. What they unjustly possessed themselves of after the peace of Utrecht, they now pretend to have a right to hold, by virtue of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, until the true boundary between the English and the French be settled by commissaries. But their conquests made during the war they have been obliged to restore.

That the French affairs relative to this continent are under one direction, and constantly regarded by the crown and ministry; who are not insensible how great a stride they would make towards a universal monarchy, if the British Colonies were added to their dominions, and consequently the whole trade of North America engrossed by them.

That the said Colonies being in a divided, disunited state, there has never been any joint exertion of their force or counsels to repel or defeat the measures of the French, and particular Colonies are unable and unwilling to maintain the cause of the whole.

That there has been a very great neglect of the affairs of the Iroquois, or, as they are commonly called, the Indians of the Six Nations; and their friendship and alliance has been improved to private purposes, for the sake of the trade with them, and the purchase or acquisition of their lands, more than to the public service.

That they are supplied with rum by the traders in vast and almost incredible quantities; the laws of the Colonies now

in force being insufficient to restrain the supply; and the Indians of every nation are frequently drunk, and abused in their trade, and their affections thereby alienated from the English. They often wound and murder one another in their liquor, and to avoid revenge, flee to the French; and perhaps more have been lost by these means than by the French artifices.

That purchases of lands from the Indians by private persons, for small trifling considerations, have been the cause of great uneasiness and discontents; and if the Indians are not in fact imposed on and injured, yet they are apt to think that they have been; and indeed they appear not fit to be intrusted at large with the sale of their own lands; and the laws of some of the Colonies, which makes such sales void unless the allowance of the Government be first obtained, seem to be well founded.

That the granting or patenting vast tracts of land to private persons or companies, without conditions of speedy settlement, has tended to prevent the strengthening the frontiers of the particular Colony where such tracts lie, and been prejudicial to the rest.

That it seems absolutely necessary that speedy and effectual measures be taken to secure the Colonies from the slavery they are threatened with. That any further advances of the French should be prevented, and the encroachments already made removed. That the Indians in alliance or friendship with the English be constantly regarded under some wise direction or superintendency. That endeavors be used for the recovery of those Indians who are lately gone over to the French, and for securing those that remain. That some discreet person or persons be appointed to reside constantly with each nation of Indians; such person to have no concern in trade, and duly to communicate all advices to the superintendents.

That the trade with the said Indians be well regulated, and made subservient to the public interest more than to private gain.

That there be forts built for the security of each nation, and the better carrying on the trade with them. That warlike vessels be provided sufficient to maintain his Majesty's right to a free navigation on the several lakes. That all future purchases of lands from the Indians be void, unless made by the



Government where such lands lie, and from the Indians in a body, in their public councils. That the patentees or possessors of large unsettled territories be enjoined to cause them to be settled in a reasonable time, on pain of forfeiture.

That the complaints of the Indians relative to any grants or possessions of their lands fraudulently obtained be inquired into, and all injuries redressed; that the bounds of those Colonies which extend to the South Sea be contracted, and limited by the Alleghany or Apalachian mountains; and that measures be taken for settling from time to time Colonies of his Majesty's Protestant subjects westward of said mountains, in convenient cantons to be assigned for that purpose; and finally that there be a Union of his Majesty's several Governments on the continent, that so their counsels, treasure and strength may be employed in due proportion against their common enemy. All which is submitted.

Adjourned till 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

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At a meeting in the Court House at Albany on Wednesday, the 10th July, 1754, A. M. Present,

All the Commissioners for Massachusetts Bay; all the Commissioners for New Hampshire, except Mr. Sherburne; all the Commissioners for Connecticut; the Commissioners for Rhode Island; all the Commissioners for Pennsylvania.

Mr. Murray and Mr. Smith took their seats.

Mr Franklin reported the draught, in a new form, of a Plan of a Union, agreeable to the determination of yesterday; which was read paragraph by paragraph, and debated, and the further consideration of it deferred to the afternoon.

Adjourned to 3 o'clock this afternoon.

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At a meeting, &c. on Wednesday, the 10th July, 1754, P. M. Present,

His Honor the Lieut. Governor and the four gentlemen of the Council of New York, and all the Commissioners for the respective Governments.

The consideration of the Plan of a Union was resumed; which Plan is as follows:



[Here the MS. breaks off abruptly. Whether the remainder of the Journal is now in existence, we have not been able to ascertain. The Plan of Union adopted by the Congress is inserted below, as copied from the Writings of Franklin.—*Pub. Com.*]

## PLAN OF UNION.

It is proposed that humble application be made for an Act of Parliament of Great Britain, by virtue of which one general government may be formed in America, including all the said colonies, within and under which government each colony may retain its present constitution, except in the particulars wherein a change may be directed by the said Act, as hereafter follows.

### *President-General and Grand Council.*

That the said general government be administered by a President-General, to be appointed and supported by the crown; and a Grand Council, to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies met in their respective Assemblies.

### *Election of Members.*

That within months after the passing such Act, the House of Representatives, that happen to be sitting within that time, or that shall be especially for that purpose convened, may and shall choose members for the Grand Council, in the following proportion, that is to say,

Massachusetts Bay,	7	Pennsylvania,	6
New Hampshire,	2	Maryland,	4
Connecticut,	5	Virginia,	7
Rhode Island,	2	North Carolina,	4
New York,	4	South Carolina,	4
New Jersey,	3		—
			48

### *Place of First Meeting.*

Who shall meet for the first time at the city of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, being called by the President-General as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment.

### *New Election.*

That there shall be a new election of the members of the

Grand Council every three years ; and on the death or resignation of any member, his place should be supplied by a new choice at the next sitting of the Assembly of the colony he represented.

*Proportion of Members after the first three years.*

That after the first three years, when the proportion of money arising out of each colony to the general treasury can be known, the number of members to be chosen for each colony shall from time to time, in all ensuing elections, be regulated by that proportion, yet so as that the number to be chosen by any one province be not more than seven, nor less than two.

*Meetings of the Grand Council, and Call.*

That the Grand Council shall meet once in every year, and oftener if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at by the President-General on any emergency ; he having first obtained in writing the consent of seven of the members to such call, and sent due and timely notice to the whole.

*Continuance.*

That the Grand Council have power to choose their speaker ; and shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting longer than six weeks at one time, without their own consent or the special command of the crown.

*Members' Allowance.*

That the members of the Grand Council shall be allowed for their service ten shillings sterling per diem, during their session and journey to and from the place of meeting ; twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey.

*Assent of President-General and his Duty.*

That the assent of the President-General be requisite to all acts of the Grand Council, and that it be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.

*Power of President-General and Grand Council ; Treaties of Peace and War.*

That the President-General, with the advice of the Grand

Council, hold or direct all Indian treaties, in which the general interest of the colonies may be concerned; and make peace or declare war with Indian nations.

*Indian Trade.*

That they make such laws as they judge necessary for regulating all Indian trade.

*Indian Purchases.*

That they make all purchases, from Indians for the crown, of lands not now within the bounds of particular colonies, or that shall not be within their bounds when some of them are reduced to more convenient dimensions.

*New Settlements.*

That they make new settlements on such purchases, by granting lands in the King's name, reserving a quit-rent to the crown for the use of the general treasury.

*Laws to govern them.*

That they make laws for regulating and governing such new settlements, till the crown shall think fit to form them into particular governments.

*Raise Soldiers, and equip Vessels, &c.*

That they raise and pay soldiers and build forts for the defence of any of the colonies, and equip vessels of force to guard the coasts and protect the trade on the ocean, lakes, or great rivers; but they shall not impress men in any colony, without the consent of the Legislature.

*Power to make Laws, lay Duties, &c.*

That for these purposes they have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imposts, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies), and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people; rather discouraging luxury, than loading industry with unnecessary burthens.

*General Treasurer and Particular Treasurer.*

That they may appoint a General Treasurer and Particular Treasurer in each government, when necessary; and from

time to time may order the sums in the treasuries of each government into the general treasury ; or draw on them for special payments, as they find most convenient.

*Money, how to issue.*

Yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the President-General and Grand Council ; except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the President-General is previously empowered by an act to draw such sums.

*Accounts.*

That the general accounts shall be yearly settled and reported to the several Assemblies.

*Quorum.*

That a quorum of the Grand Council, empowered to act with the President-General, do consist of twenty-five members ; among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the colonies.

*Laws to be Transmitted.*

That the laws made by them for the purposes aforesaid shall not be repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, and shall be transmitted to the King in Council for approbation, as soon as may be after their passing ; and if not disapproved within three years after presentation, to remain in force.

*Death of the President-General.*

That, in case of the death of the President-General, the Speaker of the Grand Council for the time being shall succeed, and be vested with the same powers and authorities, to continue till the King's pleasure be known.

*Officers, how Appointed.*

That all military commission officers, whether for land or sea service, to act under this general constitution, shall be nominated by the President-General ; but the approbation of the Grand Council is to be obtained, before they receive their commissions. And all civil officers are to be nominated by the Grand Council, and to receive the President-General's approbation before they officiate.



*Vacancies, how Supplied.*

But, in case of vacancy by death or removal of any officer civil or military under this constitution, the Governor of the province in which such vacancy happens may appoint, till the pleasure of the President-General and Grand Council can be known.

*Each Colony may defend itself on Emergency, &c.*

That the particular military as well as civil establishments in each colony remain in their present state, the general constitution notwithstanding; and that on sudden emergencies any colony may defend itself, and lay the accounts of expense thence arising before the President-General and General Council, who may allow and order payment of the same, as far as they judge such accounts just and reasonable.

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JOURNAL OF THE TREATY HELD AT ALBANY, IN AUGUST, 1775, WITH THE SIX NATIONS BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE TWELVE UNITED COLONIES, MET IN GENERAL CONGRESS AT PHILADELPHIA.

[The attention of the Continental Congress was very early drawn to the importance of securing the alliance, or at least the neutrality, of the Indian tribes, during the impending conflict with the mother country. It was accordingly determined, on the 12th of July, 1775, that there should be established three departments of Indian Affairs, the northern, middle, and southern, the northern to include the Six Nations and all other tribes to the northward of them; and that Commissioners should be appointed "with power to treat with the Indians in their respective departments, to preserve peace and friendship, and to prevent their taking any part in the present commotions." The Commissioners for the northern department, chosen on the 13th of July, were Major General Philip Schuyler, Major Joseph Hawley, Mr. Turbot Francis, Mr. Oliver Wolcott, and Mr. Volkert P. Douw. These Commissioners, with the exception of Major Hawley, who declined serving on account of ill health, held a treaty with the Six Nations at Albany, in August of the same year. The Journal of that treaty is now for the first time printed from a MS. in the archives of our Society.—*Publishing Committee.*]

*German Flats, Tuesday, Aug. 15, 1775.*

At a meeting with the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations at this place. Present,

Volkert P. Douw, Esq. }  
Turbot Francis, Esq. } Commissioners.

The following speech was delivered by Col. Francis.

Brethren of the Six Nations, attend.

We acquainted you yesterday from whence we came, and by whose authority; namely, by the authority of the Twelve United Colonies dwelling upon this island of America. We acquainted you that we were two persons of five appointed by the Twelve United Colonies now met in council at Philadelphia, to invite you down to Albany, where you may expect to meet our other three brethren, appointed to act in conjunction with us. When we meet you, our brethren of the Six Nations and your allies, at Albany, we will rekindle the

council-fire which our ancestors and yours formerly kindled up at that place, and there sit down and converse together upon the present situation of the Twelve United Colonies, and disclose to you their minds thereon. We have important matters to communicate to you, our brethren of the Six Nations and your allies, which cannot be disclosed until the council-fire be kindled up at Albany, and we are in full assembly.

Brethren,

We observe that many of our brethren of the Six Nations are not here present ; and as it is the wish of the Twelve United Colonies that there may be a general meeting of their brethren of the Six Nations, we their deputies, in their names, beg you would send to all these absent brethren of the Six Nations, and invite them to come down and sit at the council-fire at Albany, that they may hear from us the sentiments of their brethren of the Twelve United Colonies.

Brethren,

We now inform you that your brethren of the Twelve United Colonies have sent you and your allies a token of their love and friendship, which is now at Albany, and which we shall deliver to you at that place. *A String.*

Brethren,

As our friends and your allies, the Cahnawagas, and the seven towns upon the river St. Lawrence, live at a great distance, and have not yet had an invitation to come down to the council-fire which we, the deputies of the Twelve United Colonies, will kindle at Albany, we beg your assistance in forwarding an invitation to them ; and wish you would immediately appoint four or six of your most active and sensible men, who may be relied on, to transact the great and important business which they will have in hand. *A Belt.*

Brethren,

As many mischievous and ill-disposed persons may attempt to raise up in your minds sentiments that are unfriendly to your brethren of the Twelve United Colonies, we beg you will shut your ears and fortify your minds against any such evil and false reports ; and if any such liars and deceivers should appear among you, and attempt to poison your minds, be assured they are as much your enemies as the enemies of your brethren of the Twelve United Colonies together, and which is now going to be made stronger at Albany. *A Belt.*

To this Kanaghquaesa, an Oneida sachem, replied.

Brother Solihoany and our Albany brother, Commissioners from the Twelve United Colonies,

You have now opened your minds. We have heard your voices. Your speeches are far from being contemptible. But as the day is far spent, we defer a reply till to-morrow, as we are weary from having sat long in council. We think it time for a little drink; and you must remember that the Twelve United Colonies are a great body.

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*German Flats, Wednesday, 16th August, 1775.*

The council having again assembled, Tiahogwando, an Oneida sachem, addressed himself as follows.

Brother Solihoany and our Albany brother, attend.

We are now assembled at the German Flats, at which place you kindled up a council-fire, and yesterday called us together, and acquainted us from whence you came and by whose authority,—namely, by that of the Twelve United Colonies, and you opened your business to us. Brothers, now attend. Through the mercy of God we are brought to this day, and the Six Nations are now in full assembly at this place, where we smoke a pipe in friendship and in love. We are glad to hear your voices. You are come in the name of the Twelve United Colonies to invite us down to Albany to a council-fire of peace. You desire we should all attend with our confederates, as you say the council-fire that is to be kindled up at Albany is of much importance. Brothers, we thank you for this invitation; it meets with our entire approbation. Here we are of every tribe in the Six Nations; it shall be done as you have said.

Brothers,

You have desired that all our confederates should receive this invitation. This cannot be done short of one year, as we extend very far, and could not possibly call the extremities of our confederacy to this intended meeting. But possess your minds in peace. When this Congress is over, and the council-fire raked up, we shall acquaint all our allies with what has passed. Brothers, this is the answer of all the Six Nations, who are now here represented from every tribe.



Brothers, attend.

Yesterday you said that you were sensible our confederacy extended to Caghnawaga, and the Seven Tribes upon the river St. Lawrence ; that it would be very agreeable for your brothers from that quarter to attend this great council-fire to be kindled at Albany by order of the Twelve United Colonies ; and that it was the desire of your brethren of all those Provinces, that they should attend together with us.

Brothers,

You therefore desired our assistance to forward this your belt of invitation to the Caghnawagas and the Seven Tribes in that quarter. Brothers, possess your minds in peace. We the Six Nations are put to difficulty to grant this request.

We are very much embarrassed for this reason. The man is now there who will vex your minds, and never consent to their coming down, and will draw hard upon their minds another way. Brothers, possess your minds in peace. We of the Six Nations have the minds of the Caghnawagas and the Seven Tribes in that quarter. At our central council-house when this took place, they addressed us of the Six Nations in the following manner : You are better capable of maintaining peace than we are ; therefore we deliver up our minds to you. For these reasons we advise you to reconsider your petition to us, seeing we are so embarrassed we cannot grant it. Perhaps you will say to us when your intended council-fire shall be over, Brothers, do you of the Six Nations acquaint all your confederates and allies of what has passed at this council-fire of peace ; and this we shall do with great care and exactness. Now, brothers, you see we are embarrassed ; and therefore give you this advice.

*Belt returned.*

To this Col. Francis answered.

Brethren of the Six Nations,

It gives us a great deal of uneasiness to find you cannot at present convey this belt to our friends in Canada. We have heard your reasons, and are sorry to find one of our blood is already there, endeavoring to draw their minds from us, when we mean nothing but peace towards them. As there are a great many Englishmen in Canada, we know not who you mean. We shall therefore be glad to have the particular man pointed out.

To which Abraham, a Mohawk sachem, replied.

Brothers,

We take it for granted that you all know the very man we mean, as we said he was of your blood. We see no necessity of pointing him out more explicitly.

Tiahogwando, the Onondago sachem, then spoke again.

Brother Solihoany and our Albany brother,

We take it for granted you have called us to a council of peace and entire friendship; and you have taken us by the hand. As there are men of different minds, and some may be illy disposed, we desire you will admonish your own people that they offer us no abuse in the way down to your council-fire of peace. If this caution should be neglected, some misfortune might happen; as all people do not meet so much like brothers as formerly, on account of the present situation of affairs. It would be unhappy if our council-fire should be crushed by any mischief-makers. We have given you this caution, that while we are marching along in peace and quietness, we might not be alarmed by a blow struck in our rear. We therefore desire you would begin, even at this council-fire, to publish your admonitions to unwise and ungovernable people. By this belt we declare to you, our brothers, that the road is as open for passing and repassing, and free from all embarrassments through the Six Nations, as it has been for a long time. Therefore we desire that we may have the same open road down to your intended council-fire at Albany.

To which Col. Francis made the following answer.

Brethren of the Six Nations,

By this belt you desire that we may clear the road to Albany, that none of our people may injure you. The road shall be as clear for you to go to Albany as it is for us to go to the country of the Six Nations. The Twelve United Colonies have given us great power over the white people. We will appoint white men, who speak your language, and love your nations, to see you safe down to Albany, and to provide provisions for you on the way. We shall set out for Albany to-morrow morning, to prepare matters for kindling up the great council-fire there.

At a meeting of the Commissioners for transacting Indian affairs in the northern department, held at Albany on Wednesday, the 23d August, 1775. Present,

Gen. Schuyler, Col. Francis, Mr. Douw.

Resolved, unanimously, that the Indians of the Six Nations be invited to receive our congratulations on their safe arrival here; that it be at five o'clock this afternoon; that the committee of the city of Albany and the principal gentlemen of the place be requested to accompany the Commissioners; and that the following letters be wrote for that purpose to the chairman of the committee.

*Albany, 23d August, 1775.*

Gentlemen,

Your generous exertions to support the American cause against the nefarious schemes of a wicked and profligate ministry, the propriety with which you have conducted those Indian affairs that have become the subject of your consideration, a consciousness that without your aid, and that of gentlemen of the town conversant in those matters, the important business of the ensuing conference cannot be so properly conducted as our zeal for the service makes us wish, are so many motives which point out to us the necessity of calling on you and those gentlemen for your aid and advice; which we entreat you will give us without reserve; and be assured that it will be attended to with all that deference that is due to your respectable body and to their good judgment. We propose to pay a visit this afternoon at five o'clock to the Indians. We beg the favor of the committee to honor us with their company, as so respectable a body will greatly add to the complimentary visit we mean to pay them. We shall go from Cartwright's, and shall take it as a favor if the gentlemen of the town, who are not of the committee, would be pleased to go with us.

We are, gentlemen, with great respect,

Your most humble servants,

P. SCHUYLER,  
VOLKERT P. DOUW,  
TURBOT FRANCIS.

To which the committee returned the following answer.

Gentlemen,

Your polite invitation for us to join in paying a complimentary visit to the Indians this afternoon at five o'clock we accept of, and shall for that purpose attend at Cartwright's, at the hour appointed.

We are, gentlemen, your most humble servants.

By order of the committee,

ABRAHAM YATES, JR. *Chairman.*

The sachems and warriors of the Six Nations being assembled, the Commissioners, attended by the committee and principal gentlemen of the city of Albany, met them, and addressed them as follows.

Brethren of the Six Nations,

We, the deputies appointed by the Twelve United Colonies, the descendants of Quedar, and the gentlemen of the city of Albany, congratulate you on your arrival here. They are glad to see you well, and thank the great God that he suffers us to meet.

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At a meeting of the Commissioners for transacting Indian affairs for the northern department, held at the city of Albany, on Tuesday, 25th of August, 1775. Present,

Gen. Schuyler, Col. Wolcott, Col. Francis, Mr. Douw.

The following message was sent to the committee of the city of Albany.

*Albany, 25th August, 1775.*

Gentlemen,

The Commissioners of Indian affairs are to open the treaty with the Six Nations this morning, about eleven, at the Dutch church. They request the favor of your attendance, and that of the principal gentlemen of the town, and would wish, previous to the meeting, to be honored with your company at Cartwright's.

To Abraham Yates, Jr. Esq. Chairman of the committee of Albany.

The chairman and committee attended agreeable to invitation.



At a treaty began and held with the Indians of the Six United Nations at the city of Albany, on Friday, the 25th of August, 1775. Present,

Gen. Schuyler, Col. Oliver Wolcott, Col. Turbot Francis, Volkert P. Douw, Commissioners; the chairman and committee and principal inhabitants of the city of Albany.

Senghnagenrat, an Oneida sachem, opened the treaty with the following speech.

Brothers,

We waited upon you yesterday evening, and acquainted you that we should first speak to our brethren, the committee of Albany. We have done so, and have opened our whole minds to them.

Brothers,

When we met two of your body at the German Flats, they presented these strings to us, and invited us to come down to Albany, and kindle up a great council-fire of peace under the auspices of the Twelve United Colonies. Now as these strings have never been changed, we return them to you again, and desire that the great council-fire of peace may be kindled up.

Brothers,

By this belt you desired us to shut our ears and fortify our minds against any evil reports that we might hear on our way down, and to pay no regard to what any liars and ill-disposed persons might say to us; as they would only mean to sow dissension between us and our brothers of the Twelve United Colonies. Brothers, our minds are proof against the attempts of such wicked persons. Now, brothers, let us give you advice on our parts. There are liars and mischief-makers among the Indians, as well as amongst the white people. Therefore pay no regard to this or that, that any single Indian may say, but attend to what you may hear from the mouth of the great council; for that will be the truth, and the sense of all the Six United Nations.

The Commissioners then addressed themselves in the following manner.

Brothers, sachems, and warriors of the Six Nations,

We return thanks to the great God that has suffered us to meet together this day in love, peace, and friendship. In token

of which we will now sit down and smoke the pipe of peace together.

(Here the great pipe was lighted up, and went round ; after which the Commissioners proceeded.)

Brothers, &c.

We, the deputies appointed by and in the name of the Twelve United Colonies, assisted by the descendants of your ancient friend Quedar, and your Albany brethren, embrace this opportunity to rekindle the ancient council-fire, which formerly burnt as bright as the sun in this place, and to heap on it so much fuel that it may never be extinguished ; and also to renew the ancient covenant chain with you, which you know has always been kept bright and clean, without any stain or rust ; and which by this belt we now strengthen, that forever hereafter you and we may have but one heart, one head, one eye, and one hand. *A Belt.*

Brethren,

Our business with you, besides rekindling the ancient council-fire, and renewing the covenant, and brightening up every link of the chain, is, in the first place, to inform you of the advice that was given about thirty years ago, by your wise forefathers, in a great council which they held at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, when Cannassateego spoke to us, the white people, in these very words.\*

“Brethren, we, the Six Nations, heartily recommend union and a good agreement between you, our brethren. Never disagree, but preserve a strict friendship for one another ; and thereby you as well as we will become the stronger. Our wise forefathers established union and amity between the Five Nations. This has made us formidable ; this has given us great weight and authority with our neighboring nations. We are a powerful confederacy ; and if you observe the same methods our wise forefathers have taken, you will acquire fresh strength and power. Therefore, whatever befalls you, never fall out with one another.”

These were the words of Cannassateego.

Brothers,

Our forefathers rejoiced to hear Cannassateego speak these

[\* A Journal of this Treaty, held in June, 1744, is contained in the seventh volume of the first series of our Collections, page 171. A more detailed account of the same treaty may be found in the Appendix to Colden's History of the Five Nations, page 87 of the London edition of 1747.—*Pub. Com.*]

words. They sunk deep into their hearts. The advice was good ; it was kind. They said to one another, " The Six Nations are a wise people. Let us hearken to them, and take their counsel, and teach our children to follow it. Our old men have done so. They have frequently taken a single arrow, and said, Children, see how easy it is broken. Then they have taken and tied twelve arrows together with a strong string or cord, and our strongest men could not break them. See, said they, this is what the Six Nations mean. Divided, a single man may destroy you ; united, you are a match for the whole world." We thank the great God that we are all united ; that we have a strong confederacy, composed of twelve provinces, New Hampshire, &c. These provinces have lighted a great council-fire at Philadelphia, and have sent sixty-five counsellors to speak and act in the name of the whole, and consult for the common good of the people, and of you, our brethren of the Six Nations, and your allies ; and the talk of this great Council we shall deliver to you to-morrow.

*A Belt.*

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*Albany, Saturday, 26th August, 1775.*

Present this day,

Gen. Schuyler, Col. Francis, Col. Wolcott, Mr. Douw, Commissioners ; the chairman and committee of the city of Albany.

The Indians having informed the Commissioners they were ready to proceed to business, the treaty was opened in the following manner.

Brothers, sachems, and warriors,

Let this string open your ears to hear, and incline your hearts to accept the talk of your brethren of the Twelve United Colonies, which they have sent to you by their deputies. They speak as follows.

Brothers, sachems and warriors of the Six United Nations,

We, the delegates from the Twelve United Provinces now sitting in General Congress at Philadelphia, send this talk to you, our brothers. We are sixty-five in number, appointed by the people throughout all these Provinces and Colonies, to meet and sit together in one great Council, to consult together

for the common good of this land, and to speak and act for them.

Brothers,

In our consultation we have judged it proper and necessary to send you this talk, as we are upon the same island, that you may be informed of the reason of this great Council, the situation of our civil constitution, and our disposition towards you, our Indian brothers of the Six Nations, and their allies.

Brothers and friends, now attend.

When our fathers crossed the great water, and came over to this land, the King of England gave them a talk; assuring them that they and their children should be his children, and that if they would leave their native country, and make settlements, and live here, and buy and sell and trade with their brethren beyond the water, they should still keep hold of the same covenant chain, and enjoy peace; and it was covenanted that the fields, houses, goods and possessions which our fathers should acquire, should remain to them as their own, and be their children's forever, and at their sole disposal. Trusting that this covenant should never be broken, our fathers came a great distance beyond the great water, and laid out their money here, built houses, cleared fields, raised crops, and through their own labor and industry grew tall and strong.

They have bought, sold and traded with England, according to agreement, sending to them such things as they wanted, and taking in exchange such things as were wanted here. The King of England and his people kept the way open for more than one hundred years, and by our trade became richer, and by union with us greater and stronger than the other kings and people who live beyond the water. All this time they lived in great friendship with us, and we with them, for we are brothers, one blood.

Whenever they were struck, we instantly felt it as if the blow had been given to us. Their enemies were our enemies.

Whenever they went to war we sent our men to stand by their side and fight for them, and our money to help them and make them strong. That we have done this, brothers, you have been all witnesses to in the last war. You know we assisted them in taking Niagara, Cataroqui, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Canada; and lastly, when they had no more enemies upon this island, we went to fight and helped them



to take many large islands that lay in the hot countries, where they got more than thirty cart-loads of silver. They thanked us for our love, and sent us good talks, and renewed their promise to be one people forever; and when the war was over, they said, Children, we thank you that you have helped to make us great. We know that it has cost you a great deal of money; and therefore, children, we give you a present that you may maintain your warriors.

*A Belt.*

Brothers and friends, open a kind ear.

We will now tell you of the quarrel between the counsellors of King George and the inhabitants and Colonies of America. Many of his counsellors are proud and wicked men. They persuade the King to break the covenant chain, and not send us any more good talks. A considerable number have prevailed upon him to enter into a new covenant against us, and have torn asunder and cast behind their backs the good old covenant which their ancestors and ours entered into and took strong hold of. They now tell us they will slip their hand into our pocket without asking, as if it were their own, and at their pleasure they will take from us our charters, or written civil constitutions, which we love as our lives; also our plantations, our houses and goods, whenever they please, without asking our leave; that our vessels may go to this island in the sea, but to this or that particular island we shall not trade any more; and in case of non-compliance with these new orders, they shut up our harbors.

Brothers,

This is our present situation. Thus have many of the King's counsellors and servants dealt with us. If we submit, or comply with their demands, you can easily perceive to what state we shall be reduced. If our people labor in the field, they will not know who shall enjoy the crop. If they hunt in the woods, it will be uncertain who shall taste the meat or have the skins. If they build houses, they will not know whether they may sit round the fire with their wives and children. They cannot be sure whether they shall be permitted to eat, drink, and wear the fruits of their own labor and industry.

*A Broken Belt.*

The Commissioners then informed the Indians, that as the business they were upon was very important, and as they knew they were a wise and prudent people, and weighed

every thing with great deliberation, they would not at this time hurry them, nor burthen their memories with too much, and therefore would defer what they had further to say until Monday.

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*Albany, Monday, 28th August, 1775.*

The treaty was again renewed. Present,

Col. Francis, Col. Wolcott, Mr. Douw, Commissioners; Mr. Lynch, of South Carolina, Mr. Duane, of New York, Mr. Robert Livingston, members of the Continental Congress; the chairman and committee of the city of Albany.

The Commissioners proceeded with the speech of Congress.

Brothers and friends, attend.

We upon this island have often spoke and entreated the King and his servants the counsellors, that peace and harmony might still continue between us; that we cannot part with or loose hold of the old covenant chain, which united our forefathers and theirs; that we wanted to brighten this chain, and keep the way open, as our forefathers did; that we want to live with them as brothers, labor, trade, travel abroad, eat and drink in peace. We have often asked them to love us and live in such friendship with us as their fathers did with ours. We told them again that we judged we were exceedingly injured; that they might as well kill us, as take away our property and the necessaries of life. We have asked why they treat us thus. What has become of our repeated addresses and supplications to them? Who hath shut the ears of the King to the cries of his children in America? No soft answer, no pleasant voice from beyond the water has yet reached our ears.

Brothers,

Thus stands the matters betwixt Old England and America. You Indians know how things are proportioned in a family between the father and the son; the child carries a little pack. England we regard as the father; this island may be compared to the son. The father has a numerous family, both at home, and upon this island. He appoints a great number of servants to assist him in the government of his family. In process of time, some of his servants grow proud and ill-natured. They were displeased to see the boy so alert, and walk on so nimbly with his pack. They tell the father, and advise him to enlarge the child's pack. They

prevail, and the pack is increased. The child takes it up again—as he thought it might be the father's pleasure—speaks but few words, those very small; for he was loath to offend the father. Those proud and wicked servants, finding they had prevailed, laughed to see the boy sweat and stagger under his increased load. By and by they apply to the father to double the child's pack, because they heard him complain, and that without any reason, say they. He is a cross child; correct him, if he complains any more. The boy entreats the father, and addresses the great servants in a decent manner, that the pack may be lightened; he could not go any farther. He humbly asks if the old fathers, in any of their records, had described such a pack for the child.

After all the tears and entreaties of the child, the pack is redoubled. The child stands a little while, staggering under the weight, ready to fall every moment. However, he entreats the father once more, though so faint, he could only lisp his last humble supplication; waits a while; no voice returns. The child concludes the father could not hear. Those proud servants had entirely intercepted his supplication, or stopped the ears of the father. He therefore gives one struggle, and throws off the pack, and says he cannot take it up again; such a weight will crush him down and kill him; and he can but die, if he refuses. Upon this those servants are very wroth, and tell the father many false stories concerning the child. They bring a great cudgel to the father, asking him to take it in his hand and strike the child.—This may serve to illustrate the present condition of the King's American subjects or children.

Amidst those oppressions, we now and then heard a mollifying and reviving voice from some of the King's wise counsellors, who are our friends, and feel for our distresses. When they heard our complaints and our cries, they applied to the King; also told those wicked servants that this child in America was not a cross boy; it had sufficient reason for crying; and if the cause of its complaint was neglected, it would soon assume the voice of a man, plead for justice like a man, and defend its rights, and support the old covenant chain of the fathers.

Brothers, listen.

Notwithstanding all our entreaties, we have but little hope the King will send us any more good talks, by reason of his



evil counsellors. They have persuaded him to send an army of soldiers and many ships of war, to rob and destroy us. They have shut up many of our harbors, seized and taken into possession many of our vessels. The soldiers have struck the blow, killed some of our people. The blood now runs of the King's American children. They have also burned our houses and towns, and taken much of our goods.

*A Black Belt.*

Brothers,

We are now necessitated to rise, and forced to fight, or give up our civil constitution, run away, and leave our farms and houses behind us. This must not be. Since the King's wicked counsellors will not open their ears, and consider our just complaints, and the cause of our weeping, and have given the blow, we are determined to drive away the King's soldiers, and to kill and destroy all those wicked men we find in arms against the peace of the Twelve United Colonies upon this island.

We think our cause is just ; therefore hope God will be on our side. We do not take up the hatchet and struggle for honor or conquest, but to maintain our civil constitution and religious privileges ; the very same for which our forefathers left their native land and came into this country.

*A Black Belt.*

Brothers and friends,

We desire you will hear and receive what we have now told you, and that you will open a good ear and listen to what we are going to say. This is a family quarrel between us and Old England. You Indians are not concerned in it. We don't wish you to take up the hatchet against the King's troops. We desire you to remain at home, and not join either side, but keep the hatchet buried deep. In the name and behalf of all our people, we ask and desire you to love peace and maintain it, and to love and sympathize with us in our troubles ; that the path may be kept open with all our people and yours, to pass and repass without molestation.

Brothers,

We live upon the same ground with you. The same island is our common birth-place. We desire to sit down under the same tree of peace with you. Let us water its roots, and cherish its growth, till the large leaves and flourishing branches shall extend to the setting sun, and reach the skies.



Brothers, observe well.

What is it we have asked of you? Nothing but peace, notwithstanding our present disturbed situation; and if application should be made to you by any of the King's unwise and wicked ministers to join on their side, we only advise you to deliberate with great caution, and in your wisdom look forward to the consequences of a compliance. For if the King's troops take away our property, and destroy us, who are of the same blood with themselves, what can you, who are Indians, expect from them afterwards? *A White Belt.*

Brothers of the Six Nations,

When we perceived this island began to shake and tremble along the eastern shore, and the sun darkened by a black cloud which arose from beyond the great water, we kindled up a great council-fire at Philadelphia; and we sat around it until it burnt clear, and so high that it illuminated this whole island. We renewed our hold of the old covenant chain, which united and strengthened our ancestors, and which was near slipping out of our hands, before we had kindled this great council-fire at Philadelphia. We have now taken fast hold, nor will we let it go until a mighty struggle, even unto death.

Brothers,

We are now Twelve Colonies, united as one man. We have but one heart and one hand. Brothers, this is our Union Belt. By this belt we, the Twelve United Colonies, renew the old covenant chain by which our forefathers, in their great wisdom, thought proper to bind us and you, our brothers of the Six Nations, together, when they first landed at this place; and if any of the links of this great chain should have received any rust, we now brighten it, and make it shine like silver. As God has put it into our hearts to love the Six Nations and their allies, we now make the chain of friendship so strong, that nothing but an evil spirit can or will attempt to break it. But we hope, through the favor and mercy of the good Spirit, that it will remain strong and bright while the sun shines and the water runs.

*Delivered the Union Belt.*

Brothers,

It is necessary in order for the preservation of friendship between us and our brothers of the Six Nations and their allies, that a free and mutual intercourse be kept up betwixt

us. Therefore the Twelve United Colonies, by this belt, remove every difficulty that may lay in the great road that runs through the middle of our country; and we will also clear up and open all the small roads that lead into the great one. We will take out every thorn, briar and stone, so that when any of our brothers of the Six Nations or their allies have an inclination to see and talk with any of their brethren of the Twelve United Colonies, they may pass safely, without being scratched or bruised. Brothers, the road is now open for our brethren of the Six Nations and their allies, and they may now pass and repass as safely and freely as the people of the Twelve United Colonies themselves; and we are further determined, by the assistance of God, to keep our roads open and free for the Six Nations and their allies, as long as this earth remains.

*Path Belt.*

Brothers,

We have said we wish you Indians may continue in peace with one another, and with us, the white people. Let us both be cautious in our behavior towards each other at this critical state of affairs. This island now trembles; the wind whistles from almost every quarter. Let us fortify our minds, and shut our ears against false rumors. Let us be cautious what we receive for truth, unless spoken by wise and good men. If any thing disagreeable should ever fall out between us, the Twelve United Colonies, and you, the Six Nations, to wound our peace, let us immediately seek measures for healing the breach. From the present situation of affairs we judge it wise and expedient to kindle up the council-fire at Albany, where we may hear each other's voices and disclose our minds more fully to one another.

*The Pipe of Peace and Six Small Strings.*

Brothers,

You now know our disposition towards you, the Six Nations and their allies. Therefore we say, Brothers, take care, hold fast to your covenant chain. We depend on you to send and acquaint your allies to the northward, the Seven Tribes on the river St. Lawrence, that you have had this talk with us at our council-fire at Albany.

Brothers,

Let this our good talk remain at Onondago, your central council-house, that you may hand down to the latest posterity these testimonials of the brotherly sentiments of the Twelve

United Colonies towards their brethren of the Six Nations and their allies.

To which Kanaghquaesa replied.

Brothers,

We have sat round and smoked our pipes at this our ancient place of kindling up our council-fires. We have heard all you have said, and have heard nothing but what is pleasant and good. As you have communicated matters of great importance to us, we will sit down to-morrow and deliberate coolly upon them; and the day following will give you answers to every thing you have laid before us.

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At a treaty continued with the Indians of the Six Nations at Albany, on Thursday, the 31st day of August, 1775. Present,

Col. Francis, Col. Wolcott, Mr. Douw, Commissioners; Mr. Duane of New York.

The Indians being informed that the Commissioners were ready to hear them, Abraham, a Mohawk sachem, spoke as follows.

Brothers, great men deputed by the Twelve United Colonies, attend.

We are this day called to meet you in council, in order to reply to what you have said to us. We hope we need not recapitulate the whole of your discourse. We shall only touch upon each head. At our last conference in this house, we promised to return you our answer the day but one following. We did not do it, and we mean to make you an apology. We hope you have taken no offence. We were not prepared by that time, and that was our reason. Brothers, you informed us that there was a great Council of sixty-five members convened at Philadelphia, and that you were appointed by them to deliver a talk to the Six Nations. It seems you, our brothers, having a desire to rekindle a council-fire, took to your assistance the descendants of Quedar, and have kindled up a council-fire that shall never be extinguished. To which the Six Nations reply: This you have done by order of the great Council at Philadelphia. We are glad to hear the news. It rejoices our hearts, and it gives exceeding joy through all the Six Nations.

Brothers,

As you desired your belts might not be returned, but be deposited at our central council-house, we shall only make use of them to refresh our memories and speak upon them as we go on with our answer. Brothers, we shall not recite every particular, as we before mentioned. You observed, when these commotions first began, a council of sixty-five members convened together at Philadelphia, and you put us in mind of what Cannassateego formerly said at Lancaster respecting the necessity of a union among you. An old sachem, a brother of Cannassateego, is here present, and remembers the words of his brother. You illustrated the necessity and use of a union by one and twelve arrows. You said your grandfathers had inculcated this doctrine into their children. You said that as the tree of peace was formerly planted at this place, you desired that the Six Nations might come down, and sit under it, and water its roots, till the branches should flourish and reach to heaven. This the Six Nations say shall be done. Brothers, we need only remind you of a few of the things you said to us, as you have them all written down. You informed us that by an ancient covenant with the King of England, you were to enjoy the same privileges with the people on the other side the great water; that for a long time you did enjoy the same privileges, by which means you and your brethren over the water both became a great people; that lately, by advice of evil counselors, you are much oppressed, and had heavier packs put upon you than you could bear; that you have frequently applied to be eased of your burthen, but could obtain no redress; that finding this the case, you had thrown off your packs. The Six Nations thank you for acquainting them with your grievances and methods taken to obtain redress. You likewise informed them of what resolutions you had formed in consequence of these matters.

Brothers,

After stating your grievances, and telling us you had not been able to obtain redress, you desired us to take no part, but bury the hatchet. You told us it was a family quarrel; therefore said, "You Indians, sit still, and mind nothing but peace." Our great man, Col. Johnson, did the same thing at Oswego; he desired us to sit still likewise. You likewise desired us that if application should be made to us by any of



the King's officers, we would not join them. Now therefore attend, and apply your ears closely. We have fully considered this matter. The resolutions of the Six Nations are not to be broken or altered. When they resolve, the matter is fixed. This then is the determination of the Six Nations, not to take any part, but as it is a family affair, to sit still and see you fight it out. We beg you will receive this as infallible, it being our full resolution; for we bear as much affection for the King of England's subjects on the other side the water, as we do for you, born upon this island. One thing more we request, which is, that you represent this in a true light to the delegates from all the Colonies, and not vary, and that you observe the same regard for truth when you write to the King about those matters; for we have ears, and shall hear, if you represent any thing in a wrong point of light. We likewise desire you would inform our brothers at Boston of our determination.

Brothers,

It is a long time since we came to this resolution. It is the result of mature deliberation. It was our declaration to Col. Johnson. We told him we should take no part in the quarrel, and hoped neither side would desire it. Whoever applies first, we shall think in the wrong. The resolutions of the Six Nations are not to be broken. Of the truth of this you have a late instance. You know what the Shawanese have lately been engaged in. They applied to us for assistance, but we refused them. Our love for you has induced us not to meddle. If we loved you less, we should have been less resolute.

Brothers,

You likewise informed, us, that when you perceived this island began to tremble, and black clouds to arise beyond the great water, you kindled up a great fire at Philadelphia, a fire which shone high and clear to your utmost settlements; that you sat round that fire, deliberating what measures to pursue for the common good; that while sitting round it, you recollected an ancient covenant made between your fathers and ours when they first crossed the great water and settled here, which covenant they first likened to a chain of iron. But when they considered that iron would rust, they made a silver chain, which they were always to rub and keep bright and clean of spots. This they made so strong, that an evil

spirit could not break it. This friendship chain you have now renewed. This covenant is to continue to future generations. We are glad you have thought proper to renew this covenant, and the whole Six Nations now thank you. This covenant belt you desire us to deposit at our central council-house, that future generations may call to mind the covenant now made between us. You may depend we shall send and inform all our neighboring council-fires of the matters now transacted. We close with the whole Six Nations repeating their thanks that you have renewed the covenant made between their forefathers and yours.

Brothers, attend.

As you had renewed the ancient covenant, you thought proper to open the path, and have a free communication with this place. As the fire had for some time been put out, the path had got stopped up. You removed all obstructions out of the great roads and paths, all stones and briars, so that if any of us choose to travel the road, we should neither meet with any obstruction, or hurt ourselves. Brothers, we thank you for opening the road. You likewise informed us you were determined to drive away, destroy and kill all who appeared in arms against the peace of the Twelve United Colonies. Brothers, attend. We beg of you to take care of what you do. You have just now made a good path; do not so soon defile it with blood. There are many round us, Cagh-nawagas, who are friends to the King. Our path of peace reaches quite there. We beg all that distance may not be defiled with blood. As for your quarrels to the eastward, along the seacoasts, do as you please. But it would hurt us to see those brought up in our own bosoms ill used. In particular, we would mention the son of Sir William Johnson. He is born among us, and is of Dutch extraction by his mother. He minds his own affairs, and does not intermeddle in public disputes. We would likewise mention our father the minister who resides among the Mohawks, and was sent them by the King. He does not meddle in civil affairs, but instructs them in the way to heaven. He absolutely refuses to attend to any political matters, and says they do not belong to him. They beg he may continue in peace among them. The Mohawks are frequently alarmed with reports that their minister is to be torn away from them. It would occasion great disturbance, was he to be taken away. The King sent

him to them, and they would look upon it as taking away one of their own body. Therefore they again request that he may continue to live in peace among them.

Brothers,

After having informed us of the situation of affairs, and having finished your business, you advised us to shut our ears against false reports, and that we should not attend to flying stories, but to what wise and good men should say; for which reason you had kindled up a council-fire at this place, that we might always converse together, and know the truth of things. Brothers of the Six Nations say, "Let it be so; it shall be as you desire." They thank you for this advice, and desire you would use the same precautions; that you would shut your ears to flying stories, but keep your eye upon the chief council, such as you see now convened. The Six Nations desire you would always inform them fully of what respects them. We have for this purpose opened our ears and purified our minds, that we may always hear and receive what you have to say with good and clean minds; and whenever we receive any important intelligence, we shall always bring it to this council-fire.

Brothers,

You delivered us this pipe; on one side the tree of peace, on the other a council-fire; we Indians sitting on one side of the fire, and the representatives of the Twelve United Colonies upon the other. You have desired that this pipe may be left at our central council-house, and that the tree of peace may be planted, and that the branches may be so high as to be visible to all our allies. Brothers, we thank you, and shall take care to deposit this where you desire, and when we meet to deliberate upon business, shall always use this as our council-pipe.

Brothers, attend.

In the course of your speech you observed, we of the Six Nations were a wise people, and saw a great way before us; and you asked us, if you upon this island were conquered, what would become of the Indians. You say you are uncertain of holding your possessions, and that you do not know who may enjoy the product of your labor. Now therefore, brothers, attend; you particularly, our brothers of Albany; we address ourselves particularly to you. Our brothers of Albany have taken two pieces of land from us, without any



reward, not so much as a single pipe. We therefore desire you will restore them, and put us into peaceable possession again. If you refuse to do this, we shall look upon the prospect to be bad; for if you conquer, you will take us by the arm, and pull us all off. Now therefore, as the Twelve United Colonies have renewed this covenant of peace, we beg that there may be no obstruction upon your part, but that you would restore our lands to us; for which, as we said before, you never paid us even a single pipe.

Brothers,

You have now finished your business, and we have made short replies. You have kindled up a council-fire of peace, and have planted a tree of peace, according to ancient custom. We find that you have omitted one thing, which is this. According to our ancient custom, whenever a council-fire was kindled up, and a tree of peace planted, there was some person appointed to watch it. Now as there is no person appointed to watch this tree, we of the Six Nations take it upon us to appoint one. Let it be the descendant of our ancient friend, Quedar. He has to consider whether he will take the charge of it, and communicate to us whatever may respect it. He that watches this council-fire, is to be provided with a wing, that he may brush off all insects that come near it, and keep it clear. That is the custom at our central council-house. We have one appointed for that purpose.

Brothers,

As you have this day renewed the ancient covenant of friendship, and have again brightened the ancient chain, renew likewise another ancient custom respecting the regulation of trade. Let us have a trade at this place, and likewise at Schenectady, as it was in former times, when we had hold of the old covenant. For then, brothers, if our people came down with only a few musquash skins, we went home with glad hearts. Brothers, let it be so again. Let the Twelve United Colonies take this into consideration.

*A Belt of ten rows of Wampum.*

Tiahogwando, an Oneida sachem, then spoke.

Brothers,

This is all the Six Nations have to say at present. They would just mention one thing more before they break up.



The Six Nations look upon this as a very good time to speak their minds, as here are the representatives of the Twelve United Colonies. The dispute between the people of New England and Penn seems to us to become a serious affair, and therefore the Six Nations take upon them to speak their minds freely, as they address the inhabitants of the whole continent. Many years ago, at a council held in Pennsylvania, when Cannassateego, that has been before mentioned, was present, Penn desired the Six Nations would sell him that piece of land known by the name of Scanandauani or Susquehanna. The Indians of the Six Nations refused to sell it, saying the great God would not permit them. Therefore they made him a present of that land, known by the name of Scanandauani. Penn received it, and made them valuable presents. After this, Col. Lydius, a gentleman employed by the people of Boston, treated with some of the Indians to get that land from them. But he never kindled up a council-fire upon the occasion. He spoke to them whenever he met them; never with more than ten. From these he pretended to make a purchase of that tract. Gov. Penn also, at the great treaty at Fort Stanwix, in the year 1763, desired that the land might be his, and distributed among the Six Nations, Shawanese and Caghnawagas, ten thousand dollars, for which they gave him a writing. This is an affair with which all the Six Nations are acquainted, and any one would lie who said they knew nothing about it. We have taken an opportunity to speak of this matter now, as the mind of the whole continent is now here.

[Here appears to be some omission in the Journal.]

Brothers of the Six Nations, attend.

We yesterday heard with pleasure your answer to the Twelve United Colonies, and we return thanks to the great Governor of the universe, that he has inclined your hearts to approve and accept the brotherly love offered to you by the Twelve United Colonies. It makes us happy to hear so wise and brave a people, as our brothers of the Six Nations are, publicly declare their unalterable resolution to maintain and support peace and friendship with the Twelve United Colonies. This, brothers, you have said, and we sincerely believe you. Brothers, we requested of you Indians of the Six Na-

tions, not to interfere in our quarrels. We are not in the least doubtful of success, as our cause is just. We will live or die like men. We can raise an army of three hundred thousand fighting men, who are brave, and are determined not to part with their civil and religious privileges. Therefore we now repeat to you, brothers of the Six Nations, take great care of the strong friendship you have now made with the Twelve United Colonies. Let that be your care, and that only. Peace is what we wish to establish.

Brothers of the Six Nations,

You yesterday told us, that as the roads in your country were opened for you and your brothers of the Twelve United Colonies to pass and repass, you desired at the same time that we would not stain the road with blood. Brothers, be assured we have no intention at present to spill blood in your country, and we hope it never may happen; and it never can, provided those wicked men who are come so far from home in order to disturb the peace of the Twelve United Colonies, do not appear in your country. But as we are determined to be free or die, we must pursue them until we drive them from off this island, or until they confirm our ancient privileges. Therefore, brothers, rest assured, whatever may happen between us and our enemies, we never will injure or disturb the peace of the Six Nations, but preserve invariable the friendship that is now established, even unto death.

Brothers,

You also desired yesterday that some of your friends of our blood should remain in peace, and particularly the missionary at Fort Hunter, who did not concern himself with the affairs of this world, but was earnestly engaged in conducting you to happiness, and instructing you in the reverence due to the great God who governs the universe. Brothers, such a man we love, and we are desirous of his remaining quiet and happy with you. We are also desirous that all the other missionaries, who have been engaged in the same good cause, may safely continue among you, and instruct you in the Gospel, which will be the means of your happiness in this world and the one to come.

Brothers,

As we always looked upon you, brothers of the Six Nations, to be a wise and capable people in conducting business of every kind, we were a little surprised to hear you say that

no one was appointed by the Twelve United Colonies to attend and watch the fire that they have kindled up at this place; when we have repeatedly told you that they had appointed five persons, whose business it is to attend and preserve it bright and clear, and that two of those five live in this town, who would take particular care, and who had full authority from the Twelve United Colonies, to keep the flame bright and clear. Brothers, for fear you should not have understood us fully, we again acquaint you that the Twelve United Colonies have authorized Gen. Schuyler and Mr. Douw, both of this town, to keep the fire burning, that it may illuminate the whole country of the Six Nations, who may always see the way down to it, and sit in peace round it.

Brothers,

You yesterday desired that the trade may be opened at this place and at Schenectady. We also wish it, and it will be done, so that you may trade as you formerly did, and be able to return home with your goods to your entire satisfaction.

Brothers,

You yesterday mentioned some matters concerning land claimed by the people of Albany, and also the land in dispute between Connecticut and Governor Penn. We now inform you that we are not authorized to transact any business of that kind at present, but will represent the matter to the Grand Congress at Philadelphia.

Brothers,

We have now finished, and let you know the present that we have from the Twelve United Colonies is preparing for you, and when it is ready, we will acquaint you. Wagons shall be provided for you, whenever you are ready to set off for Schenectady.

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JOURNAL OF MR. CHRISTOPHER GIST, WHO ACCOMPANIED  
MAJOR GEORGE WASHINGTON IN HIS FIRST VISIT TO THE  
FRENCH COMMANDER OF THE TROOPS ON THE OHIO,  
1753.

[The following Journal of Mr. Christopher Gist, who accompanied General (then Major) Washington, in his tour over the Alleghany mountains, has been politely communicated to the Historical Society by James Mease, M. D. of Philadelphia. Washington's Journal of the same tour may be seen in Chief Justice Marshall's Life of Washington, and in Mr. Sparks's edition of Washington's Writings, Vol. II. p. 432. Gist is mentioned repeatedly in that volume, and is differently styled "Mr. Christopher Gist," and "Captain Gist."

In speaking of him with reference to his being appointed an agent to manage Indian affairs, Washington says:—"I know of no person so well qualified for an undertaking of this sort, as Captain Gist. He has had extensive dealings with the Indians, is in great esteem among them, well acquainted with their manners and customs, indefatigable and patient,—most excellent qualities where Indians are concerned. As to his capacity, honesty, and zeal, I dare venture to engage.—*Washington's Writings*, Vol. II. p. 236.

Dr. Mease's letter accompanying the Journal is subjoined.—*Publishing Committee.*]

*To the Historical Society of Massachusetts.*

During an extensive tour through the western counties of Pennsylvania last summer, I had the pleasure to meet Judge Shippen, President of the Sixth Judicial District of this state, at Franklin, in Venango county, (whose grandfather was for some time secretary of the colonial government,) and was presented by him with the following document, which is connected with an important event in the annals of American history. The author, Mr. Gist, was a frontier settler, and a pioneer of the forest, and was often employed by the government upon missions to the Indians, and to the French, who, as is well known, disputed the claims of England to the country on the Ohio.

I am, respectfully,

JAMES MEASE.

*Philadelphia, April 18, 1835.*



*Wednesday, 14th November, 1753.* Then Major George Washington came to my house at Will's Creek,\* and delivered me a letter from the council in Virginia, requesting me to attend him up to the commandant of the French fort on the Ohio river.

*Thursday, 15th.* We set out, and at night encamped at George's creek, about eight miles, where a messenger came with letters from my son, who was just returned from his people at the Cherokees, and lay sick at the mouth of Conegocheague.† But as I found myself entered again on public business, and Major Washington and all the company unwilling I should return, I wrote and sent medicines to my son, and so continued my journey, and encamped at a big hill in the forks of Youghiogany, about eighteen miles.

*Friday, 16th.* The next day set out and got to the big fork of said river, about ten miles there.

*Saturday, 17th.* We encamped and rested our horses, and then we set out early in the morning,

*Sunday, 18th.* And at night got to my house in the new settlement, about twenty-one miles; snow about ankle deep.

*Monday, 19th.* Set out, cross Big Youghiogany, to Jacob's cabins, about twenty miles. Here some of our horses straggled away, and we did not get away until eleven o'clock.

*Tuesday, 20th.* Set out, had rain in the afternoon; I killed a deer; travelled about seven miles.

*Wednesday, 21st.* It continued to rain. Stayed all day.

*Thursday, 22nd.* We set out and came to the mouth of Turtle creek, about twelve miles, to John Frazier's; and he was very kind to us, and lent us a canoe to carry our baggage to the forks, about ten miles.

*Friday, 23d.* Set out, rid to Shannopin's town, and down Alleghany to the mouth of Monongahela, where we met our baggage, and swam our horses over Alleghany, and there encamped that night.

[\* Will's Creek, the residence of Mr. Gist, rises at the base of the little Alleghany mountain, in the south-west angle of Bedford county, Pennsylvania, and flowing south empties into the Potomac at the town of Cumberland, in Alleghany county, Maryland. This town and vicinity originally went by the name of Will's Creek.—*Note by Dr. Mease.*]

[† Conegocheague creek rises in Salem, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, and flowing west, empties into Brush creek, formerly Bushy run.—*Note by Dr. Mease.*]

*Saturday, 24th.* Set out; we went to king Shingiss,\* and he and Lawmolach went with us to the Logstown, and we spoke to the chiefs this evening, and repaired to our camp.

*Sunday, 25th.* They sent out for their people to come in. The Half-King came in this afternoon.

*Monday, 26th.* We delivered our message to the Half-King, and they promised by him that we should set out three nights after.

*Tuesday, 27th.* Stayed in our camp. Monacatoocha and Pollatha Wappia gave us some provisions. We stayed until the 29th, when the Indians said, they were not ready. They desired us to stay until the next day; and as the warriors were not come, the Half-King said he would go with us himself, and take care of us.

*Friday, 30th.* We set out, and the Half-King and two old men and one young warrior, with us. At night we encamped at the Murthering town, about fifteen miles, on a branch of Great Beaver creek. Got some corn and dried meat.

*Saturday, 1st December.* Set out, and at night encamped at the crossing of Beaver creek from the Kaskuskies to Venango,† about thirty miles. The next day rain; our Indians went out a hunting; they killed two bucks. Had rain all day.

*Monday, 3d.* We set out and travelled all day. Encamped at night on one of the head branches of Great Beaver creek, about twenty-two miles.

*Tuesday, 5th.* Set out, about fifteen miles, to the town of Venango, where we were kindly and complaisantly received by Monsieur Joncaire, the French interpreter for the Six Nations.

*Wednesday, 5th.* Rain all day. Our Indians were in council with the Delawares, who lived under the French colors, and ordered them to deliver up to the French the belt,

[\* Shingiss was a noted Indian warrior, and according to Heckewelder, was "a terror to the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania;" but at this time was the firm and fast friend of the English, and neither the art nor the affected politeness of the French military commander could effect a change in his sentiments towards them. The Half-King was also a great warrior, and a decided friend of the Americans. He it was who informed Major Washington in May, 1754, of the approach of a French detachment when he was on his march to the frontier, and which Washington surprised and defeated.—*Note by Dr. Mease.*]

[† Kaskuskies or Kuskuskas, is laid down in Hutchins's map some distance up Big Beaver creek, in Pennsylvania. Venango is now Franklin, the capital of Venango county. The outlines of the redoubt round the fort are very plain to this day. It is situated at the entrance of French creek into the Alleghany river.—*Note by Dr. Mease.*]

with the marks of the four towns, according to desire of King Shingiss. But the chief of these Delawares said, "It was true King Shingiss was a great man, but he had sent no speech, and," said he, "I cannot pretend to make a speech for a King." So our Indians could not prevail with them to deliver their belt; but the Half-King did deliver his belt, as he had determined. Joncaire did every thing he could to prevail on our Indians to stay behind us, and I took all care to have them along with us.

*Thursday, 6th.* We set out late in the day accompanied by the French General and four servants or soldiers, and

*Friday, 7th.* All encamped at Sugar creek, five miles from Venango. The creek being very high, we were obliged to carry all our baggage over on trees, and swim our horses. The Major and I went first over, with our boots on.

*Saturday, 8th.* We set out and travelled twenty-five miles to Cussewago, an old Indian town.

*Sunday, 9th.* We set out, left one of our horses here that could travel no further. This day we travelled to the big crossing, about fifteen miles, and encamped. Our Indians went out to look out logs to make a raft; but as the water was high, and there were other creeks to cross, we concluded to keep up this side the creek.

*Monday, 10th.* Set out, travelled about eight miles, and encamped. Our Indians killed a bear. Here we had a creek to cross, very deep; we got over on a tree, and got our goods over.

*Tuesday, 11th.* We set out, travelled about fifteen miles to the French fort, the sun being set. Our interpreter gave the commandant notice of our being over the creek; upon which he sent several officers to conduct us to the fort, and they received us with a great deal of complaisance.\*

*Wednesday, 12th.* The Major gave the passport, showed his commission, and offered the Governor's letter to the commandant; but he desired not to receive them, until the other commander from Lake Erie came, whom he had sent for, and expected next day by twelve o'clock.

*Thursday, 13th.* The other General came. The Major delivered the letter, and desired a speedy answer; the time

[\* The name of the French fort to which Mr. Gist and Washington went, was Le Bauf, now Waterford, near Le Bauf lake, Erie county, Pennsylvania.—*Note by Dr. Mease.*]



of year and business required it. They took our Indians into private council, and gave them several presents.

*Friday, 14th.* When we had done our business, they delayed, and kept our Indians, until Sunday; and then we set out with two canoes, one for our Indians, and the other for ourselves. Our horses we had sent away some days before, to wait at Venango, if ice appeared on the rivers and creeks.

*Sunday, 16th.* We set out by water about sixteen miles, and encamped. Our Indians went before us, passed the little lake, and we did not come up with them that night.

*Monday, 17th.* We set out, came to our Indians' camp. They were out hunting; they killed three bears. We stayed this day and

*Tuesday, 18th.* One of our Indians did not come to camp. So we finding the waters lower very fast, were obliged to go and leave our Indians.

*Wednesday, 19th.* We set out about seven or eight miles, and encamped, and the next day

*Thursday, 20th.* About twenty miles, where we were stopped by ice, and worked until night.

*Friday, 21st.* The ice was so hard we could not break our way through, but were obliged to haul our vessels across a point of land and put them in the creek again. The Indians and three French canoes overtook us here, and the people of one French canoe that was lost, with her cargo of powder and lead. This night we encamped about twenty miles above Venango.

*Saturday, 22nd.* Set out. The creek began to be very low, and we were forced to get out, to keep our canoe from oversetting, several times; the water freezing to our clothes; and we had the pleasure of seeing the French overset, and the brandy and wine floating in the creek, and run by them, and left them to shift for themselves. Came to Venango, and met with our people and horses.

*Sunday, 23d.* We set out from Venango, travelled about five miles to Lacomick creek.

*Monday, 24th.* Here Major Washington set out on foot in Indian dress. Our horses grew weak, that we were mostly obliged to travel on foot, and had snow all day. Encamped near the barrens.



*Tuesday, 25th.* Set out and travelled on foot to branches of Great Beaver creek.

*Wednesday, 26th.* The Major desired me to set out on foot, and leave our company, as the creeks were frozen, and our horses could make but little way. Indeed, I was unwilling he should undertake such a travel, who had never been used to walking before this time. But as he insisted on it, I set out with our packs, like Indians, and travelled eighteen miles. That night we lodged at an Indian cabin, and the Major was much fatigued. It was very cold; all the small runs were frozen, that we could hardly get water to drink.

*Thursday, 27th.* We rose early in the morning, and set out about two o'clock. Got to the Murthering town, on the south-east fork of Beaver creek. Here we met with an Indian, whom I thought I had seen at Joncaire's, at Venango, when on our journey up to the French fort. This fellow called me by my Indian name, and pretended to be glad to see me. He asked us several questions, as how we came to travel on foot, when we left Venango, where we parted with our horses, and when they would be there, &c. Major Washington insisted on travelling on the nearest way to the forks of Alleghany. We asked the Indian if he could go with us, and show us the nearest way. The Indian seemed very glad and ready to go with us. Upon which we set out, and the Indian took the Major's pack. We travelled very brisk for eight or ten miles, when the Major's feet grew very sore, and he very weary, and the Indian steered too much north-eastwardly. The Major desired to encamp, to which the Indian asked to carry his gun. But he refused that, and then the Indian grew churlish, and pressed us to keep on, telling us that there were Ottawa Indians in these woods, and they would scalp us if we lay out; but go to his cabin, and we should be safe. I thought very ill of the fellow, but did not care to let the Major know I mistrusted him. But he soon mistrusted him as much as I. He said he could hear a gun to his cabin, and steered us more northwardly. We grew uneasy, and then he said two whoops might be heard to his cabin. We went two miles further; then the Major said he would stay at the next water, and we desired the Indian to stop at the next water. But before we came to water, we came to a clear meadow; it was very light, and snow on the ground. The Indian made a stop, turned about; the Major saw him point his gun to-

ward us and fire. Said the Major, "Are you shot?" "No," said I. Upon which the Indian run forward to a big standing white oak, and to loading his gun; but we were soon with him. I would have killed him; but the Major would not suffer me to kill him. We let him charge his gun; we found he put in a ball; then we took care of him. The Major or I always stood by the guns; we made him make a fire for us by a little run, as if we intended to sleep there. I said to the Major, "As you will not have him killed, we must get him away, and then we must travel all night." Upon which I said to the Indian, "I suppose you were lost, and fired your gun." He said, he knew the way to his cabin, and 'twas but a little way. "Well," said I, "do you go home; and as we are much tired, we will follow your track in the morning; and here is a cake of bread for you, and you must give us meat in the morning." He was glad to get away. I followed him, and listened until he was fairly out of the way, and then we set out about half a mile, when we made a fire, set our compass, and fixed our course, and travelled all night, and in the morning we were on the head of Piney creek.

*Friday, 28th.* We travelled all the next day down the said creek, and just at night found some tracks where Indians had been hunting. We parted, and appointed a place a distance off, where to meet, it being then dark. We encamped, and thought ourselves safe enough to sleep.

*Saturday, 29th.* We set out early, got to Alleghany, made a raft, and with much difficulty got over to an island, a little above Shannopin's town. The Major having fallen in from off the raft, and my fingers frost-bitten, and the sun down, and very cold, we contented ourselves to encamp upon that island. It was deep water between us and the shore; but the cold did us some service, for in the morning it was frozen hard enough for us to pass over on the ice.

*Sunday, 30th.* We set out about ten miles to John Frazier's, at Turtle creek, and rested that evening.

*Monday, 31st.* Next day we waited on queen Aliquippa, who lives now at the mouth of Youghiogany. She said she would never go down to the river Alleghany to live, except the English built a fort, and then she would go and live there.

*Tuesday, 1st January, 1754.* We set out from John Frazier's, and at night encamped at Jacob's cabins.

*Wednesday, 2nd.* Set out and crossed Youghiogany on the ice. Got to my house in the new settlement.

*Thursday, 3d.* Rain.

*Friday, 4th.* Set out for Will's creek, where we arrived on Sunday, January 6th.

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JOURNAL OF A TREATY HELD IN 1793, WITH THE INDIAN TRIBES NORTH-WEST OF THE OHIO, BY COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

[On the 19th of February, 1793, President Washington sent a message to the House of Representatives, stating that "it has been agreed on the part of the United States, that a treaty or conference shall be held the ensuing season with the hostile Indians north-west of the Ohio, in order to remove, if possible, all causes of difference, and to establish a solid peace with them;" and that it would be necessary that an appropriation be made for this purpose. An Act was accordingly passed that "a sum not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars be appropriated to defraying the expense of negotiating and treating with the hostile Indian tribes north-west of the Ohio." In a letter to Jefferson, dated March 22, 1793, Washington speaks of "the treaty which is agreed to be held on or about the 1st of June, as being of great moment to the interests and peace of this country;" and it appears from other parts of his correspondence, that his attention had been some time previously turned to the selection of suitable persons to be employed as Commissioners at this interview. He first invited Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, and Charles Thomson, to serve in this capacity. In a letter to the former, dated Jan. 23, 1793, he says, "The western Indians having proposed to us a conference at Auglaise, not far distant from Detroit, in the ensuing spring, I am now about to proceed to nominate three Commissioners to meet and treat with them on the subject of peace. What may be the issue of the conference, it is difficult to foresee; but it is necessary that characters be appointed who are known to our citizens for their talents and integrity." Carroll and Thomson having declined the appointment, Washington nominated Benjamin Lincoln, Beverley Randolph, and Timothy Pickering; which nomination was confirmed by the Senate. These Commissioners attended to the duty assigned them, but, as it is well known, did not succeed in their negotiation. The following Journal, kept by one of them, Gen. Lincoln, has lately come into the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and is now printed, for the first time, from the original MS. Gen. Lincoln was a member of our Society, and contributed several valuable papers to its Collections. A memoir of his life and character is contained in the third volume of the Collections, second series, page 233.—*Publishing Committee.*]

*April 27, 1793.* Having received our commission and instructions, I left Philadelphia, April 27th, 1793, and commenced my journey for Sandusky, the place of treaty, by the route of New York, Albany, Mohawk river, Wood Creek, Oneida Lake, Lake Ontario, Niagara, and Lake Erie. The other Commissioners, Mr. Randolph and Col. Pickering,



having formed a resolution to pass through the country directly for Niagara, remained in the city, where they expected to continue a few days longer,—as the route through the country was much shorter than that by the lakes,—and be at Niagara in time to send a vessel to meet me at Oswego.

I left the city about six o'clock in the morning, in a most violent storm of rain, with the wind at north-east. We passed on very well to Bristol, where we halted for breakfast; after which the driver and landlord, between whom there seemed the most perfect understanding, suggested that we must remain where we were; for that we could not pass the Delaware at the ferry, and that there was not a house near it where we could be accommodated. However, after being detained, from doubt and uncertainty, for some time, we came to a resolution that we would go to the river, and make the attempt to cross. We did, and succeeded agreeably to our wishes. Dined at Trenton, and reached Princeton that evening. We urged the driver to pass on to Kingston, four miles; but the good understanding between him and the landlord again checked us, and we were here, contrary to our wishes, obliged to put up for the night.

*April 28.* We found this morning, that from the heavy rain of yesterday and during the night, the waters had overflowed the banks, and that we could not pass the Millstone river, but in a boat. This we did, and procured a stage on the east side of it. We reached Elizabethtown in the evening, and put up for the night. There we were informed that the waters had been so deep on the meadows, that the bridges were destroyed, and that we could not pass to Powles' Hook.

*April 29.* We went down to Elizabethtown Point, where we found boats, which were going to New York as soon as the wind should abate, it being at that time very high. We came to sail in about one hour, and dined in New York.

During the whole of our journey, from Philadelphia to New York, we found great delay, from a seeming combination between the stage-drivers and the keepers of the public houses. These abuses ought to be corrected. The lands between Philadelphia and New York are generally level and good for wheat. Vegetation was at this time very forward, the orchards in blossom, and the forest trees in foliage. We found a great plenty of asparagus and lettuce, as also lamb in the

cities. They have here a practice, among the keepers of public houses, which makes our living very dear, by refusing to supply the table with any thing to drink, saving water, other than what you call for. Care is also taken to keep out of your way small beer and cider, so that your club at dinner amounts to more than the dinner itself.

*April 30.* In New York. Part of our stores went on board an Albany vessel, in which we had taken passage for that place.

*May 1.* We this day completed our lading of the vessel, and about three o'clock in the afternoon went on board, with a good wind and tide in our favor. We ran the afternoon and night, and found ourselves in the morning (*May 2,*) in Haverstraw Bay, becalmed. This made it necessary to anchor for a short time. The wind however soon sprang up, and we went joyfully on our cruise.

*May 3.* We arrived in Albany about eight o'clock in the morning. The Hudson river is so generally known in the United States, that any remarks thereon may seem unnecessary. However, I will state a few facts which may not be known to all.—Flood tide is just one hour later, as you ascend the river, at the end of every ten miles. At the end of sixty miles, it will be high water in the river, and low water at the mouth of it. Differently from all other rivers which I have seen, the waters in this continue their depth above the highlands, so that there are no considerable falls until you ascend about two hundred miles, one hundred and sixty navigable for vessels of one hundred tons burden. The lands on the river are generally high, and in many places the mountains make the border of the river. There is however generally a flat between the high lands and the river, so that the greatest part of the way there are handsome farms near the river. But you cannot have a just estimate of the value of the country, by sailing up the river; the valuable land and the principal settlements are some distance from it.

As we passed up the river in the night, I lost sight of the new city of Hudson, which, by common report, is in a flourishing state at present; but a few men of enterprise fixed at Albany, would, from the advantages of its situation, soon make it a rival. Nothing can be said in favor of the city of Hudson, which will not apply to Albany, saving the depth of water, and that the river opens in the spring a little sooner. Though

these are considerations of importance, yet the want of an extensive back country will be an evil which Hudson must always experience. The whole distance up the river, the apple-trees and cherry-trees were in blossom, and the forest trees just putting out their foliage. Many of the lands were covered with wheat, which made a very pleasing appearance. There are several small villages near the banks of the river, all very inconsiderable, saving Hudson. Many people are employed in fishing on this river during the night. The shad are taken in great numbers; the sturgeon are sometimes caught with them; they are not used in Massachusetts, but are thought very valuable in Albany. The navigation of this river is excellent; hardly a rock in it which you can touch. There are near Albany some shoals of sand, on which vessels ground at low water; but they lay perfectly easy while in that situation. Vessels do not last many years in this river, and, what is very unusual, the bottoms perish first. I saw a vessel repairing, and the builder taking out all the navel timbers and the futtocks, which were quite rotten, though the vessel had been built but about eight years.

This river runs far up into the country above Albany. From New York to this place is about one hundred and sixty miles; the southern part of the river nearly two miles wide, the other much less, hardly half a mile in some places. It extends far into the country, and is capable, with an attention to canals and locks, of forming a very interesting navigation. Upon a late examination it has been discovered that the waters of an eastern Wood Creek, which empty into Lake Champlain, may with great ease be united with the waters of the Hudson, near Fort Edward. When this shall be accomplished, and some canals and locks made in different places, which business is now commenced, and will, I presume, be completed without difficulty, a water communication will be opened to a great part of the state of Vermont, which borders on Lake Champlain, some parts of which are nearly three hundred miles from Albany. Besides, it will open a communication by water with Quebec, so that the waters of the Hudson and of the St. Lawrence will be united. It is also agreed that a communication shall be opened with the great lakes westward, which to effect is not a difficult matter, by going up the Mohawk river, nearly to Fort Stanwix, now Schuyler, and uniting this river with a western Wood Creek, the waters of



which are only eighty-one chains asunder, through a level swampy ground. The waters of Wood Creek empty themselves into the Oneida Lake, those into Ontario, into which all the waters from the great lakes pass; so that when the canals and locks shall be completed, which is not a very difficult task, a water communication will be opened into Canada, both by the Mohawk and the Hudson; and into these general communications smaller ones may enter. On taking a general view of these things, the extensive advantages to be embraced by the measures adopted and now carrying into execution, I cannot help strolling into the uncertain field of conjecture that some day or other, not far distant from this place, Albany, will be the seat of a great empire.

I spent the remainder of the day in making some arrangements with General Schuyler respecting boats, boatmen, &c. and in viewing the city of Albany. It is built on the banks of the Hudson. There are three streets running parallel with the river, about half a mile in length; the one called Market is well paved, and thereon are many valuable houses, built on the English mode; but a great proportion of the others are of the ancient Dutch form, with the ends at the street. There are many streets running from the river up and intersect the others nearly at right angles. There are five or six hundred houses in the city, the foundation of which was laid before New York was built. The people were led thus far into the country from the allurements of the Indian trade, which at that day was very important. The original settlers were from Holland. They have retained their ancient manners and language, and have so much secluded themselves from the world at large, that their reservedness has the appearance of a want of hospitality. There are four places of public worship, the Dutch church, the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, and the Methodist. It is a place of considerable business, and I think, by opening the canals and a communication by water with the different parts of the country, it will soon be much more important. The jealousy which has always existed between the Dutch and the New England people is fast subsiding; it should never have existed. It is important to the present governing interest to put an end to these things; for the time is not far distant, when the sons of New England and New England manners will prevail.



If it can be said that we suffer here from want, it is because we are destitute of good water. It is the custom of the inhabitants to take their water from the river. It looks impure, and the practice seems to be an improper one, where the waters are taken for common use from that dock into which is washed all the filth of the city. It would be more tolerable, were the people to take their water from the stream; but they seem to pay little regard to this, but take it up among the vessels, and at the wharves. There are wells in town; it is said, however, that the water from them is not good. There are just back of the city very high grounds, which are filled with good water, and might with great ease be drawn by pipes to all parts of the city, even into the upper chambers of their houses; so that instead of their present situation, which, if irremediable, would excite our pity, they might enjoy the best water, did it not arise from indolence and a want of attention to an article essential to our well-being. What makes this neglect the more extraordinary is, that the labor expended in carrying the waters from the river one year would probably exceed the expense of conducting the purest waters from the hills in pipes through the whole extent of the city. However, the citizens do not seem to consider this matter an evil; consequently do not feel as strangers do on the occasion.

*May 4.* I went to Schenectady in General Schuyler's wagon, in company with him. On our arrival there, we found our boats in forwardness, and had an assurance from Mr. Van Slyk, the contractor, that every thing would be ready on the 8th, the time originally fixed.

I found this a village of much more importance than I expected. It stands on the bank of the Mohawk river, about sixteen miles from the city of Albany. It is approached from high lands, from which you have a pretty view of the town, and a most pleasing one of a fine body of meadows, rich interval. The high lands are but indifferent. The rich meadows, with the advantages of the Indian trade, were the enticements which led the people to make an early establishment here. It was originally a Dutch settlement; and the inhabitants are principally descendants from the first settlers, and retain their manners and language, though all of them speak English also. The town, in which are three places of public worship, is prettily laid out. There are three very handsome

streets running parallel with the river, and a number of streets crossing those at right angles. There are in the compact part of the town about three hundred dwelling-houses, built mostly after the Dutch form.

There has been lately established among them an academy for the instruction of the youth in English grammar, the dead languages, philosophy, &c. The instruction is under the direction of two preceptors in separate rooms. The one teaching the highest branches has five hundred and sixty dollars a year, and the other, four hundred and twenty-five. This expense is discharged by the pupils, in proportion to the importance of the studies which they are pursuing, and amounts to a sum from two dollars up to fifteen for each quarter. Though this is a heavy expense on some, yet the exertion is greatly to the honor, and will promote the interest and happiness of the society. It will, however, confine the education to those families who can discharge the expense of it. Schools have been greatly neglected among them, and the people are what might be expected from that circumstance, and their being very much excluded from the world.

I left the town towards evening and returned to Albany. It is a very unpleasant road to pass, there being but a few settlements on it, the sand deep, and the lands covered with pitch-pine.

*May 5, Sunday.* At meeting. Towards evening, I came out with strong prejudices in favor of my own minister.\*

*May 6, Monday.* Nothing particular took place. Spent the day in strolling through the different parts of the town and on the hills in the rear of it, growing impatient that the vessel with part of our company and stores did not arrive.

*May 7.* I arose in the morning under great expectations that, as the wind had continued fair all night, I should see our missing vessel; but was again disappointed. My impatience had now arisen to anxiety for their safety, who were on board the vessel. Could I at this moment have been assured that all were well, I should have been quite satisfied that no evils would arise from the delay; as General Chapin had just come in from the Indian country, and assured me that we should

[\* Gen. Lincoln was born and resided at Hingham, Massachusetts. His minister, of whom he here speaks, was the Rev. Henry Ware, now Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard University.—*Pub. Com.*]

be quite in time, and on the treaty ground long before the Indians.

*May 8.* In the morning the remainder of the gentlemen and our stores arrived from New York. Our next attempt was to procure teams to carry across the remainder of our stores to Schenectady. I left Albany towards evening for that place, (that I might be on the spot in the morning to direct the loading of the boats,) after a long delay occasioned by a difficulty in procuring a horse and carriage. I could not apply to a gentleman for his private carriage, though I should have been exceedingly gratified had one been offered; but, as I said before, they have been so much excluded from the world, that their manners are such as to give the appearance of the want of hospitality. I arrived at Schenectady about dark.

*May 9.* Commenced loading our boats in the morning; completed this business about noon. We dined, and the boats left the landing about two o'clock. Mr. Storrs and myself remained behind to settle our accounts, knowing that, from the rapid waters in the river, the boats would be so long detained, that we could overtake them in the morning. Mr. Van Slyk, who has been our agent here, has offered to take us up the river in the morning in his wagon, the carriage commonly used in this country for travelling. The boats passed on to Mr. Maybees, six miles from Schenectady, where they remained during the night.

*May 10.* About six o'clock in the morning we went into our wagon, and proceeded up the Mohawk, on the south side, about four miles, through a very rich and well cultivated interval meadow, of about one mile wide. We then crossed the river in the wagon; here the Mohawk is about four hundred yards wide. We then continued up the river on the north side, generally on high stony lands, though sometimes we touched on the intervals, which extend to this place, sometimes on one side of the river and sometimes on the other, (Mr. Maybees,) six miles from Schenectady, where we halted and took breakfast. The interval lands for the first four miles are, one place with another, one mile wide.

These settlements, which are just on the edge of the low lands, as also Schenectady itself, have been often harassed by the Indians, and they were greatly distressed as lately as the last war. The trees here are in blossom, and the forest tree



just putting out its foliage. There are a considerable number of apple-trees, and also the cherry, on every farm, and is a pretty good country for cider. As we continued our passage up, the lands had much the same appearance, as also the river, which is in general very shoal; the boats were frequently on the ground in the best water. This time of the year the river is generally fordable by wagons, horses, &c. In our passage this day we observed a painted spot on a high rock on the margin of the river. From this place a number of Indians set off in their canoes to war; none however returned; this painting, which is often renewed by the Indians, is continued to preserve from oblivion the important event.

About five o'clock, P. M. we reached a small house a little above Fort Hunter, where we put up for the night. About this place was the old Mohawk town, which was abandoned in the spring of the year 1780. They left behind some valuable farms. They could generally speak the English language, had been in a great degree civilized, and many of them were professors of the Christian religion. A very handsome church was built for them in Queen Ann's time, at which they used to attend public worship. They are now fixed on the westerly side of Lake Erie.

*May 11.* We came to sail about five o'clock in the morning. Stopped, at the distance of five miles, at a place called Caghawaga, a settlement which has been made nearly eighty years, and was nearly destroyed by the British in the year 1780, who were joined by a party of Indians and others under the command of Sir William Johnson. In this action Johnson evinced a want of feeling which would disgrace the savage. The people destroyed were his old neighbors, with whom he had lived on terms of real friendship for a long while. His estate was among them, and the inhabitants had always considered him as their friend and neighbor. Those who could walk, after seeing their dwellings reduced to ashes, were hurried into captivity. Those who could not walk, fell victims to the tomahawk and scalping-knife.—The river, shores, and settlements make a very similar appearance to what we observed yesterday.

*Sunday, May 12.* Continued our course up to the Little Falls, called so in distinction to the large fall on this river, near its junction with the Hudson. We arrived at the fall about two o'clock in the afternoon. There are many pleasant



situations on the river, and what adds to their value, are the interval lands, so often washed by the waters of the river that they need little or no manure. The people in general have no pretensions to the character of farmers. Their lands are not properly attended to. Their cows are very poor; half the summer will pass before they can receive much profit from them. Their swine are, above all, the most indifferent; many of their sheep naked. Indeed, saving their horses, which were only tolerable, every thing had the marks of poverty, at a moment when, from the richness of the soil, and the extent of their possessions, the eye ought to have been gratified by a fullness which indicates plenty and happiness.

On examination of the falls, which are fifty-three miles from Schenectady, I found that they extended about three quarters of a mile in length, and that in that distance the water fell about forty feet; that preparations are made and are making for opening a canal near the bank of this river, which, by the aid of a number of locks, the boats may pass with ease. Part of the ground over which the canal is to pass is very rocky; but there are a number of vales which will much facilitate the business, as walls to confine the water is all which will be necessary in such places. On the whole, though the work will be very important when completed, yet the expense of doing it will be very inconsiderable, compared with the magnitude of the object. In examining the grounds about the falls, I find that the water passed some years in a different course from its present, and that the bed of the river is twenty or thirty feet lower than where it formerly ran. I could not well account for this change, as the whole bed of the river seems a body of rocks. We found an excellent bridge thrown over the river by an arch of one hundred feet, a pretty piece of workmanship, which does great credit to the new settlers as well as to the workman.

*Monday, May 13.* Forenoon spent in taking our boats and stores across the carrying-place, about three quarters of a mile. When this was completed, we set off for the German Flats, where we remained the following night. At this place, which is often called Fort Herkimer, some of the block-houses are remaining. The inhabitants were greatly distressed during our contest with Britain, and were often driven to the fort and places of security. The Indians used frequently to lurk about them and pick off the inhabitants near the fort.

The people on the lower part of this river are Dutch, the upper part Germans ; they all seem a very improvident race. They have paid little or no attention to the high lands, but seemed perfectly satisfied with using the intervals, which are rich and very easy of culture. The New England people have lately purchased the high lands, and are settling fast on them. One of the old German inhabitants informed me that the New England settlers had better farms in four or five years than they had in seventy ; and if money was wanted, it could be found with more ease among the new than among the old settlers. About the falls there is considerable white oak timber and white pine. The Mohawk river is here much reduced in size, little more than one hundred feet wide. We lodged seven miles from the falls.

*Tuesday, May 14.* We left Fort Herkimer about eight o'clock in the morning, and reached that evening new Fort Schuyler. A great proportion of the way we found that on the borders of the river there is a tract of valuable interval lands. That so much spoken of, the German Flats, is about three miles in length and one mile in breadth. Although the river is here much reduced in size, yet it retains its common depth. At Fort Schuyler we found another bridge thrown across the river, which is here about one hundred and twenty feet wide when the waters are within the banks. The workmanship of the bridge does great credit to the ingenuity of the workman, as the arch extends from shore to shore. At this place commences Whitestown, so called, which lies generally back from the river about four miles. This flourishing settlement has sprung up since the war, and is become so extensive that on ten miles square are two regiments of militia.

*Wednesday, May 15.* We left Fort Schuyler for Fort Stanwix in the morning. We found, as before, on the border of the river a large quantity of interval lands, annually washed by the water overflowing the banks of the river on the breaking up of winter. These lands are excellent for Indian corn and mowing, but will not do for wheat. On them now is a very heavy growth of timber. Among it is the button-wood, of a very extraordinary size ; as also the elm. About eight o'clock in the evening we arrived at the head of navigation of the Mohawk river, at the place where the boats are taken out of the water and carried across about two miles into Wood Creek.

*Thursday, May 16,* Was spent in carrying our boats and stores from the Mohawk to Wood Creek. This gave an opportunity for us to view the grounds about us. The first thing which caught our attention was old Fort Stanwix, the foundation of which was laid in the year 1759 by General Broadstreet, and built upon by the troops of the United States during the late war. An attempt was made by the British to take this fort in the year 1777; but the enemy were soon convinced that no successful approaches could be made, and that nothing but a warm bombardment could force the besieged to a surrender. A little distance from this fort, General Herkimer, going to the relief of it, fell into an ambuscade of Indians and others. The Indians, it is said, were hardly persuaded to engage, and could not be induced to it until they had sacrificed their reason to their appetites. It was very manifest that during the action they were exceedingly intoxicated. In consequence thereof they suffered greatly in this action, more severely than they ever suffered before. They lost, among others, ten or twelve of their chiefs or first characters. The enemy however kept the field, and had the honors of the day. In the late cultivation of the grounds on which the battle was fought, many parts of the remains of those who fell in the action have been found. In some instances the mark of the scalping-knife and the tomahawk are seen on the skull-bone. Sad to relate, that those who were made to enjoy and to communicate happiness should adopt a line of conduct so opposite to both! The lands about Fort Stanwix, now Fort Schuyler, are but indifferent; and I do not see any thing very alluring in this neighborhood. At this place a canal is to be cut into Wood Creek from the Mohawk, and a town is to be established here, from an idea that advantages will be derived to the settlers from the canal. But if individuals are to be supported here without labor, from the profits of this passage, the whole will fall on those who are obliged to use it.

*May 17.* Our boats and stores being all in Wood Creek, which at the head is little more than the width of a boat, and very little water running in it, being ponded above, for the use of mills,—when we were ready to go down, the gates were hoisted, and the creek was soon so full of water as to float the boats. We went down with the current, which would have been very agreeable, had not the creek been very



full of timber, which had from time to time fallen into it. There are considerable lands on each side this river which are interval, and are often, in the spring, overflowed. They are too low for farms, and can be improved for certain purposes only. If there are lands near, on which you could build with propriety, these would exceedingly come in aid to such high lands. The lands are very similar the whole of the distance we passed this day, covered with a heavy growth. We encamped at night, for the first time, at what is called the Oak Orchard, from its being a high point of land on which are a few oaks. Oaks are not to be seen in general in this part of the country.

*May 18.* We continued our passage down the river, and about two o'clock reached the Oneida lake. Here we encamped, as the wind was not only against us, but too high to permit our crossing. In the afternoon, towards evening, the Rev. Mr. Kirkland and several of the Indians came to see us, and to express their satisfaction in our attempts to a general peace. In the evening, the wind having abated, we went about nine o'clock into our boats, and reached the west end of the lake, Fort Bruntington, about five o'clock in the morning, having halted on our passage about two hours. It is said that the lake is thirty-five miles long; I think not so much. As we passed it in the night, I could not make any judgment respecting the value of the lands on its borders.

*May 19.* After breakfast, we left Fort Bruntington, and fell down a very pleasant river, about one hundred yards wide, to Three River Point, where we dined; then proceeded down to Oswego falls, twelve miles from the lake; here we lodged. The lands on both banks of the river are low, and the timber not very large. How they will appear when cleared, is quite uncertain; I think, however, not very well. There are a few settlements made on the banks of the river, but are so very new that it cannot be determined at present of what value they are. The place called the Three Rivers is where the Onondago river unites with the Oneida river. Up the Onondago, about eighteen miles, are excellent salt-springs, which are so fully impregnated, that one man, having his wood brought him, will make six bushels a day. I saw some of the salt, which appeared like the white Lisbon. These springs are very important to this country. Thus we see that the benevolent Creator of the world has provided in the



centre of a country, large sources of water which yields that salt so necessary to the happiness and existence of his creatures.

*May 20.* In the morning we hauled our batteaux across the carrying-place, about one hundred and fifty feet. This we did by placing the boats on rollers, without taking out the lading. This business was completed about ten o'clock; we then set off for Oswego, lat.  $43^{\circ} 17'$ , the distance of twelve miles, where we arrived about one o'clock. I had a letter to the commanding officer, which on landing I immediately sent to him in the fort. He came out, and invited me and our party into it, where we dined, and were treated by him (Captain Whickham) with ease and hospitality. We left the fort about four o'clock, went on about fifteen miles, and encamped at a small harbor, called Little Sodus. We expected to have met a vessel at Oswego; but on the arrival of the other Commissioners at Niagara, there was none in the harbor. After the arrival of one, she was detained by head winds, so that we continued our passage along the shores of the lake. We left Oswego Fort, Monday afternoon, and reached Niagara Fort, Saturday morning, about one hundred and fifty or sixty miles, as the shore runs; our boats were too small to be at any considerable distance from it. The wood near the lake is mostly beech, and the lands seem to be pretty good. We found very few small brooks running from the shore into the lake. I think, therefore, that the country must be dry when cleared. What makes this navigation dangerous, is that the banks are in many places steep, and when the sea rises to a considerable degree, the boats beat to pieces against it. The waters in the lake are now very low. It is said that these lakes fill once in seven years, and that they will probably be full the next year.

We were from Schenectady to Niagara from the 9th to the 25th, besides going across the lake in the night; the whole made seventeen days. We passed in a good time of the year, and in the best state of the water in the rivers. The distance is about 360 miles, in passing which it will, one time with another, consume three weeks at the least; most as long as crossing the Atlantic.

*May 25.* Immediately on my arrival at Niagara, Governor Simcoe sent for me; the other Commissioners were with him; he shew me my room. We remained with him a num-

ber of days ; but knowing that we occupied a large proportion of his house, and that Mrs. Simcoe was absent, and so probably on our account, we contemplated a removal, and of encamping at the Landing, six miles from this place, where the Friends were encamped. But when the Governor was informed of our intentions, he barred a removal. His politeness and hospitality, of which he has a large share, prevented our executing the designs we had formed. This was in a degree painful, because we could not see a period to it, as the time of assembling the Indians was uncertain.

*June 4.* The King's birth-day ; to all the ceremonies of which our duty required us to attend. At eleven o'clock the Governor had a levee at his house, at which the officers of government, the members of the legislature, the officers of the army, and a number of strangers attended. After some time, the Governor came in, preceded by two of his family. He walked up to the head of the hall, and began a conversation with those standing in that part of the hall, and went around to the whole, and I believe spoke with every person present. This was soon over, and we all retired. At one o'clock there were firings from the troops, the battery, and from the ship in the harbor. In the evening there was quite a splendid ball, about twenty well-dressed, handsome ladies, and about three times that number of gentlemen present. They danced from seven o'clock to eleven. Supper was then announced, where we found every thing good and in pretty taste. In all this there was not any thing very particular ; the music and dancing were good, and every thing was conducted with propriety. What excited the best feelings of my heart, was the ease and affection with which the ladies met each other ; although there were a number present whose mothers sprang from the aborigines of the country. They appeared as well dressed as the company in general, and intermixed with them in a manner which evinced at once the dignity of their own minds and the good sense of others. These ladies possess great ingenuity and industry, and have great merit ; for the education which they have acquired is owing principally to their own industry, as their father, Sir William Johnson, was dead, and the mother retained the dress and manners of her tribe.

Governor Simcoe is exceedingly attentive to these public assemblies, and makes it his study to reconcile the inhabi-

tants, who have tasted the pleasures of society, to their present situation, in an infant province. He intends the next winter to have concerts and assemblies very frequently. Hereby he at once evinces a regard to the happiness of the people, and his knowledge of the world; for while people are allured to become settlers in this country, from the richness of the soil, and the clemency of the seasons, it is important to make their situation as flattering as possible.

Niagara Fort, built by the French about 1725, is in about  $43^{\circ} 20'$  north latitude, one degree north of Boston; yet I find the season quite as clement here, as I have found it there, and vegetation quite as forward. On the second of this month I dined in company at the Landing, six miles from this place. As a dessert, a large quantity of strawberries were served, not propagated in gardens, or ripened by art, but were the natural growth of the unimproved soil. It is a fact, which will I think soon be established, that moving westward in the same latitude, the weather meliorates as you progress on that course. To investigate the causes of this event in nature, is beyond my reach. Perhaps they are among those hidden things which may open more satisfactorily to our view, when we shall have turned over another page in the book of nature.

*June 9.* Dined with Mr. Hamilton at the Landing, (Queenstown.) Towards evening we left his house, and rode as far as the Falls, where we lodged, nine miles. There are a number of new settlements on the road, and one small meeting-house. The lands are generally covered with white oak, but they are neither strong or well improved.

*June 10.* In the morning I went to view the Falls of Niagara, of which so much has been said. The appearance was far short of the ideas I had formed of them. It is said that the water falls one hundred and thirty-seven feet perpendicularly. Had I been called to give an opinion respecting the fall, I should not have judged that the water fell more than forty or fifty feet. From whence arises the deception, I know not; the fact as to the magnitude of the fall, I cannot doubt, as that has been accurately taken, mathematically. After breakfast we pursued our journey towards Buffalo Creek, a few miles up which lives a number of the Seneca tribe. We found in our route a bad road, the lands flat, and a great proportion of the timber white oak. Near Lake Erie we



found both better. The land generally, for the distance of fifteen or twenty miles, is about seven feet above the waters, between the Falls and Lake Erie, at this dry season of the year; sometimes the water must be much nearer the surface of the earth. On finding that we could not cross the ferry, the waters which divide the United States from the Province of Upper Canada, we lodged about three miles below the ferry.

*June 11.* In the morning we crossed over to the United States, near the mouth of Buffalo Creek. There we took a boat, and went up the creek near to one of the Seneca towns. Here we were received by the inhabitants with every mark of respect, in their power to show. They were under arms, about eighty of them. On our approach they fired a feu-de-joie. After this was over, they assembled in their council-house, where they remained some time consulting together. We were then invited in and seated, where we were addressed by one of their old chiefs, in which he expressed their friendship and the great desire they had for peace. He recommended, in strong language, that we should attempt this important work, only on a reliance on the aid of the Great Spirit; and if that was sincerely sought, he did not doubt but we should obtain our wishes. In our answer we echoed his speech, and gave them on our part fresh assurances of the friendship of the United States, and thanked them for their kind wishes and good intentions; and that to promote an object so interesting in itself, they were, many of them, undertaking a long and tedious journey. We then assured them that we would make the matter as easy for them as possible; that we would give them a boat, ammunition for hunting on their route, and some fresh beef, that they might rejoice with their friends before they left them. After this business was finished they suggested that they would entertain us with a dance in the evening. This we attended, but found nothing meritorious in it, but a desire to please. As soon as the dance was over we retired to our quarters, a small house being assigned to us. Here we made some tea and eat a cake, which we carried with us, and went to rest on some skins, which, with our blankets, did pretty well.

*June 12.* In the morning, after refreshing ourselves again with some tea and the remainder of our cake, and having taken a large drink of sweet meal mixed with water, (this is



made from parched corn beat to flour, and in the process a little sugar mixed with it; this meal when mixed with water makes an agreeable and nutritive drink)—we then took leave of some of the chiefs and returned in our boat to Buffalo Creek, where we dined; then mounted our horses, re-crossed the ferry, and put up at night at the house we left the morning before, three miles from Lake Erie.

*June 13.* Confined by a heavy rain.

*June 14.* We returned to Navy Hall.

*June 15.* Col. Pickering, Mr. Dean, and myself crossed the river, and went to Fort Slauser, eight miles above Queens-town, on the opposite side of the river, and just above the Falls. At this place the goods, after being taken across land from what is called the Landing, were re-shipped and carried into Lake Erie, and thence on to Detroit. Since this side is in the limits of the United States, the British have made a way on the west side of the communication between the lakes. All goods must be carried by the Falls ten miles on one side, or eight on the other (U. S.) At Fort Slauser, where there is a corporal's guard, we found Mr. Stedman, whose attentions and friendship were such as could not fail to make our stay with him very agreeable.

We went towards evening to visit the Falls on the east side; we had seen them before on the west. Here we could approach them on the same level with the water when it rolled over the tops of the rocks. In this situation the fall appeared greater to me, than when I viewed it on the opposite side; for there I was on an eminence nearly one hundred feet above the level of the water. When on the east side, in looking down the bank on which I stood, the distance magnified exceedingly. I cannot account for the deception when observing the Falls, unless it springs from their length, or from our viewing them through a cloud; which we always do; for the vapor constantly ascends, and has the appearance of a cloud, at the distance of many miles. The water falls fifty-seven feet in the distance of one mile before it falls perpendicularly. It is generally believed here, that the Falls were six miles lower down than what they now are, and that the change has been produced by the constant operation of the water. This idea led me to examine, as well as I could, the banks of the river, on one side and the other; but did not discover any marks of the operation of the water on the rocks.

I therefore could not adopt fully the opinion; and I cannot now avoid doubting the truth of the observation, unless I sacrifice my reason to wild and uncertain conjecture. Whenever this takes the direction of the mind, it becomes unstable, and philosophy seeks her retreat into a soil more adapted to her existence.

We returned toward evening to the house of our friend, Mr. Stedman. Here we were amused by the use of an air-gun, with which he would kill with ease the robin and the different kinds of birds, which came into his garden. This machine was very simple indeed; nothing more than an ash stick, about an inch diameter and five feet long, perforated through with an opening about equal to the calibre of a common musket. Into this is put a sharpened arrow at one end; the other is covered with the blossoms of thistles, about three or four inches. Blowing into this tube throws the arrow with a force sufficient to kill a bird fifty feet or more. The blossom tied about the arrow stops the air, at the same time that, from its softness, it yields without any apparent degree of friction to check its force; and from its elasticity, as soon as it leaves the tube, it regains its former position; so that an arrow, if not lost, will answer a thousand times. In conversation with our friend Stedman, who lives just on the bank of the river, respecting his keeping geese and ducks so near the Falls, down which they are liable to be carried with the rapid current, he said they had discovered a method which prevented them from swimming far from the shore, or remaining long in the water at any time, by picking off from the breast all the feathers and down, a place about the circumference of a dollar. I minute the hint because it may be of use.

*June 16.* In the morning we went to pay a visit to the Tuscarora villages. They were about half a mile one from the other, and about four miles from Queenstown, or the Landing. In the first were thirty-odd houses, and in the other about twelve. Where these stand, the timber has been lately cut off; on doing which they have discovered that formerly the same place had been settled, and that there had been a work around it, the banks of which are visible at this time. Besides, as a farther proof that it was an old settlement, they have found Indian stone axes. The Indian houses are about twelve feet square, built some with bark and others

with wood, as we build our log huts. Many of them have chimneys, in which they can keep a comfortable fire, while others retain their ancient custom of having the fire in the centre of the house. These Indians, as well as the Senecas, are settled on good land, and might live very well, and with great ease, if they would attend to agriculture. Some of them now sell a considerable quantity of corn for rum. We found among them a number of cows, which appeared exceedingly good, but it was difficult indeed to obtain any milk, for the calves were (among the Senecas) running with the cows.

Nothing very particular took place from the 16th to the 25th, the day our express returned from Philadelphia.

*June 26.* We left our lodgings at Governor Simcoe's, where we had been treated with attention. On our departure he gave a letter to those who had the care of the Indians, relative to their supplies; in which he expressed himself in the strongest terms, that, in case the treaty should not produce a peace, care should be taken that the Commissioners should not be injured or insulted by the savages; for that an injury to them would greatly affect him, the commander in chief, the British nation, and even the king himself. This, I suppose, had its origin from a report, which circulated pretty generally, that the Indians intended, if they could not make peace, to commence hostilities on the spot, by sacrificing the Commissioners, &c. We arrived in the evening at the Landing, where we lodged. The common cherries and the currants are now ripe enough to eat.

*June 27.* This day we left the Landing, and travelled to Chippewa, ten miles; here we waited until our baggage could be forwarded. On my way to this place I again visited the Falls. I went down to what is called the Table Rock, nearly on a level with the water, where it falls in its greatest degree. It did not appear to me, notwithstanding the advantageous situation in which I placed myself, that the water fell so much as fifty feet; the appearance was very like, as to distance, the water falling from a very high three-story house. A gentleman with me, who had rode four hundred miles to see the Falls, was very much of the same opinion. As I observed before, there is a constant vapor ascending, caused by the violent agitation of the water. Through this, when the sun shines, you discover the rainbow. The water falls with such weight into deep water that there is very little current



on the surface of the water near the Falls, not so great as to prevent your passing with a canoe across the river.

*June 28.* Lodged on the road.

*June 29.* This day we went to Lake Erie from Chipewa to see the vessel in which we were to embark; but as we were not ready for this, we returned four miles, and lodged where we lodged the night before.

*June 30.* This day we went on board the vessel, where I continued without going on shore until July 2d.

*July 2.* I went on shore and examined the rocks thereon. They seemed to be a composition of petrified vegetables and fossils; but from their hardness it was difficult to detach any particular parts of them.

While at Fort Erie, the commanding officer invited me into his garden, which was very handsomely laid out, and in excellent order, and vegetation in great forwardness. Besides having the common cherry, the currant, &c. I found his potatoes in blossom, as also his cucumbers, his melons, and his Indian beans ready to be eaten as stringed beans, and his windsor beans fully grown. These observations are of no other importance than as they show the state of vegetation in this climate on the 2d of July.

*July 3.* I dined on shore with Captain Pratt. We had from his garden, peas, beans, &c. as also new potatoes, which were planted about the middle of April, and were now as big as eggs.

*July 5.* The wind remaining against us, a British vessel appeared in sight with a number of Indians on board. On the arrival of the vessel, we found that in her had arrived a large deputation from the council-fire at the Rapids of Miami. In two points they wanted satisfaction, the first respecting the movements of our army, and the second whether we were fully authorized to run and establish a new line between us and them.

The Indians assembled and gave notice to the Commissioners that they desired to speak with them. The Commissioners attending, a Shawanese chief (called Cat's Eyes,) addressed us thus.

Brothers,

We are sent by the nations of Indians assembled at the Rapids of Miami, to meet the Commissioners of the United States. We are glad to see you here. It is the will of the



chiefs of those nations that our Father, the Governor of this Province, should be present, and hear what we have to say to you, and what you have to say to us.

Brothers,

Do not make yourselves uneasy that we did not meet you, at the time you proposed, at Sandusky. The reasons thereof will be mentioned at another time. *Four Strings of black and white Wampum delivered to the Commissioners.*

To which the Commissioners replied.

Brothers,

The Commissioners are glad to see you. We will confer with you in presence of your Father, the Governor of this Province, at any time and place which shall be convenient to him and you. *Returned the four Strings.*

The chiefs having consulted a few moments by themselves, again asked the attendance of the Commissioners, and proposed that the conference should be at the Governor's, at Niagara; to which the Commissioners agreed, informing the chiefs that they would be at the Governor's to-morrow night.

*July 7.* Before the arrival of the Commissioners at the council-house from Navy Hall, while waiting for them, Captain Brandt spoke in the name of the deputies of the western Indians.

Brothers,

It being agreed at the Rapids that we should come and meet the Commissioners in our Father's presence, we return our thanks to the Great Spirit, for seeing your Excellency well this day. Our intention and business is peaceable, and our inclination is to do what is right and just. We are all of one mind, and wished your Excellency to be present.

*A Belt of Wampum.*

His Excellency in reply said, that he was happy to see them well, and as the Commissioners had expressed their wish to meet the Indians in his presence, he should be glad to hear what they had to say. *Belt returned.*

The Commissioners being assembled, with the Governor, and a number of officers of the Province, as also many military officers, Captain Brandt, with a belt and a string of wampum, rose and said.

We have met to-day our brothers, the Bostonians and English. We are glad to have the meeting, and think it by the appointment of the Great Spirit.

Brothers of the United States,

We told you the other day at Fort Erie, that at another time we would inform you why we had not assembled at the time and place appointed for holding the treaty with you. Now we inform you that it is because there is so much the appearance of war in that quarter. Brothers, we have given the reason for our not meeting you, and now request an explanation of these warlike appearances.

Brothers,

The people you see here, are sent to represent the Indian nations who own the lands north of the Ohio as their common property, and who are all of one mind, one heart.

Brothers,

We have come to speak to you for two reasons; one because your warriors being in our neighborhood have prevented our meeting at the appointed place; the other to know if you are properly authorized to run and establish a new boundary line between the lands of the United States and the lands of the Indian nations. We are still desirous of meeting you at the appointed place.

Brothers,

We wish you to deliberate well on this business. We have spoken our sentiments in sincerity; considering ourselves in the presence of the Great Spirit, from whom in times of danger we expect assistance.

*Belt of twelve Rows, and thirty Strings of Wampum, in five bunches, presented to us.*

The Commissioners answered.

Brothers,

We have attended to what you have said. We will take it into our serious consideration, and give you an answer to-morrow. We will inform you when we are ready.

Captain Brandt replied.

Brothers,

We thank you for what you have said. You say that you will answer our speech to-morrow. We now cover up the council-fire.

July 8. The Commissioners gave the following answer to the speech of yesterday.

Brothers,

By the appointment of the Great Spirit, we are again met together. We hope he will assist us on both sides, to see

and to do what is right. It gives us pleasure that this meeting is in the presence of our brothers, the English. (Here we repeated what was said by Captain Brandt yesterday. This repetition is customary, that you may evince to them that you understood their speech. We after proceeded.) Brothers, now listen to our answer in behalf of the United States.

Brothers,

You have mentioned two objects of your coming to meet us at this place; one to obtain an explanation of the warlike appearances on the part of the United States on the northern side of the Ohio; the other to learn whether we have authority to run and establish a new boundary line between your lands and ours.

Brothers,

On the first point, we cannot but express our extreme regret that any reports of warlike appearances on the part of the United States should have delayed our meeting together at Sandusky. The nature of the case irresistibly forbids all apprehensions of hostile incursions into the Indian country north of the Ohio during the treaty at Sandusky. Brothers, we were deputed by the great chief and the great council of the United States to treat with you of *peace*;—and is it possible that the same great chief and his great council could act so deceitfully towards us, their Commissioners, as well as towards you? Brothers we think it not possible. But we will quit arguments, and come to facts.

Brothers,

We assure you that our great chief, General Washington, has strictly forbidden all hostilities against you, until the event of the proposed treaty at Sandusky shall be known. Here is the proclamation of his head warrior, General Wayne, to that effect. But, brothers, our great chief is so sincere in his professions for peace, and so desirous of preventing every thing which would obstruct the treaty and prolong the war, that besides giving those orders to his head warriors, he has informed the Governors of the several states adjoining the Ohio, of the treaty proposed to be held at Sandusky, and desired them to unite their powers with his to prevent any hostile attempts against the Indians north of the Ohio, until the result of the treaty is made known. These Governors have accordingly issued their orders, strictly forbidding all

such hostilities. The proclamations of the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania we have here in our hands.

Brothers,

If after all these precautions of our great chief, any hostilities should be committed north of the Ohio, they must proceed from a few disorderly people, whom no considerations of justice or public good can restrain: but we hope and believe that none such will be found.

Brothers,

After these explanations, we hope you will possess your minds in peace, relying on the good faith of the United States that no injury is to be apprehended by you during the treaty. We now come to the second point, whether we are properly authorized to run and establish a new boundary line between your lands and ours.

Brothers,

We answer explicitly that we have that authority. Where this should run, will be the great subject of discussion between you and us at the treaty; and we sincerely hope and expect that it may then be fixed to the satisfaction of both parties. Doubtless, some concessions must be made on both sides. In all disputes and quarrels both parties usually take some wrong steps, so that it is only by mutual concessions that a true reconciliation can be effected.

Brothers,

We wish you to understand us clearly on this head, for we mean that all our proceedings should be marked with candor. We therefore repeat and say explicitly, that some concessions will be necessary on your part, as well as on ours, in order to establish a just and permanent peace.

Brothers,

After this great point of the boundary line shall be considered at the treaty, we shall know what concessions and stipulations it will be proper to make on the part of the United States; and we trust they will be such as the world will pronounce reasonable and just.

Brothers,

You have told us that you represent the nations of Indians north of the Ohio, and whose chiefs are now assembled at the Rapids of the Miami. Brothers, it would be a satisfaction to us to be informed of the names of those nations, and of the number of chiefs of each so assembled.



Brothers,

We once more turn our eyes to your representation of the warlike appearances in your country; and to give you complete satisfaction on this point, we now assure you, that as soon as our councils at this place are ended, we will send a messenger on horseback to the great chief of the United States, to desire him to renew and strongly repeat his orders to his head warrior, not only to abstain from all hostilities against you, but to remain quiet at his posts until the event of the treaty shall be known.

*Belt and Strings delivered by us.*

Brothers, the Bostonians, attend.

We have heard your words. Our fathers, the English people, have also heard them. We thank God that you have been preserved in peace, and that we bring our pipes together. The people of all the different nations here salute you. They rejoice to hear your words. It gives us great satisfaction that our fathers the English have also heard them. We shall for the present take up our pipes and retire to our encampments, where we shall deliberately consider your speech, and return you an answer to-morrow. (This was from a Shawanese, called Cat's Eyes.)

*July 9.* In council. Present as yesterday. Captain Brandt arose with the belt and strings in his hands, which were delivered by the Commissioners, and addressing himself to the English and Americans, said.

Brothers,

We are glad the Great Spirit has preserved us in peace to meet together this day.

Brothers of the United States,

Yesterday you made an answer to the message delivered by us from the great council at Miami in the two particulars we had stated to you.

Brothers,

You may depend on it that we fully understand your speech. We shall take with us your belt and strings and repeat it to the chiefs at the great council at Miami. (Then laying down the belt and strings, he took up a white belt and said,)

Brothers,

We have something farther to say, though not much. We are small, compared with our great chiefs at Miami; but

though small, we have something to say. We think, brothers, from your speech, that there is a prospect of our coming together. We who are the nations at the westward, are of one mind; and if we agree with you, as there is a prospect that we shall, it will be binding and lasting.

Our prospects, brothers, are the fairer because all our minds are one. You have not spoken to us before unitedly. Formerly, because you did not speak to us unitedly, what was done was not binding. Now you have an opportunity to speak to us together; and we now take you by the hand to lead you to the place appointed for the meeting.

*A white Belt of Seven Rows.*

Brothers, this is all we have to say.

Afterwards Captain Brandt arose again, recollecting that he had not answered our request respecting the nations and chiefs assembled at Miami, and said,

Brothers,

One thing more we have to say. Yesterday you expressed a wish to be informed of the names of the nations and number of chiefs assembled at the Miami. But as they were daily coming in, we cannot give you exact information. You will see for yourselves in a few days. When we left it, the following nations were there, viz.

Five Nations,  
Wyandots,  
Shawanese,  
Delawares,  
Munsees,  
Miamis,

Ottawas,  
Chippeways,  
Potawatamies,  
Mingoes,  
Cherokees,  
Nantikokes.

The principal men of all the above nations were there.

The Commissioners then said to the Indians.

Brothers,

Our ears have been open to your speech; it is agreeable to us. We are ready to proceed with you to Sandusky, where, under the direction of the Great Spirit, we hope that we shall soon establish a peace on terms equally interesting and agreeable to all parties.

The council-fire was then covered up.

July 10. Left Navy Hall. Lodged at Chippewa.

July 11. Arrived on board, where we now are waiting for the return of the Indians and a fair wind.

According to our promise, we wrote to the President on the complaints made that our army was approaching, and sent to the Secretary at War a copy of all our official transactions, which had a tendency to show the real state of matters respecting the treaty. In addition thereto I wrote him the following private letter.

Niagara, 10th July, 1793.

My Dear Sir,

I wish you would cause the enclosed to Mrs. Lincoln, to be lodged in the post-office as soon as may be after it shall come to hand.

Having my pen in my hand I cannot help making an observation or two relative to appearances here, which may not be so fully expressed in our public communications.

At our several meetings with the delegates from the tribes assembled in council at the Rapids of the Miami, a great number of people attended the hearing; among which many were from the United States. Yesterday, after we covered up the council-fire, all classes of men seemed to unite in the idea that a peace would be established. Perhaps they are too sanguine in their expectations; I hope they are not. However that may be, such a sentiment will spread; for many of our people are on their return, and will doubtless give their opinion on the state of matters. It becomes therefore, if possible, of infinitely more importance than ever, that no movements of our army should intervene and destroy the present favorable appearance of things. For after the people are once flushed with the hope of peace, they will not be easily satisfied, if to any improper conduct on our part, they should be under the painful necessity of sacrificing the pleasing hope that the war will soon terminate.

If the reports which circulate here from different quarters are in any degree true, General Wayne must have violated the clearest principles of a *truce*. Certainly we expected that, from the nature of all the transactions of the United States, they considered themselves as bound by its laws, as established by the different nations. The Commissioners could not have painted to themselves any hope of personal security but in such a belief. For if there is no *truce* existing, they are just throwing themselves into the hands of the savages at open and active war.

The Commissioners are not so apprehensive for themselves, as for the honor of the United States, and the success of their mission.

If the present treaty, in this stage of it, should be broken up by the movements of our army, by the advancement of stores, other than those necessary for the several garrisons, by cutting of roads, or by any military transaction against the laws of war, our country will be highly irritated, and the blame will fall somewhere; not on the President, you know. The eyes of our country, as well as the eyes of our neighbors, are upon you.

Adieu.

Believe me, &c.

Secretary of War.

While at Navy Hall, a deputation from the Seven Nations of Canada arrived; they amounted to two hundred and eighty. They appear in their color, manners and dress similar to those in this neighborhood. Indeed, all the tribes which have fallen under my notice, from Nova Scotia on the north, to the Creek nations on the south, are very similar in their dress and manners. The same mode of attending their children in lacing them on a board, &c. runs through the whole. I think it is very probable, that when the Levitical laws were promulgated, the dress of the priests, and perhaps all the tribes, was similar to the dress of the Indians. In those laws it is provided that they shall not ascend the altar by steps, lest their nakedness should be disclosed. Elijah's mantle was probably a kind of blanket. The word mantle, among some of the tribes, at this day denotes a blanket. I think that the garment with which Noah was covered by his two sons was probably of this kind.

*July 14.* We left Fort Erie early in the morning. As we sailed on our course, an extensive lake opened to our view, and a pleasing appearance of the lands on shore. The eye was carried on from those which were level, to those which gradually swelled, thence on to hills of easy ascent, which terminated our sight. This lake is about three hundred miles in length, and sixty broad; the depth of the waters is from seven to seventeen fathoms deep, and generally a clayey bottom. The waters in this lake are locked up by a body of rocks extending across the mouth of it; and from the appearance of the rocks on the shores there seems to be a petrifying



quality in these waters. If so, the wasting hand of time will hereby be in some measure, if not fully, counteracted, and the barrier remain unimpaired; which would not be the case without such a quality in the waters. This lake is connected by navigable waters for large vessels with the lakes of St. Clair, Huron, and Michigan. Besides, the waters from the Lake Superior and the lakes above empty into these, and between them there are communications by boats. From all these lakes the waters pass the great falls of Niagara into the Lake Ontario, thence down the St. Lawrence. In Lake Ontario there is a plenty of salmon; but in the lakes above the Falls there are no fish whose nature directs their annual return to the sea; for in this attempt they would be lost at the Falls, should they be carried up by art. In all the upper lakes there are various kinds of fish, which are taken in great numbers, at certain seasons of the year; and at all times they are to be had, but not in such plenty. On the borders of these waters, so far as I could see, and from all I heard, there are vast tracts of excellent lands, which are capable, under proper cultivation, of yielding not only the necessaries, but many of the luxuries, of life. These waters are a very important deposit, as they facilitate the passing from one part to the other; they give an opportunity to the inhabitants to correspond one with the other, and to exchange articles, the natural production of one part, for those peculiar to another, by which the happiness of the whole is promoted.

When I take a view of this extensive country, and contemplate the clemency of its seasons, the richness of its soil, see the saccharine, so grateful to our tastes, and necessary perhaps, from habit, to our happiness, flowing from the trees of the forest; and observe the fountains of salt water, and spots of earth impregnated with saline particles, called salt-licks, to which the beasts resort, from the former of which a full supply of salt can be drawn for all the inhabitants at a very moderate price, while their situation is so far inland as to make this article, important to the well-being of man and beast, too expensive to be obtained in any other way; when I farther consider the many natural advantages, if not peculiar to, yet possessed by this country, and that it is capable of giving support to an hundred times as many inhabitants as now occupy it, (for there is at present little more to be seen on the greatest proportion of the lands than here and there

the footstep of the savage,) I cannot persuade myself that it will remain long in so uncultivated a state ; especially, when I consider that to people fully this earth was in the original plan of the benevolent Deity. I am confident that sooner or later there will be a full accomplishment of the original system ; and that no men will be suffered to live by hunting on lands capable of improvement, and which would support more people under a state of cultivation. So that if the savages cannot be civilized and quit their present pursuits, they will, in consequence of their stubbornness, dwindle and moulder away, from causes perhaps imperceptible to us, until the whole race shall become extinct, or they shall have reached those climes about the great lakes, where, from the rocks and the mountainous state, the footsteps of the husbandman will not be seen. Here they may find an asylum fitted to their use, in the enjoyment of which none will envy them. I am strengthened in this belief, when I carefully examine the first laws given to man by his kind and watchful Creator, and the consequences which resulted from their being kept or rejected.

The first injunctions from Heaven to man were, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and *subdue* it." Had it not been for the last injunction "*subdue*," and man had been left to no other course of life for obtaining his bread than that of seeking it from the lap of nature, the world would soon have been filled with inhabitants ; few, indeed, compared with its present numbers, would have filled it. When Adam was placed in the garden of Eden, he was not fixed there to be an idle spectator of the spontaneous productions of the earth, though surrounded with "every tree pleasant to the sight," but he was directed "to dress the garden and keep it." Feeling the power of these injunctions, he taught them to his children, and assigned a different employment to each. One was "a keeper of sheep," while the other was "a tiller of the ground."

In the family of Abraham, in which all the nations of the earth were to be blessed, and whose seed was to be multiplied as the stars of heaven, and as the sands on the sea-shore, the blessing descended on Isaac, the younger branch. This being the case, the progress of the family of Ishmael, the elder branch, of consequence must have been limited ; it was therefore left to the natural effects of their own choice. He was declared to be a wild man, to be at war with all, and had

his dwelling in the wilderness, where, as necessary to his support, he became an archer. In a state similar, wild and uncultivated, the family remains to this day, limited to the deserts of Arabia.

We find in the account of Esau and Jacob, that the former was a cunning hunter, a man of the field, while Jacob was represented as a plain man, dwelling in tents. From the different employments adopted by each, the younger was able to supply the wants of his brother, to which he was exposed from the nature of his pursuits, at a moment when he was willing to barter all future prospects for a temporary relief. Under these circumstances Jacob contracted with him, and gave the compensation stipulated for his birth right. Hereby he obtained, by the free consent of his brother, a right to that blessing which seems to have been obtained from Isaac by fraud. However hard the terms which Jacob imposed on Esau, and how little we know of the whole transaction at this day, yet he secured by contract a right which God designed he should afterwards enjoy; for in the branch of his family the blessings promised to Abraham were to descend. The pursuits of the other, though a cunning hunter, were such as forbade his entailing on his posterity that happiness which seems to be reserved to men of different ideas.

If the general complexion of these recitals shall appear to be such as will strengthen the opinion that a cultivation of the earth was in the original constitution established as the duty of man, I shall have answered my design in adducing them.

I think it was also in the original constitution, that this earth should be fully peopled. The benevolent Creator of the world early counteracted a different idea, which was taking place among men. When a plan was formed by the inhabitants of this globe of their becoming one great people, an attempt was made to arrest their minds, and to contract their views to the same objects. This they supposed would effectually secure them from scattering abroad through the whole earth. But the God of nature, who will cause his plans to be fully executed, at a moment when they were flushed with the hope of success, put an end to a design, arrogant and vain, in a manner miraculous, kind, and important; so that at once a period was put to their follies, and the tribes placed in a situation which perfectly forbade a continuation of their mad



and unwarrantable project. No longer speaking one common language, they separated themselves, and became different nations, each pursuing its own views.

I am strengthened in these ideas by a late writer, who is of opinion that to cultivate the earth is a duty imposed on man by the laws of his nature; that the whole earth is assigned for the nourishment of its inhabitants; that every nation is obliged by the laws of nature to cultivate the ground which has fallen to its share; that there are some who to avoid agriculture would live by hunting; that although this might have been allowed in the first ages of the world, when the earth without cultivation produced more than was sufficient to feed its few inhabitants, yet at present, when the human race is so greatly multiplied, it could not subsist if all nations resolved to live in the same manner; that those who still retain this idle life, usurp more extensive territories than they would have occasion for were they to use honest labor, and have therefore no reason to complain, if other nations, more laborious and too closely confined, come to possess a part; that the establishment of many colonies in North America may, on their confining themselves within just bounds, be extremely lawful; that the people of these vast countries rather overran than inhabited them.

All I mean to suggest is an opinion that the present inhabitants of this country will become tillers of the ground, and sacrifice their present pursuits to that important and natural object; or they will become extinct, or retire, as before mentioned, and thereby make way for those who will subdue the earth and dress it.

*July 21.* We arrived at the west end of Lake Erie, where we landed, and the vessel pursued her course up the river to Detroit. The Commissioners could not obtain permission to visit it, although we were within eighteen miles of the garrison. Upon our landing we were conducted to the house of Captain Eliot, who received us with hospitality, and gave us the use of his house, garden, &c. The morning after our arrival, we had a full supply of boiled green corn, which was well grown. Eliot has the best farm I have seen in the country by far. He has in possession the grounds on which the Indians formerly lived, and where the French first sat down to open a trade with the natives. The savages afterwards cut off the the settlement, and the French then began



at Detroit, where they always maintained their ground, and which I hear is now a handsome settlement, within the limits of the United States. As the people have not settled far from the river, a full view is had of their improvements as you sail up, and the whole may be seen as you pass.

*July 29.* Captain Eliot arrived with a deputation of upwards of twenty Indians from the nations assembled at the foot of the Rapids of the Miami. He delivered us a letter from Col. McKee, acknowledging the receipt of one, &c. which we had sent him.

*July 30.* In council at Captain Eliot's, at the mouth of Detroit river. Present,

The Commissioners and other citizens of the United States, the deputation of Indians, and the British officers and inhabitants.

The deputation addressed the Commissioners as follows, viz. a Wyandot chief (whose name signifies "Carry-one-about,") being their speaker.

Brothers, listen.

We are glad to see you here in peace, and thank the Great Spirit that has preserved us to meet again.

Brothers, we were sent to speak to you some time ago at Niagara. Some chiefs are now here who were then present.

Brothers, we did not explain ourselves to each other, and we did not rightly understand each other.

Brothers, we desire that we may rightly understand each other. We have thought it best that what we had to say should be put into writing, and here is the meaning of our hearts, (presenting the paper to the Commissioners.)

The above speech was interpreted by Simon Girtie, a British interpreter.

The Commissioners received the paper, and told the deputation that they would consider the subject of it and return an answer in writing, and give them notice when they were ready to deliver it. The contents of the paper were as follows, viz.

To the Commissioners of the United States.

Brothers,

The deputies we sent you did not fully explain our meaning. We have therefore sent others to meet you once more, that you may fully understand the great question we have to ask you, and to which we expect an explicit answer in writing.

Brothers, you are sent here by the United States in order to make peace with us, the confederate Indians.

Brothers, you know very well that the boundary line which was run between the white people and us, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, was the river Ohio.

Brothers, if you seriously design to make a firm and lasting peace, you will immediately remove all your people from our side of that river.

Brothers, we therefore ask you, Are you fully authorized by the United States to continue and firmly fix on the Ohio river as the boundary line between your people and ours?

Done in general council at the foot of the Miami Rapids, 27th July, 1793. In behalf of ourselves and the whole confederacy, and agreed to in full council.

Signed,

Wyandots,	A Bear.
Delawares,	A Turtle.
Shawanese,	A Snake.
Miamis,	A Turtle.
Mingoes,	A Snipe.
Potawatamies,	A Fish.
Ottawas,	An Otter.
Connoys,	A Turkey.
Chippeways,	A Crane.
Munsees,	

July 31. At the close of the afternoon, the Commissioners delivered the following answer to the deputation, viz.

Brothers,

You yesterday addressed us, mentioning a former deputation who met us at Niagara. At that meeting you said that we did not come to a right understanding; that your deputies did not fully explain your meaning to us, nor we ours to them; that you desired that we might rightly understand each other, and therefore thought it best that what you had to say should be put into writing; then handed us a paper. You said, Here is the meaning of our hearts.

Brothers, that paper is directed to the United States, and speaks to them these words, viz. (Here is repeated their written address, as mentioned on the preceding page.)

Brothers, the deputies here present,

We have now repeated the words contained in the paper

which you delivered us ; and these words have been interpreted to you. We presume the interpretation agrees with your ideas of the contents of the paper. It is expressed to be given by the Wyandots, &c. (here we repeated the whole) in behalf of themselves and the whole confederacy, and agreed to in full council.

Brothers, we are a little surprised at the suggestion that in the conference at Niagara we did not come to a right understanding, and that your deputies did not fully explain your meaning. These deputies appeared to be men of good understanding, and when we saw them, they were perfectly sober. In short, we never saw men in public council more attentive, or behave with more propriety. We could not therefore suppose they could mistake your meaning or ours. Certainly, we were sufficiently explicit, for in plain terms we declared, that "in order to establish a just and permanent peace, some concessions would be necessary on your part as well as ours."

These words, brothers, are a part of our speech to your deputies, and that speech they assured us they fully understood. What those concessions should be on both sides, and where the boundary line should be fixed, were proper subjects of discussion at the treaty, where we should speak face to face. This we are certain would be the best way to remove all difficulties. But your nations have adopted another mode, which, by speaking at a distance, prevents our knowing each other, and keeps alive those jealousies which are the great obstacles to peace. We are desirous of meeting your nations in full council, without more delay. We have already waited in this province sixty days beyond the time appointed for opening the treaty.

Brothers,

We have now expressed our opinion of a proper mode of settling the differences between you and the United States. But as your nations have desired answers to certain questions previous to our meeting, and we are disposed to act with frankness and sincerity, we will give you an explicit answer to the great question you have now proposed to us. But before we do this, we think it best to look back to some former transactions, and we desire you patiently to hear us.

Brothers,

We do know very well that at the treaty of Fort Stanwix,

twenty-five years ago, the river Ohio was agreed on as the boundary line between you and the white people of the British colonies; and we all know that about seven years after that boundary was fixed, a quarrel broke out between your Father, the king of Great Britain, and the people of these colonies, which are now the United States. This quarrel was ended by the treaty of peace made with the king about ten years ago, by which the great lakes and the waters which unite them were by him declared to be the boundaries of the United States.

Brothers,

Peace having been made between the king of Great Britain and the United States, it remained to make peace between them and the Indian nations who had taken part with the king. For this purpose Commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all the Indian nations, inviting them to come and make peace. The first treaty was held about nine years ago with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, which has stood firm and unviolated to this day. The next treaty was made about ninety days after, at Fort McIntosh, with the Half-King of the Wyandots, Captain Pipe, and other chiefs, in behalf of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas and Chippeway nations. Afterwards treaties were made with divers Indian nations south of the Ohio river; and the next treaty was made with Kakaipilashy here present, and other Shawanese chiefs, in behalf of the Shawanese nation, at the mouth of the Great Miami, which runs into the Ohio.

Brothers,

The Commissioners who conducted these treaties in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the great council of the States, who, supposing them satisfactory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of large tracts of the lands thereby ceded; and a great number of people removed from other parts of the United States and settled upon them. Also, many families of your ancient fathers, the French, came over the great waters, and settled on parts of the same lands.

Brothers,

After some time it appeared that a number of people in your nations were dissatisfied with the treaty of Fort McIntosh and Miami. Therefore the great council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their Commissioner, with



full powers, for the purposes of removing all causes of controversy, regulating trade, and settling boundaries between the Indian nations in the northern department of the United States. He accordingly sent messages inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a council-fire which he kindled at the falls of Muskingum. While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out; so he kindled a council-fire at Fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indians of different tribes attended. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and the Wyandots and Delawares renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort McIntosh. Some Ottawas, Chippeways, Potawatamies and Sacs were also parties to this treaty of Fort Harmar.

Brothers,

All these treaties we have here with us. We have also the speeches of many chiefs who attended them, and who voluntarily declared their satisfaction with the terms of those treaties.

Brothers,

After making all these treaties, and after having the chiefs freely express their satisfaction with them, the United States expected to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold the lands ceded by them. Accordingly large tracts have been sold, and settled, as before mentioned.

And now, brothers, we answer explicitly that, for the reasons here stated to you, it is impossible to make the river Ohio the boundary between your people and the people of the United States.

Brothers,

You are men of understanding, and if you consider the custom of white people, the great expense which attends their settlements in a new country, the nature of their improvements in building houses and barns and clearing and fencing their land, how valuable the lands are thus rendered, and thence how dear they are to them, you will see that it is now impracticable to remove our people from the north side of the Ohio. Your brothers, the English, know the nature of white people, and they know that under the circumstances which we have mentioned, the United States cannot make the Ohio the boundary between you and us.

Brothers,

You seem to consider all the lands in dispute on your side of the Ohio as claimed by the United States. But suffer us to remind you that a large tract was sold by the Wyandots and Delaware nations to the state of Pennsylvania. This tract lies east of a line drawn from the mouth of Beaver Creek, at the Ohio, due north to Lake Erie. This line is the western bounds of Pennsylvania, as claimed under the charter given by the king of England to your ancient friend, William Penn. Of this sale made by the Wyandots and Delaware nations to the state of Pennsylvania we have never heard any complaint.

Brothers,

We are on this occasion obliged to make a long speech. We again desire you to hear us patiently. The business is of the highest importance; and a great many words are necessary fully to explain it; for we desire you may perfectly understand us; and there is no danger of your forgetting what we say, because we will give you our speech in writing.

Brothers,

We have explicitly declared to you that we cannot now make the Ohio the boundary line between us. This agrees with our speech to your deputies at Niagara, "that in order to establish a just and permanent peace, some concessions would be necessary on your part as well as ours."

Brothers,

The concessions which we think necessary on your part are, that you yield up and finally relinquish to the United States some of the lands on your side of the Ohio. The United States wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of Fort Harmar; and also a small tract of land at the rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clark for the use of himself and his warriors. And in consideration thereof, the United States would give such a large sum in money or goods as was never given at one time for any quantity of Indian lands since the white people first set their foot on this island. And because those lands did every year furnish you with skins and furs, with which you bought clothing and other necessaries, the United States will furnish the like constant supplies; and therefore, besides the great sum to be delivered at once, they will every year deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best suited to the wants of yourselves, your women and children.

Brothers,

If all the lands before mentioned cannot be yielded up to the United States, we shall desire to treat and agree with you on a new boundary line ; and for the quantity of land you relinquish to us within that new boundary line, we shall stipulate a generous compensation ; not only for a large sum to be paid at once, but for a yearly rent, for the benefit of yourselves and your children forever.

Brothers,

Here you see our concession, which we are willing to make on the part of the United States. Now listen to another of a claim which probably has more disturbed your minds than any other whatever.

Brothers,

The Commissioners of the United States formerly set up a claim to your whole country southward of the great lakes, as the property of the United States, grounding their claim on the treaty of peace with your Father, the king of Great Britain, who declared, as we have before mentioned, the middle of those lakes and the waters which unite them to be the boundaries of the United States.

Brothers,

We are determined that our whole conduct shall be marked with openness and sincerity. We therefore frankly tell you that we think that those Commissioners put an erroneous construction on that part of our treaty with the king. As he had not purchased the country of you, of course he could not give it away ; he only relinquished to the United States his claim to it. That claim was founded on a right acquired by treaty with other white nations, to exclude them from purchasing or settling in any part of your country ; and it is the right which the king granted to the United States. Before that grant, the king alone had a right to purchase of the Indian nations any of their lands between the great lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, excepting the part within the charter boundaries of Pennsylvania ; and the king, by the treaty of peace, having granted this right to the United States, they alone have now the right of purchasing. So that now neither the king nor any of his people have any right to interfere in any respect with any part of those lands. All your brothers, the English, know this to be true ; and it agrees with the declaration of Lord Dorchester at Quebec two years ago.

Brothers,

We now concede this great point. We, by the express authority of the President of the United States, acknowledge the property or right of soil of the great country above described, to be in the Indian nations, so long as they desire to occupy the same. We only claim particular tracts in it, as before mentioned, and the general right granted by the king, as above stated, and which is well known to the English and Americans, and called the right of pre-emption, or the right of purchasing of the Indian nations disposed to sell their lands, to the exclusion of all other white people whatever.

Brothers,

We have now opened our hearts to you. We are happy in having an opportunity of doing it, though we should have been more happy to have done it in full council of your nation. We expect soon to have this satisfaction, and that your next deputation will take us by the hand and lead us to the treaty. When we meet and converse with each other freely, we may more easily remove any difficulties which may come in the way.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN,	}	<i>Commissioners of the United States.</i>
BEVERLEY RANDOLPH,		
TIMOTHY PICKERING,		

*At Captain Eliot's, at the mouth of Detroit River, July 31st, 1793.*

This speech was read by paragraphs, and interpreted by Mr. Jones into the Seneca tongue, and then delivered to the oldest chief with a white belt and with thirteen stripes of black wampum.

The deputation said that it was too late to make any reply, but they would speak to us in the morning.

*August 1st, 1793.* Present as yesterday.

The Wyandot chief arose and spoke, which was interpreted by Simon Girtie.

Brothers, we are all brothers you see here now. Brothers, it is now three years since you have desired to speak with us. We heard you yesterday and understand you well, perfectly well. We have a few words to say to you.

Brothers, you mentioned the treaties of Fort Stanwix, Beaver Creek, and other places. Those treaties were not



complete. There were but few chiefs who treated with you. You have not bought our lands; they belong to us. You tried to draw off some of us.

Brothers, many years ago we all know that the Ohio was made the boundary; it was settled by Sir William Johnson. This side is ours; we look upon it as our property.

Brothers, you mention General Washington. He and you know you have houses and people on our lands. You say you cannot move them off; and we cannot give up our lands.

Brothers, we are sorry that we cannot come to an agreement. The line has been fixed long ago.

Brothers, we do not say much. There has been much mischief on both sides. We came here upon peace, and thought you did the same. We shall talk to our head warriors; you may return whence you came, and tell Washington.

The council here breaking up, Captain Eliot went to the Shawanese chief, Kakaipalathy, and told him that the last part of the speech was wrong. That chief came back and said it was wrong. Girtie said he had interpreted truly what the Wyandot chief spoke. An explanation took place, and Girtie added as follows, viz.

Brothers,

Instead of going home, we wish you to remain here for an answer from us. We have your speech in our breasts, and shall consult our head warriors.

The Commissioners then said that they would wait to hear again from their council at the Rapids; but desired that this answer might be without delay.

*Aug. 2.* I walked, towards evening, on the bank of the river; was discovered by a man of observation, who met me and carried me to his house. From him I learned that a little distance therefrom, in a new field, he had discovered a large circular fortification, which must have been erected very many years since; for, besides very large timber trees standing therein, there were many, which having come to maturity, had fallen down, and appear to have remained in that situation for a long time. The fortification embraced about four acres. He also added that a fortification, of some kind or other, would be discovered in every four miles square in all this part of the country. In tilling the land, they plough up parts of earthen pots and some stone axes. Hence it is evident that the people who erected these works were not in

possession of iron tools. Works similar are to be found throughout this western world. What puts this business in a more perplexing point of light is, that the lands in this neighborhood, about three miles from the river, are swampy and full of water; yet in these low lands fortifications are to be found, as on the higher, with the ditches full of water. These facts must serve to silence the conjectures of Mr. Webster, when, speaking of those works on the Muskingum, he supposed that they were thrown up by the Spaniards, in a route they took through that country.

This country, at the time the works were thrown up, was doubtless much fuller of inhabitants than at present. It is now too thinly inhabited to effect any such works as are discovered, though they should make use of all the knowledge and advantages which they have derived from civilized nations; for such is their mode of living, that to obtain a very indifferent support consumes most of their time, and especially that season of the year in which only works in this cold climate can be erected.

It is an observation which, I think, from all appearances is well founded, that when America was first discovered by the Europeans, there were many millions of natives in that tract of country now claimed by Great Britain, Spain and the United States, east of the Mississippi. At this day, by a supposed exaggerated computation, there are but about 300,000, the whole number of souls, viz. men, women and children, in all the territory above mentioned, which contains one million of square miles. This tract cast into acres, makes 364,000,000 acres, which divided by the number of the present inhabitants leave 121,330 acres to each individual. Some of the tribes have been reduced two thirds since the memory of people now living, and from causes not yet investigated. They yet rapidly waste, and nothing, in my opinion, will prevent their becoming extinct, or retiring, as aforesaid, to such lands as will not bear cultivation, unless they become civilized, till the ground, and receive their support from the cultivated earth. The savage manners never will check that progress which is the natural effect of civilization.

It may, I know, with propriety, be asked me, why this country will not support as many inhabitants as it manifestly did some centuries past. A solution of this question appears to me very easy. When this country was filled with inhabit-

ants, prior to their connection with the mercantile part of the world, none of the wild beasts of the forest were destroyed for any other purpose than to give food to the hungry, and clothing to the naked. Now they are destroyed in the most wanton manner, and it is probable that not one twentieth part of the flesh is eaten of those beasts which are killed for the sake of their skins. Of the truth of this we can all judge, when we know that it is not uncommon for a single huntsman to kill one hundred deer in a few months, while out on one hunt. The temptation to this is that the present inhabitants find a market for that peltry to which the former inhabitants were perfect strangers. These skins are bartered mostly for mere bawbles, and for some articles even worse.

The temptation to this kind of life is such, that it engages the whole attention of the most active and hardy part of the tribe, and so destroys the game, that at times they suffer greatly from want ; this operates as a discouragement to the sex. The suffering of the wives in bringing up their children, leads them to practise every art to prevent their bearing ; and authorizes, in their minds, the destruction of those which are in any degree imperfect or deformed.

The mode of hunting now practised by the Indians operates much to their disadvantage. By the use of fire-arms they have it in their power to destroy many more of the wild beasts than they could before ; and generally speaking, the more they kill, the worse it is for them. Besides, the report of their guns terrifies the game, and keeps it in a shy and wandering state, frequently driven from its necessary feeding-grounds, by which means it is impoverished and rendered less valuable.

The Indians must have suffered and now suffer greatly from their having abandoned their former mode of covering, viz. that of furs and skins, for the linens and calicos of Europe, while they retain the savage mode of life, by which they are exposed to many hardships. They have not any covering from the waist up, saving a linen or calico shirt, and occasionally a blanket thrown over their shoulders. Besides, they all have Indian stockings, made of woollen cloth ; the males a breech cloth and the females a woollen petticoat, generally blue, but sometimes black, and sometimes scarlet ; this comes down to the knee, and wraps light around their waists and hips. This doth not appear to be a sufficient covering to



preserve them from the inclemency of the weather, with indifferent huts, in these high northern latitudes, and in the various situations to which, from their mode of life and the nature of their employments, they are too frequently exposed. The consequence of which is that they get repeated colds, which falling on the lungs bring on consumptive habits, which now carry off a great proportion of them. This disorder, I am informed, was not known among them until after they became connected with the Europeans. Hence I conclude, that their former dress, which consisted of furs and skins, was more consonant to the savage life than the mode of dress now adopted by them. Facts also establish this point beyond controversy; for the more northern Indians, still retaining their original dress of furs, &c. are more robust and live longer than those who inhabit this milder climate.

It is a mistaken idea embraced by some, that one cause of the reduction of the native tribes in this country, is owing to their being driven into narrow limits. Certainly they are not; it is thinly inhabited, compared with what it formerly was, and one hundred and twenty thousand acres cannot be considered a small allotment, which is supposed to be, at least, the share of each individual, the present occupants of this uncultivated world.

I know that it is an opinion commonly adopted that the Indians are destroyed by their intemperance. That they are intemperate, none will deny; but it is certain that they use a very small proportion of ardent spirits compared with the white inhabitants in general. They have not the means of obtaining it; if they could procure it, they would make an improper use of it, I have no doubt. I see nothing among the different tribes which bespeaks a want of health, or that they, in a peculiar manner, die before they have lived out half their days. There appear as many old men among them as among any people within my knowledge.

It is said, that by their connection with the Europeans they have contracted a disorder which proves in its consequences exceedingly injurious to them, and to which, they say, that before such communication, they were perfectly strangers. It is supposed by some that they have an easy method of cure. But I believe, from all I can learn, that what they call a cure is often but a palliative, and only corrects the virulence of the disorder for a time, and that it finally so affects



the whole system that it is conveyed from the mother to the child, whose tender frame soon yields to its malignity ; and the parents also, in a short time, fall a sacrifice to the obstinacy of the disorder. To evince how little the Indians understand the nature of the disease or mode of cure, I need but add that their last resort, in these cases, is the *powow*. This differs, as I am told, in nothing from the modern animal magnetism but the awkward howlings and gestures of the actor.

Although I am persuaded that from the foregoing observations we may account in part for the reduction of the natives, yet it appears to me that its progress has been too rapid for me to account for it fully, at present, from any natural causes which have fallen under my observation. I therefore must leave the subject as it is until I turn over one page more in the book of nature. Perhaps thereon I shall find the matter plainly engraven. If not, I can believe that others are to possess this country, who will pursue a course of life different from the one followed by its present inhabitants, and that a way will be opened, in proper time, for the introduction of that system founded in wisdom and justice.

*Thursday, Aug. 8.* Nothing particular of a public nature passed from the 1st until this evening, when there arrived two of Capt. Hendrick's men, with letters requesting some necessaries may be sent to him, and informing of the proceedings of the Indian councils at the Miami, and the disposition of the Indian nations relative to peace and war after our speech of the 31st ult. had been interpreted to them. By the information of the letters and messengers, it appeared that all the nations were for peace, except the Shawanese, Wyandots, Miamis and Delawares ; that these had at length yielded to the opinion of the other nations ; and that peace would probably be made. Captain Hendrick also expressed his opinion that we should receive an invitation from all the confederated nations to meet them near the mouth of the Miami this week.

*Aug. 9.* Twelve Munsees and Chippeways arrived. They said that they came to this side of the river on purpose to see the Commissioners of the United States. They confirmed generally the information of Hendrick's men. They said that they were on their way home, (except a Munsee who

lives at Sandusky,) for they had worn out their clothes, and were tired of the long continuance of the treaty; and they expected that, the greatest difficulties being got over, the chiefs (some of all the nations remaining at the council,) would now make peace. Two of the oldest of them said, that when the warriors, who were going home, were about to leave the council, they enjoined it on their chiefs to make peace, that they might without fear or interruption return to their hunting.

Captain Bunbury (one of the British officers who accompanied the Commissioners) says that one of the twelve Indians who arrived to-day is an Ottawa (or Tawa, as the name is often spoken,) and that he said that the Shawanese and others are strong for war, and will not abide by a peace into which they shall be dragged by the other nations.

*Sunday, Aug. 11.* The king's vessel, called the Chippewa, arrived from Detroit, bound to Fort Erie. Twelve Senecas, including women and children, and most of them sick, from the Indian council at the Rapids of the Miami, came in her. These Senecas are well known to General Chapin; and Jones, the interpreter, one of them, an intelligent man, gave us the like information about the proceedings of the council upon our last speech, with that received from Hendrick's men and the Munsees and Chippeways; only that the four nations who inclined to continue the war, remained obstinate when he departed from the council; that the Six Nation chiefs had twice addressed them, urging them to agree to a peace; were going to speak to them a third time; and if they were still obstinate, would exceed their usual custom, and speak a fourth time; and if without effect, that they would then leave them and go home. He says the Farmer's brother told him and his company, that they might expect to be overtaken by messengers to the Commissioners before they (the informant and his company) reached Detroit; but if none arrived before they got down to the Commissioners' quarters, that then they might conclude no peace would be made. This Seneca said that excepting the four nations before mentioned, the Indians were for peace. He particularly mentioned the Six Nations, and the Seven Nations of Canada, as strongly recommending to the hostile Indians to make peace; and that, for this purpose, Captain Brandt and the Farmer's brother spoke a great deal in council. He added that of the four excepted nations

near one half were disposed for peace ; and that the Messaugues, Chippeways, and Ottawas are as strong for peace as the Seven Nations of Canada.

*Monday, Aug. 12.* No deputation or official information from the Indian council having yet arrived, the Commissioners judged that it would be expedient to proceed without more delay to the Miami bay or river, that they might more easily and expeditiously send to, and receive an answer from them. They accordingly wrote the following letter to Captain Ford, commanding the vessel assigned by Governor Simcoe for their accommodation.

*Mouth of Detroit River, Aug. 12, 1793.*

Sir,

We have been waiting here twelve days for a reply to our last answer to the Indian nations assembled at the Rapids of Miami. We can think of no sufficient reason for this delay, and must therefore take measures to obtain that reply, or to ascertain whether we ought any longer to expect it. For this purpose, we judge it proper to proceed ourselves to the Miami bay or river, that the necessary communication with the Indians may be easy and expeditious ; for it is time that the business of our mission be brought to an issue. We therefore request you to be prepared to sail to-morrow morning, when we propose to embark.

We are Sir, yours, &c.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN,	} <i>Commissioners</i>	
BEVERLEY RANDOLPH,		<i>of the</i>
TIMOTHY PICKERING,		<i>United States.</i>

Captain Jos. Ford, commanding the Dunmore.

Captain Ford having read the letter, came and informed the Commissioners that he was instructed to attend the Commissioners, but to receive his orders from Captain Bunbury ; and desired us to speak to him. We spoke to Capt. Bunbury and told him that Governor Simcoe had assigned the Dunmore, Capt. Ford, to the use of the Commissioners, and that from what the Governor and his Secretary had repeatedly said, we had a right to conclude she was under our direction, to go when and where we thought proper, for the purpose of the treaty, except to Detroit. He said he had his



orders from Governor Simcoe, and that by those orders he could not consent that the Commissioners, or any deputation from them, should go to the Miami bay or river, until Col. McKee should give notice that the Indians were ready to receive them. But, says he, if the Commissioners choose to go to Sandusky, I will order the Dunmore to proceed thither. He read some passages in Governor Simcoe's letter to him. The Commissioners asked if he would give an extract of the letter containing his orders. He answered, that Mr. Storer might take an extract. They retired together; Capt. Bunbury read, and Mr. Storer wrote down from his mouth, the following words as an extract from the Governor's letter.

Extract of a letter from Col. Simcoe to Captain Bunbury, dated at Navy Hall, 28th June, 1793.

"The directing the king's vessel to carry them (the Commissioners) thither. She will anchor, therefore, as conveniently as possible to the northern shore of the river, on the banks of which they propose to remain until they hear from Col. McKee. The Indians do not wish they should visit the opposite shore."

*Detroit River, 12th August, 1793.* The above extract was this day verbally given me by Capt. Bunbury, who, though desired, refuses to sign it.

*Tuesday, August 13th.* Being thus prevented from proceeding to the Miami bay, the Commissioners concluded to send a message to the Indian nation at the Rapids, and a letter to Col. McKee. The message and letter here follow.

"To the chief warriors of the Indian nations assembled at the foot of the Rapids of the Miami river.

Brothers,

It is now fifteen days since we delivered our speech to your deputies at this place; in which we explicitly answered the written question presented by them from you, and gave our reasons why we could not make the Ohio the boundary between you and the United States. We also mentioned some of the heads of the engagements we were willing to make in behalf of the United States. The particulars, together with other stipulations for your benefit, we judged proper to reserve to be explained to you in full council, when we should meet face to face.



Brothers, the next morning your deputies spoke to us, said they would lay our speech before you, and desired us to wait for your answer; which we desired and expected might be speedily given.

Brothers, we have waited fourteen days, and no answer has yet arrived.

Brothers, it is time to bring the business to a conclusion. The summer has almost passed away, and we do not yet know even whether we are to have a treaty.

Brothers, you know that we came to treat with you of peace. We again tell you that we earnestly desire to make peace; and in the terms of peace we are disposed to do you ample justice. But if no treaty is to be held, if peace is not to be obtained, we desire immediately to know it, that we may go home.

Signed by the Commissioners.

Copy of a letter to Col. McKee.

*Mouth of Detroit River, 14th August, 1793.*

Sir,

To the speech delivered here to the deputation of the Indian nation assembled at the Rapids of the Miami, we expected an early answer. We have waited fourteen days, and no answer has yet arrived. We have therefore despatched runners with a speech to the chiefs and warriors, manifesting our wishes to begin the treaty without more delay, and desiring to know immediately their decision on the subject. A copy of our speech is enclosed.

We presume that it will be in your power to forward the business. Your aid therein will be gratefully acknowledged. The mode in which the negotiations have hitherto been conducted is new, and as improper as new. All the questions which have been stated might have been proposed to our faces, and have received prompt answers. We must soon close the negotiation, unless substantial reasons demand procrastination. In that case we may think ourselves justified in giving further proof of our patience. We again request your assistance to expedite the business which is the object of our mission,

And are, sir, yours, &c.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN,	} <i>Commissioners</i>	
BEVERLEY RANDOLPH,		<i>of the</i>
TIMOTHY PICKERING,		<i>United States.</i>

These papers were forwarded by two runners, with seven strings of black and white wampum, with instructions to inform Capt. Brandt, the Farmer's Brother, the Corn-planter, the Fish-carrier, and Great Sky, that they had the speech, and request that the chiefs might be assembled, that it might be immediately delivered. They were then to deliver the letter to Col. McKee. After this they were to find Capt. Hendrick, and notify him that they had brought a speech, &c., and let him, Brandt and Col. McKee know when they were to return. They were instructed also not to divulge their business on the road.

Lord Dorchester's speech to the chiefs and warriors deputed by the confederated Indian nations of the Ottawas, Chippeways, Potawatamies, Hurons, Shawanese, Delawares, Tusturs and the Six Nations.

Brothers, when I heard your speech yesterday in behalf of your nations, I told you that your words were of great moment, that I should weigh them, and give you an answer this day.

Brothers, I am now ready.

Brothers, you mentioned two speeches yesterday, which you said had passed at a meeting with Mr. McKee at the foot of the Miami Rapids, and which you supposed I had received.

Brothers, these speeches have not reached me. I therefore called together some of your chiefs last evening, and found that I had had some information of their general purport before by a letter from Mr. McKee, in which he mentions that a meeting had taken place, which was called at my desire, for the purpose of informing you that I should be glad to be instrumental in restoring peace between you and the United States, if it should be in my power, and that therefore I wished to know the terms on which you were disposed to make peace.

Brothers, although in general I know your minds on that subject, I wish to be accurate, and therefore shall order your meaning to be taken down at a convenient time, that there may be no mistake in the representation of your wishes to the king your Father, to whom I shall give an exact account of your situation, on my arrival in England.

Brothers, you tell me that when you were assembled at the

Miami Rapids, to treat of peace, the people of the States came in arms into your country, intending to destroy you; that they heard you were strong and prepared, and then they turned off on a sudden to the Wabash, ransacked your unprotected villages, massacred your old men, and carried off your women and children.

Brothers, this was unfortunate, and I was very sorry to hear it; but I cannot tell whether these people knew that you were then assembled to deliberate on the means of peace.

Brothers, you have told me, these were people who say that the king your Father, when he made peace with the United States, gave away your lands. Brothers, I cannot think the government of the United States would hold that language. It must come from ill-informed individuals.

Brothers, you well know that no man can give what is not his own. When the king made peace, and gave independence to the United States, he made a treaty in which he marked out a line between them and him. This implies no more than that beyond this line he would not extend his interference.

Brothers, the posts would have been given up long since, according to the treaty, had the terms of it been complied with on the part of the States; but they were not. The king therefore remains in possession of the posts, and will continue to hold them, until all differences between him and the States shall be settled. But, brothers, this line which the king then marked out between him and the States, even supposing the treaty had taken effect, could never have prejudiced your rights.

Brothers, the king's rights respecting your territory were against the nations of Europe; these he resigned to the States. But the king never had any rights against you but to such parts of the country as had been fairly ceded by yourselves with your own free consent, by public convention and sale. How then can it be said that we gave away your lands? So careful was the king of your interest, so fully sensible of your rights, that he would not suffer his own people to buy your lands without being sure of your free consent, and of ample justice being done you. He therefore ordered his superintendent, General Sir Wm. Johnson, the father of your friend, to be present at all treaties between you and his colonial government, to see that you were fairly dealt with. Bargains



with private individuals were forbidden, and considered as void.

Brothers, when the king, your Father, discovered that, notwithstanding his care, there had been encroachments upon your lands by some of his people, that you were made uneasy, and that you had reason to complain, what did he do? He called the leading people of those colonies, between whom and you the difference had arisen, together, to meet your nations at Fort Stanwix, to settle the dispute, and to fix a final boundary.

Now, brothers, say, is it possible that so good a Father could ever mean to give away your lands, which he had no right to do? Certainly, he never did it, and never meant it.

Brothers, you remind me of your friendship and attachment to the king, your Father.

Brothers, the king has not forgot your friendship. He never forgets his friends.

Brothers, you desire the king's protection; you desire his power and influence may be exerted to procure you peace, and to secure your rights.

Brothers, you expect my assistance, and that you will be relieved in your distresses.

Brothers, when the western people of the States had made an inroad into your country, and burnt the Shawanese towns, of which I was informed not long after my arrival in this country, I made known your Father's sentiments with respect to you, and pointed out the line of conduct to be observed by me and all under my command towards you.

Brothers, I cannot better explain myself now than by the words of the letter I wrote at that time to Sir John Johnson, which is nearly five years ago. Letters of the same effect were by him sent to the officers of this department, and by me to the commandants of the king's posts in the upper country. The letter was to the following purport. "If the Indians require assistance in their wars, you will take proper means to make them understand that this country is a small part of the king's dominions; that with us in Canada no power is lodged to begin a war; nor ought we to have such a power, which might involve half the globe, with all the seas, in blood and destruction; that at present the king is at peace with the whole world, and desires to remain. Besides, according to our manners, that peace cannot be broken without



injury and wrong received, and redress refused. But though we have no power to begin a war, the Indians have our friendship and good wishes; and if we could be useful in procuring them a solid peace with the thirteen States, our best endeavors should be employed for that good purpose."

Brothers, these sentiments have no doubt been often explained to you; and if they had not, you must have perceived them from our conduct. Now you know them from my own mouth.

Brothers, you see that it is not in our power here to begin a war. If we are attacked, then we must defend ourselves, and may return hostilities.

Brothers, you see that though we have no power to begin a war, you have our friendship and good wishes; and if we can be useful in procuring you a solid peace with the United States, our best endeavors shall be employed for that good purpose. You see that the king has not forgot you, that he is solicitous of your comfort, and that he has ordered his servants to take care of you, and to give you every mark of his bounty and friendship consistent with the general laws of the European nations.

In a few days I expect to sail for England. I am very glad I have had an opportunity of seeing you before, that I may fully represent your wishes to the king, your Father.

Brothers, I leave the command of this country in the hands of Major General Clarke, who will take the same care of you that I have done; for that is the will of the king, our master. His benevolence and friendship for you are always the same, and whoever is the instrument of the king's power in this country, will always fulfil his intentions.

Brothers, here is Prince Edward, son of our king, who is just arrived with a chosen band of his warriors, to protect this country. I leave him second in command of all the king's warriors in Canada, and he will also take care of you.

Brothers, it would give me great pleasure, while I am in England, to hear that peace is established in your country upon a just and solid foundation, and that you live in comfort and security with your families, sowing your fields, and following your hunts to our mutual advantage.

Brothers, I recommend it to you not to lose sight of this desirable object.

Brothers, could I be instrumental in bringing this good work about, my pleasure would be still greater.

Brothers, I wish health, wisdom and happiness to you and all your nations, whom you will assure of the friendship of the king, your Father, and of the affection of his servants, and his people in general, as well as my own in particular.

Farewell, and may the Supreme Being protect you.

Delivered at Quebec, the 15th day of August, 1791.

(Signed)

DORCHESTER.

By his Excellency's command,

(Signed)

HENRY METZ.

(Copy)

*Aug. 16.* To the Commissioners of the United States.

Brothers, we have received your speech dated the 31st of last month, and it has been interpreted to all the different nations. We have been long in sending you an answer, because of the great importance of the subject. But we now answer it fully, having given it all the consideration in our power.

Brothers, you tell us that after you had made peace with the king, our Father, about two years ago, "it remained to make peace between the United States and the Indian nations who had taken part with the king; for this purpose Commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all those nations, inviting them to come and make peace;" and after reciting the periods at which you say treaties were held at Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh, and Miami, all which treaties, according to your own acknowledgment, were for the sole purpose of making peace, you then say, "Brothers, the Commissioners who conducted these treaties in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the general council of the States, who, supposing them satisfactory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of the lands thereby ceded."

Brothers, this is telling us plainly what we always understood to be the case, and it agrees with the declarations of those few who attended those treaties, viz. that they went to meet your Commissioners to make peace, but, through fear, were obliged to sign any paper that was laid before them; and it has since appeared, that deeds of cession were signed by them, instead of treaties of peace.

Brothers, you say "After some time it appeared that a number of people in your nations were dissatisfied with the

treaties of Fort McIntosh and Miami. Therefore the council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their Commissioner with full power, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy relating to trade, and settling boundaries between the Indian nations in the northern department of the United States. He accordingly sent messages, inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a council-fire he kindled at the falls of Muskingum. While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out; so he kindled a fire at Fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indians of different nations attended. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix; and the Wyandots and Delawares renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort McIntosh. Some Ottawas, Chippeways, Potawatamies and Sacs were also parties to the treaty of Fort Harmar." Now, brothers, these are your words, and it is necessary for us to make a short reply to them.

Brothers, a general council of all the Indian confederacy was held, as you well know, in the fall of the year 1788, at this place; and that general council was invited by your Commissioner, General St. Clair, to meet him for the purpose of holding a treaty with regard to the lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh.

Brothers, we are in possession of the speeches and letters which passed on that occasion between those deputed by the confederate Indians and Governor St. Clair, the Commissioner of the United States. These papers prove that your said Commissioner, in the beginning of the year 1789, after having been informed by the general council of the preceding fall, that no bargain or sale of any part of these Indians lands would be considered as valid or binding, unless agreed to by a general council, nevertheless persisted in collecting a few chiefs of two or three nations only, and with them held a treaty for the cession of an immense country, in which they were no more interested than a branch of the general confederacy, and who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or cession whatever.

Brothers, how then was it possible for you to expect to enjoy peace, and quietly hold these lands, when your Commissioner was informed, long before he held the treaty of Fort Harmar, that the consent of a general council was absolutely



necessary to convey any part of these lands to the United States? The part of these lands which the United States wish us to relinquish, and which you say are settled, have been sold by the United States since that time.

Brothers, you say "the United States wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of Fort Harmar, and also a small tract at the Rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clark for the use of himself and his warriors. And in consideration thereof the United States would give such a large sum in money or goods as was never given at any one time for any quantity of Indian lands since the white people first set their feet on this island. And because those lands did every year furnish you with skins and furs, with which you bought clothing and other necessaries, the United States will now furnish the constant supplies. And therefore, besides the great sum to be delivered at once, they will every year deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best fitted to the wants of yourselves, your women and children."

Brothers, money to us is of no value, and to most of us unknown; and as no consideration whatever can induce us to sell our lands, on which we get sustenance for our women and children, we hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may be easily removed, and peace thereby obtained.

Brothers, we know that these settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble ever since they crossed the Ohio. Divide therefore this large sum of money, which you have offered to us, among these people; give to each also a proportion of what you say you would give us annually, over and above this very large sum of money; and we are persuaded they would most readily accept of it in lieu of the lands you sold to them. If you add also the great sums you must expend in raising and paying armies with a view to force us to yield you our country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purposes of repaying these settlers for all their labor and improvements.

Brothers, you have talked to us about concessions. It appears strange that you should expect any from us, who have only been defending our just rights against your invasions.



We want peace. Restore to us our country, and we shall be enemies no longer.

Brothers, you make one concession to us by offering to us your money, and another by having agreed to do us justice, after having long and injuriously withheld it; we mean in the acknowledgment you have now made that the king of England never did, nor ever had a right to give you our country by the treaty of peace. And you want to make this act of common justice a great part of your concession, and seem to expect that because you have at last acknowledged our independence, we should for such a favor surrender to you our country.

Brothers, you have also talked a great deal about pre-emption, and your exclusive right to purchase the Indian lands, as ceded to you by the king at the treaty of peace.

Brothers, we never made any agreement with the king, nor with any other nation, that we would give to either the exclusive right to purchase our lands; and we declare to you that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or cession of lands whenever and to whomsoever we please. If the white people, as you say, made a treaty that none of them but the king should purchase of us, and he has given that right to the United States, it is an affair which concerns you and him, and not us. We have never parted with such a power.

Brothers, at our general council held at the Glaise last fall, we agreed to meet Commissioners from the United States for the purpose of restoring peace, provided they consented to acknowledge and confirm our boundary line to be the Ohio; and we determined not to meet you, until you gave us satisfaction on that point. That is the reason we have never met.

We desire you to consider, brothers, that our only demand is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great country. Look back and view the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot. We can retreat no farther, because the country behind hardly affords food for its present inhabitants; and we have therefore resolved to leave our bones in this small space, to which we are now consigned.

Brothers, we shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice, if you agree that the Ohio shall remain the boundary line between us. If you will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unnecessary. This is the great point,

which we hoped would have been explained before you left your homes ; as our message last fall was principally directed to obtain that information.

Done in general council at the foot of the Miami Rapids, the 13th day of August, 1793.

	Marks.
Wyandots,	A Bear.
Seven Nations of Canada,	A Turtle.
Delawares,	A Turtle.
Shawanese,	
Miamis,	A Turtle.
Ottawas,	A Fish.
Chippeways,	A Crane.
Senecas of the Glaise,	A Turtle.
Potawatamies,	A Fish.
Connoys,	A Turkey.
Munsees,	
Nantikokes,	A Turtle.
Mohegans,	{ A Turkey.
	{ A Turtle.
Messasaguas,	
Creeks,	
Cherokees,	

To the Chiefs and Warriors of the Indian Nations assembled at the foot of the Miami Rapids.

Brothers, we have just received your answer, dated the 13th instant, to our speech of the 31st of last month, which we delivered to your deputies at this place. You say that it was interpreted to all your nations, and we presume it was fully understood. We therein explicitly declared to you that it was now impossible to make the river Ohio the boundary between your lands and the lands of the United States. Your answer amounts to a declaration that you will agree to no other boundary than the Ohio. The negotiation is therefore at an end. We sincerely regret that peace is not the result. But knowing the upright and liberal views of the United States, which, as far as you gave us opportunity, we have explained to you, we trust that impartial judges will not attribute the continuance of the war to them.

Done at Captain Eliot's, at the mouth of Detroit River, the 16th day of August, 1793.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN, } *Commissioners*  
 BEVERLEY RANDOLPH, } *of the*  
 TIMOTHY PICKERING, } *United States.*

As the Commissioners supposed that the Six Nations were strangers to the last speech from the council at the Rapids of Miami, they thought it their duty to write to the chiefs of those nations in the following terms, viz.

To the Chiefs of the Six Nations.

Brothers,

Two runners were sent by us this week, with a message dated the 14th of this month, to the Indian nations assembled at the Rapids of Miami. Our instructions to the runners were, to inform you that they had such a message from us; and to request you to assemble the chiefs of the other nations, and then deliver it to you all together. From the report of the runners, we are apprehensive that they mistook our orders, and that our message has not been communicated to you. (See page 157.) We therefore now send a copy of it. We at the same time sent a letter to Col. McKee, of which also we inclose a copy. (See page 158.)

Brothers,

Our runners returned hither this evening. But a few hours before their arrival, two Wyandot runners arrived with a written answer to our speech of the 31st of last month, (see page 143) insisting on the Ohio as the boundary between the Indian lands and those of the United States. As we have already explicitly declared that we could not make the Ohio the boundary, the business of course was at an end. However, we delivered a short speech in writing to the same runners, who set off this evening to return to the council at the Rapids. We inclose a copy of it. (See the last page.)

Brothers,

Being desirous that you should be fully informed of these transactions, we have sent you copies thereof, which you may not otherwise obtain.

Brothers,

We came hither with the most sincere desire to make a

peace that would be beneficial to the Indians as well as to the United States. And had such a peace been accomplished, we felt a confidence that the justice and humanity of the United States, according to their present views of Indian affairs, would not only have continued, but extended their beneficence to the Indian nations; and so far as depended on them, have rendered the peace as lasting as the hills. And we should have been extremely happy in laying the foundation of so much good. We have now only to return home, and report our proceedings to the President of the United States. We shall sail with the first fair wind to Fort Erie.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN, } *Commissioners*  
 BEVERLEY RANDOLPH, } *of the*  
 TIMOTHY PICKERING, } *United States.*

*Mouth of Detroit River, August 16th, 1793.*

Captain Wellbank, who arrived at the Miami Rapids with the Creeks and Cherokees, went to Detroit. There he demanded of the commanding officer a passage to Fort Erie; which was accordingly granted him. His wishes were to see Gov. Simcoe, with whom he had business, or for whom he had letters. He returned to Detroit in the Chippewa, and came down to the mouth of the river the eleventh instant. On the 13th he called on the Commissioners and dined with us. As he had lived among the Indians of the Creek nation, and was conversant with the Cherokees, we made inquiries into the causes of the hostilities, and what were their complaints. This information was in substance as follows.

#### *Of the Creeks.*

That formerly the Creeks, in a grand council, repeatedly declared they were willing to confirm their lands, ceded by treaty to the United States, as far as the the north fork of the Oconee; but not to the south fork. He doth not take upon himself to say what they would now do. (The difference between a cession to one fork or the other, he says comprehends a tract of country about 300 miles in length, and from 30 to 70 in width, according to the course of the river.)

That in June or July, 1791, McGillivray wrote to Gen. Knox, informing him that the Creeks would not agree to relinquish their lands south of the north fork. Capt. Wellbank then repeated the following as a passage in McGillivray's



letter, viz. "At our last May meeting, the articles of the treaty were explained to the nation at large; and with respect to the Apalachee, or main south branch of the Oconee, it turned out as I told you it would at New York; they will not agree to that, but unanimously agree to the north fork; and hope Congress will require no more." And then he goes on to describe (says Capt. Wellbank) the country between the two forks; mentioning the quantity of land, as well as its extent. He says Thomas Gegg, in the Cherokee nation, gave him a copy of the letter, in his own hand-writing; and that at the head it is mentioned to be transcribed from a South Carolina newspaper. He farther observed that the letter had somehow or other been intercepted, and perhaps, or he believed, had never reached Gen. Knox. Gegg, he says, has now a commission for the peace from Governor Blount. [N. B. Thomas Gegg is the name of one of the witnesses to Governor Blount's treaty with the Cherokees.]

Our informant farther says it is the dispute about the lands lying between the two forks of the Oconee, which induces the Creeks to refuse to run the boundary line between them and the United States; and that after the treaty of New York, when McGillivray was at New Orleans, the Spanish Governor blamed the Creeks for giving up so much of their country to the United States. McGillivray said that the chiefs had done it; that the Governor of New Orleans sent among the Creeks a Captain Oliver, (a Frenchman in the Spanish service,) who inquired of the chiefs why they had given away so much of their country to the United States. The chiefs laid the blame on McGillivray, and he, to excuse himself, said that when the treaty was made, he was in the interior part of an enemy's country, and was compelled to give up the lands; that the Governor of New Orleans told McGillivray that he could not serve two masters; that he must renounce the Spaniards or the United States; that McGillivray then renounced the latter, and was going to burn his commission of Brigadier, received from the President; but the Governor told him that would be improper, and that if he meant to relinquish it, he ought to return it inclosed in a letter.

Captain Wellbank says that he heard that a Richard Pendleton, a half-breed of the Cherokees, now living or being on Cumberland, was at New Orleans when McGillivray was

there, and could relate what he said, or some part of it. He had however mentioned the same things which he (Wellbank) now related. Wellbank describes McGillivray as a debauched and mercenary man, and extremely timid. He died on the 17th or 18th of February last. General Bowles had not arrived in the Creek nation, to his knowledge. He assured us that Bowles was really friendly to the United States.

*Of the Cherokees.*

Capt. Wellbank left their council the 24th of May, 1793, to come with some chiefs to the northward. This nation object to the treaty with Governor Blount for the following reasons.

1st. That one line is stated to pass *forty* miles distant from Nashville, when they agreed only for *ten* miles, and that in the interpretation they were told that it was ten miles.

2d. That the Governor promised them two thousand dollars annually; that they demanded three thousand; that the Governor said that he had not authority to grant so much, but would apply to Congress to allow them the third thousand dollars; when in fact the treaty stipulated the annual payment of one thousand dollars, contrary to the interpretation to them.

3d. That they never agreed to the road, or to the navigation of the Tennessee for the people of the United States, as mentioned in the 5th article.

4th. That they did not agree to submit to Congress the regulation of their trade, as stipulated in the 6th article; that the interpreters were bribed by Governor Blount, in consequence of which Carey had fled the country; that Thompson, who is an Indian, the other intrepeter, stands his ground, but has in effect acknowledged the bribery, and has acknowledged that his fee was eighty guineas. He informed some of his acquaintance that he expected to bring in the value of two negroes, for he had so much due for private services.

Captain Wellbank says that he charged Carey with bribery. In excuse he said that he told Thompson that he did not interpret right. Thereon Thompson checked him, and said "hold your tongue; 'tis none of your business; I am a native of the land." Wellbank says that Carey spoke this in presence of Sir John Nesbitt and another gentleman from South Carolina. Captain Wellbank thinks the United States have not yet received just information of the dispute with the

Cherokees. All the persons, he says, are land-jobbers, and interested to misrepresent. He also says that as soon as Governor Blount was appointed Governor of the territory, General Pickens told the Cherokees that a worse man for them could not have been appointed; that he loved land, and would have all their lands. He farther observes that Governor Blount has erected three stations (or three stations are erected) in the Cherokee country, over the line settled by the treaty. He particularly mentioned Major Craig's station at Nine-mile Creek, between twenty and thirty miles from Knoxville.

*August 14th.* Captain Wellbank being with us, said that his business in coming was of a mercantile nature, relative to supplying the Indians with goods; that he wished for peace, but desired that justice might be done to the Indians; that the Creeks had been dissatisfied with the high price of goods they received from the Spaniards, but they would soon obtain relief, for the chiefs had applied to the king of Great Britain, praying that they may have their supplies from the British; that an Act of Parliament had been passed for the purpose; and a port, about seven miles westward of the mouth of Apalachicola river, was to be the place of entry; that the house of Panton, Leslie & Co. of Pensacola, at the close of the war in the year 1733, obtained permission from the king of Spain to supply the Indians with goods for the space of ten years.

*Cherokees.*

Captain Wellbank said that the Bloody Fellow and other chiefs, who went to Philadelphia to represent the grievances of the nation, reported on their return that the President (on authority of the States) promised redress; that the nations waited six months, and found none.

The Bloody Fellow then said, "Congress are liars, General Washington is a liar, and Governor Blount is a liar."

Captain Wellbank, while in conversation with us, said that the Spaniards had erected a fortification on the east side of the Mississippi, within the territory of the United States, on what is called the Walnut Hills; that when the Indians first had notice that works were erecting, they set off in order to demolish them; but they were met by a runner who gave them a statement of facts; thereon they returned.



*Aug. 17.* Our business being over, we left the mouth of Detroit river for Fort Erie, where we arrived the 21st.

*Aug. 23.* Col. Pickering and Mr. Randolph having commenced their journey for Philadelphia by the way of the Mohawk river, Albany, and New York, I left Fort Erie and went to Queenstown, where we remained at Mr. Spencer's to the 28th. We then went down to Navy Hall, and there waited for the return of Capt. Bunbury of the 5th regiment, who set off on the 24th to see the Governor and to receive his commands for me, if any he had. But being informed that he had not arrived at York, where the Governor was, on the 28th, and the wind being fair, we left Niagara the 30th of August, at four o'clock in the morning. We made that day the greatest part of our passage to Kingston, formerly called Frontenac, where we arrived on the 31st day, about ten in the morning. In this town a garrison is kept up of one company for the defence of the king's stores, where they are lodged as a place of deposit. Part of old fort Frontenac is now standing; the best part is the magazine. It is said that there are towards one hundred houses in the town. Below this large vessels cannot well pass; therefore the stores and merchandize go up in boats to this place.

About one o'clock the same day we went on board of a returning boat, conducted by four Frenchmen. The boat was, as all boats for the transportation of goods, without decks. We immediately set off for Montreal. About dark we entered what is called the Thousand Islands, so called from the great number of small islands in the river. We passed on all night without any other covering than the heavens. Some of the company threw themselves down on the baggage; but this mode I did not like; I thought it best to sit up. In the morning we found ourselves clear of the islands, in a clear open river, little more perhaps than a mile wide. We went on shore and took breakfast, and immediately after pursued our route, and continued our course the whole day, in which we passed several rapids, the most material of which was the Long Sault. At five in the afternoon we reached Cornwall, a town on the bank of the river, which contains a little church and thirty-odd dwelling-houses. We then passed on by several islands, on which some of the Cagnawaga Indians resided; if they can be said to reside any where. At evening we entered Lake St. Francis. About ten o'clock



the boatmen were alarmed by the appearance of a very heavy squall rising ; they immediately took down their little sail. The wind soon struck us, attended with a very heavy shower and extreme darkness. We found it necessary to attempt landing at the nearest shore. This we effected after some time, as we could see the shore when there was a flash of lightning, the magnitude and frequency of which gave us great relief. We reached an uninhabited island exceedingly wet ; we got on shore, and attempted making a fire, which was not effected without great difficulty, and not until we had been in the rain for about two hours. About midnight we began to warm and dry ourselves as well as we could. We remained on the island until about sun-rising the next morning. No part of our situation during the night was very enviable.

*Sept. 2.* After passing on about two miles we crossed the lines of Upper and Lower Canada. At nine o'clock we halted at Mr. McIntire's for a few minutes ; we then proceeded to the island of Montreal. A little before we reached this island, we passed the rapids at the Cedars. They are the most considerable of any, but they are all too highly painted. There is nothing very alarming in passing any of the rapids on this river, notwithstanding what has been said by many people.

*Sept. 3.* We put up at night at Grant's tavern, and in the morning we went down to Montreal city, nine miles, 200 miles from Kingston and 350 from Niagara, around which there is a pretty good wall, built by Louis XIV. of France, and perhaps six hundred houses, few of them elegant. A regiment of men are stationed there. The government borders much on the military ; the citizens seem to be controlled thereby. This we discovered in an order issued in our favor, to the commanding officer of the militia on the south shore opposite to Montreal, who was directed to supply us with as many carriages as we needed to transport us and our baggage across land to St. John's. In consequence of this order he called on his neighbors for carriages, who could not refuse a supply, or set a price on their own labors. Before evening we passed across the St. Lawrence, and remained at a house near the ferry until the morning.

*Sept. 4.* On the arrival of the carriages we passed on to St. John's, twenty-eight miles, where we dined. In our pas-

sage we observed the land to be very flat, and canals to draw off the water through the whole distance of the first twelve miles. Here we met the river Chamblee; on the banks of this river we travelled the other sixteen miles, the road pretty good. Soon after we arrived on the borders of this river we passed Fort Chamblee, a handsome well-built fort. This river is made up of the waters which issue out of Lake Champlain, and are of a sufficient depth for rafting lumber, &c. spring and fall; the river is now shoal, and about three hundred yards wide. We left St. John's in the afternoon of the same day, after clearing out, giving in our names, &c. Went on about four miles with a head wind and went on shore.

*Sept. 5.* The next morning we proceeded, and contended all day with a head wind and current. Went on about eight miles and again went on shore. The next morning we went on, called at Isle aux Noix, there reported ourselves again to a British garrison. After we continued our course with a good wind to Point au Fer. Here, though in the United States, we had to call and report ourselves again to a British garrison, thence to a British armed vessel which was anchored near the fort. These embarrassments being over, we proceeded down the lake to the American custom-house. After our report was over here, we proceeded to Gilland's Creek, off which we anchored, as there was not water enough to enter the river.

*Sept. 7.* In the morning of the seventh, at day-light, we made sail, and reached a little house eight miles from Skeensborough. We left this place early in the morning of the 8th and took breakfast at Skeensborough, where we spent the day. Our passage across Lake Champlain was unpleasant, as our captain was sick and left on the way; the other hand, a small boy, was attacked with the fever and ague, so that he could not do any thing on board the vessel. However, we made a safe voyage, though some painful circumstances attended it.

*Sept. 9.* This morning we left Skeensborough in the public stage for Albany. In our way we passed Fort Ann, on Wood Creek, and Fort Edward, on the Hudson. Just at dark we passed by Fort Miller; soon after we crossed the Hudson, and lodged at Saratoga. In the morning we proceeded, again crossed the Hudson at Stillwater. In our way down we visited the canal, above this place. When their whole plan shall be executed, it will be an important work, and connect

the waters of Lake Champlain with the Hudson ; but it will be a work of great labor and expense. We passed in our way the New City and the city of Troy, three miles one from the other ; they appear in a flourishing state.

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[By accident there came to the hands of a member of our Society, a few weeks since, a sketch of the scene at the conference with the Indians at Buffalo Creek, on Lake Erie, in 1793, mentioned on page 125 of the preceding Journal, drawn by a young British officer who was present, and by him preserved until it was given to a friend at Gibraltar in 1819. Being deemed worthy of accompanying the narrative in the Journal, we have obtained a lithographic copy of it. An exhibition of that occurrence so many years since, multiplied by an art then undiscovered, is a suitable appendage to the relation of a tour in the land, where all the objects which then solicited the traveller's attention, except Ontario, Erie and Niagara, are totally changed.

The following is a copy of the letter and description which accompanied the drawing.

“Col. Pilkington presents his best respects to Mr. Henry, and in making an offer of the sketch he spoke of the other day, Col. P. trusts Mr. Henry will excuse the unfinished state of it, because an attempt to do more after a lapse of between twenty and thirty years might destroy the little character it now assumes.

*Gibraltar, 12th April, 1819.*

“A Sketch taken at a Talk with the Indians of Buffalo Creek, on Lake Erie. Present,

Mr. Randolph, Gen. Lincoln, Mr. Pickering, Gen. Chapin, and Quakers, as peace-makers, who were in the suite of the American Commissioners. To the right of Mr Randolph, an interpreter, an officer of the 24th British regiment, the Indian orator, and another officer of the 24th Grenadiers.”

These Quakers are mentioned on page 123 of the Journal, fifth line, “where the Friends are encamped.” Their presence at the interview is accounted for by the following extract of a letter written by Washington to Jefferson, March 22, 1793, “As it has been suggested to me that the Society of Quakers are desirous of sending a deputation of their body to be present at the aforesaid treaty, which, if done with pure motives, may be a means of facilitating the good work of a peace, you will consider how far, if they are approved characters, they ought to be recognized in the instructions to the Commissioners, and how proper it may be for them to participate therein, or be made acquainted therewith.”—*Pub. Com.*]





TALK WITH THE INDIANS AT BUFFALO CREEK IN 1793.

1. Col. Timothy Pickens.  
2. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln.

3. Beverly Randolph.  
4. General Chapin.

5. Interpreter.  
6. Indian Orator.

7. 8. 9. British Officers.  
10. Quakers.





## AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THE REV. JOHN BARNARD.

[The original MS. Autobiography of the Rev. John Barnard, of Marblehead, has been for some years in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. From the date at the end, it appears to have been drawn up in 1766, when the writer was in the 85th year of his age. It was formerly in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Stiles, President of Yale College; and he undoubtedly is the person alluded to towards the close, at whose "earnest desire" it was prepared. In a letter to Mr. Barnard, dated Newport, Oct. 3, 1767, Dr. Stiles says, "On the first of last month I received a packet from you, containing five volumes of your works, two pamphlets, the MS. of your own Life, and your kind letter of 12th August. With great pleasure I have read your Life again and again. It has proved a feast to me. So long a Life of a gentleman of your figure and extensive connections must contain much ecclesiastical history, abound in political anecdotes, and involve very interesting participations in the public occurrences and transactions, concerning which you have the honor to say, *Quorum pars magna fui.*" The Rev. Dr. Chauncy, of Boston, in a letter to Dr. Stiles, dated May 6, 1768, in which he gives a sketch of the eminent men of New England, says, "Mr. John Barnard, of Marblehead, has been a long and near friend and acquaintance of mine. He is now in his eighty-seventh year, and I hear is seized this winter with blindness. I esteem him to have been one of our greatest men. Had he turned his studies that way, he would perhaps have been as great a mathematician as any in this country, I had almost said in England itself. He is equalled by few in regard either of invention, liveliness of imagination, or strength and clearness in reasoning." (1 *Hist. Coll.* X. 157, 166.)

The MS. appears to have been used by the author of the *Historical Account of Marblehead*, contained in 1 *Hist. Coll.* VIII. 54, in which may be seen a sketch of Mr. B.'s life and character. It was also in the hands of Dr. Eliot, while preparing his *Biographical Dictionary*, who says of Mr. Barnard, that "he was a burning and shining light for many years; his praise was in all the churches; and he seemed like a high-priest among the clergy of the land." Mr. B. is numbered among the benefactors of Harvard College. On the burning of the Library in 1764, he presented many books from his own library, and imported others from England to the value of £10 sterling; and in his will bequeathed £200 to the same institution. He died Jan. 24, 1770, in the 89th year of his age.

The first leaf of the MS. is somewhat mutilated, and it has been found rather difficult to fill the chasms. Whenever words or parts of words are inserted from conjecture, they are printed in italics.—*Publishing Committee.*]

I, JOHN BARNARD was born at Boston, 6th Nov. 1681 ; descended from reputable parents, viz. John and Esther Barnard, remarkable for their piety and benevolence, who devoted me to the service of God, in the work of the ministry, from my very conception and birth ; and accordingly took special care to instruct me themselves in the principles of the Christian religion, and kept me close at school to furnish my young mind with the knowledge of letters. By that time I had a little passed my sixth year, I had left my reading-school, in the latter part of which my mistress made me a sort of usher, appointing me to teach some children that were older than myself, as well as smaller ones ; and in which time I had read my Bible through thrice. My parents thought me to be weakly, because of my thin habit and pale countenance, and therefore sent me into the country, where I spent my seventh summer, and by the change of air and diet and exercise I grew more fleshy and hardy ; and that I might not lose my reading, was put to a school-mistress, and returned home in the fall.

In the spring of my eighth year I was sent to the grammar-school, under the tuition of the aged, venerable, and justly famous Mr. Ezekiel Cheever. But after a few weeks, an odd accident drove me from the school. There was an older lad entered the school the same week with me ; we strove who should outdo ; and he beat me by the help of a brother in the upper class, who stood behind master with the accident open for him to read out off ; by which means he could recite his \* \* *three* and four times in a forenoon, *and the same in the* afternoon ; but I who had no such *help, and was* obliged to commit all to memory, could not keep pace with him ; so that he would be always one lesson before me. My ambition could not bear to be outdone, and in such a fraudulent manner, and therefore I left the school. About this time arrived a dissenting minister from England, who opened a private school for reading, writing, and Latin. My good father put me under his tuition, with whom I spent a year and a half. The gentleman receiving *but little encouragement,* threw up his school, and *returned me to my father, and again* I was sent to my aged Mr. Cheever, *who placed me in the lowest class ; but finding I soon read through my \* \* \* ,*

in a few weeks he advanced me to the \* \* \* , and the next year made me the head of it.

In the time of my absence from Mr. Cheever, it pleased God to take to himself my dear mother, *who was not only a very virtuous, but a very intelligent woman. She was exceeding fond of my learning, and taught me to pray.* My good father also instructed *me, and made a little closet for me to retire to for my morning and evening devotion.* But, alas! how childish and *hypocritical* were all my pretensions to *piety, there being little or no serious thoughts of God and religion in me.*

Just as I had completed my eighth year, my father saw cause to take a second wife, a *virtuous woman*, an excellent wife, and an extraordinary *good mother-in-law*, in whom God graciously very much made up my loss; who, though she could not be supposed to have the *love of me which she had of her own children by my father*, yet was *she constant* in her dutiful regard to and care of me and a younger brother. I remember to have heard persons of figure, who knew her, say to me when I was grown up a young man, that they never knew but two good mothers-in-law, and mine was one of them. My honored father died in December, 1732, having just completed his 78th year; my good mother-in-law outlived him twenty-six years, and died January the last day, in 1758, being in her 94th year.

Though my master advanced me, as above, yet I was a very naughty boy, much given to play, insomuch that he at length openly declared, "You Barnard, I know you can do well enough if you will; but you are so full of play that you hinder your classmates from getting *their lessons*; and therefore, if any of them cannot perform *their duty*, I shall correct you for it." One unlucky day, one of my classmates did not look into his book, and therefore could not say his lesson, though I called upon him once and again to mind his book; upon which our master beat me. I told master the reason why he could not say his lesson was, his declaring he would beat me if any of the class were wanting in their duty; since which this boy would not look into his book, though I called upon him to mind his book, as the class could witness. The boy was pleased with my being corrected, and persisted in his neglect, for which I was still corrected, and that for several days. I thought, in justice, I ought to correct the boy, and



compel him to a better temper; and therefore, after school was done, I went up to him, and told him I had been beaten several times for his neglect; and since master would not correct him I would, and I should do so as often as I was corrected for him; and then drubbed him heartily. The boy never came to school any more, and so that unhappy affair ended.

Though I was often beaten for my play, and my little roguish tricks, yet I don't remember that I was ever beaten for my book more than once or twice. One of these was upon this occasion. Master put our class upon turning *Æsop's Fables* into Latin verse. Some dull fellows made a shift to perform this to acceptance; but I was so much duller at this exercise, that I could make nothing of it; for which master corrected me, and this he did two or three days going. I had honestly tried my possibles to perform the task; but having no poetical fancy, nor then a capacity opened of expressing the same idea by a variation of phrases, though I was perfectly acquainted with prosody, I found I could do nothing; and therefore plainly told my master, that I had diligently labored all I could to perform what he required, and perceiving I had no genius for it, I thought it was in vain to strive against nature any longer; and he never more required it of me. Nor had I any thing of a poetical genius till after I had been at College some time, when upon reading some of Mr. Cowley's works, I was highly pleased, and a new scene opened before me.

I remember once, in making a piece of Latin, my master found fault with the syntax of one word, which was not so used by me heedlessly, but designedly, and therefore I told him there was a plain grammar rule for it. He angrily replied, there was no such rule. I took the grammar and showed the rule to him. Then he smilingly said, "Thou art a brave boy; I had forgot it." And no wonder; for he was then above eighty years old.

While I was a schoolboy, I experienced many signal deliverances from imminent danger, on the land, and in the waters. I mention two signal deliverances; the one in the year 1692, in my eleventh year, I fell from a scaffold at the eaves of the old North Meeting House, eighteen feet high, between two pieces of timber that lay on the ground, without touching them. I lay upon the ground until somebody ran

to my father's house, about two hundred feet off, and acquainted him with my fall; who came and took me up, without any apparent signs of life in me, and carried me home; where, by the blessing of God upon the means used, in some hours I recovered breath and sensation, and had no bone broken nor dislocated, though I complained of inward ails; but through the divine mercy soon got well.

The other is a more remarkable instance of the goodness of God to me. In June, 1693, in my twelfth year, Sir Francis Wheeler, with his fleet, which had in vain made an attempt upon Martinico, came to Boston, and brought with him a violent and malignant distemper, called the scarlet fever, by which he lost many hundreds of his men. The distemper soon spread in Boston, of which many persons died, and that within two or three days of their being taken ill. It pleased God I was seized with it, and through the rampancy of the fever, and a violent pain at my heart, which rendered every breath I drew to be as though a sword had pierced me, I was so bad that life was despaired of. On the third night, (I think,) it seemed to me that a certain woman, wife of a doctor, who used to supply my father's family with plasters upon occasion, came and brought me some small dark-colored pills, and directed me to put one in my mouth, and hold it there till it grew mellow, then squeeze it flat betwixt my thumb and finger and apply it to my right nipple; it would soak in, and before I had used them all so, I should be well. I followed the prescription, and when I had used the third pill, my pain and fever left me, and I was well. My tender father, very early the next morning, came into my bedchamber to inquire how it was with me. I told him I was quite well, and intended to get up presently, and said the pills Mrs. (naming her) had given me last night had perfectly cured me. He said to me, "Child, I believe she was not here; I heard nothing of it." To confirm him I said, "Sir, I have the remaining four pills now in my hand," and put my hand out of bed to show them, but they dropped out of my hand into the bed. I then raised myself up to look for them, but could not find them. He said to me, "I am afraid, child, you are out of your senses." I said to him, "Sir, I am perfectly awake, and in my senses, and find myself truly well." He left the room with the supposition that I was delirious, and I saw by his countenance that he was ready to give me over for lost.

He then inquired of all the house whether that woman had been at the house the day or evening before. They all let him know that they had not seen her here. He betook himself to his closet, and in about an hour came to me again; continued firm in the story I had told him. He talked to me of some other things, and found by my answers that I was thoroughly awake, and, as he now thought, under the power of no distraction, was better satisfied, and left me with a more placid countenance. By noon I got up, and was perfectly recovered from my sickness. I thought I would have given ever so much to know what the pills were, that others might receive the benefit of them. Finding that the abovesaid woman had not been at our house, and I was perfectly healed, I could not help thinking that a merciful God had sent an angel, as he did Isaiah to Hezekiah, to heal me; and to this very day, I cannot but esteem it more than an ordinary dream, or the wild ramblings of a heated imagination. It seemeth to me a sort of heavenly vision. And what less can you, sir, make of it? The kind offices of the ministering spirits are, doubtless, more than we are aware of. However, thus has God mercifully appeared for my help, when I was brought very low, and in this manner rescued me from the jaws of death. Forever blessed be his holy name! But to return.

From the grammar school I was admitted into the college, in Cambridge, in New England, in July, 1696, under the Presidentship of the very reverend and excellent Dr. Increase Mather, (who gave me for a thesis, *Habenti dabitur*,) and the tutorage of those two great men, Mr. John Leverett, (afterwards President,) and Mr. William Brattle, (afterwards the worthy minister of Cambridge.) Mr. Leverett became my special tutor for about a year and a half, to whom succeeded Mr. Jabez Fitch, (afterwards the minister of Ipswich with Mr. John Rogers, who, at the invitation of the church in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, removed to them.) Upon my entering into college, I became chamber-mate, the first year, to a senior and a junior sophister; which might have been greatly to my advantage, had they been of a studious disposition, and made any considerable progress in literature. But, alas! they were an idle pack, who knew but little, and took no pains to increase their knowledge. When therefore, according to my disposition, which was ambitious to excel, I



applied myself close to books, and began to look forward into the next year's exercises, this unhappy pair greatly discouraged me, and beat me off from my studies, so that by their persuasions I foolishly threw by my books, and soon became as idle as they were. Oh! how baneful is it to be linked with bad company! and what a vile heart had I to hearken to their wretched persuasions! I never, after this, recovered a good studious disposition, while I was at college. Having a ready, quick memory, which rendered the common exercises of the college easy to me, and being an active youth, I was hurried almost continually into one diversion or another, and gave myself to no particular studies, and therefore made no great proficiency in any part of solid learning.

There were two accidents which happened while I was an undergraduate, that somewhat startled and awakened me; the one in the winter of my freshmanhip, when a number of us went a skating upon what is called Fresh Pond, in Watertown. Two lovely young gentlemen, John Eyre, of our class, son of Justice Eyre of Boston, and Maxwell, the class above me, a West Indian, (which two only of all the company had asked leave of the Tutors to go out of town upon the diversion,) being both good skaters, joined hand in hand, and flew away to the farther end of the pond; and as they were in like manner returning, they ran upon a small spot, in the middle of the pond, called the boiling hole, because rarely frozen over, which was open the day before, but now had a skim of ice upon it, about half an inch thick, and both of them broke the thin ice and plunged into the water. Maxwell rose not again, it being supposed he rose under the ice; Eyre rose in the hole they had broken, attempted to get upon the ice, but it gave way under him, and plunged him anew. I, who happened to be nearest to them, ran towards the hole, called to Eyre only to keep his head above water, by bearing his arms upon the thin ice, and we would help him with boards, which the rest of the company ran to fetch from a new house building by the edge of the pond, not twenty rods off; but he kept on his striving to get up, till it so worried him he sunk and rose no more; and thus were both drowned. It threw me into grievous anguish of mind to think I was so near my dear friend, within two rods, and yet it was impossible for me to help him. I went to the utmost edge of the thick ice, and raised my foot to take another step, but saw I must fall in as



they had done. The boards arrived to the place within five minutes of Eyre's last sinking. The sight was truly shocking to me, and I plainly saw how soon and suddenly the providence of God might, by one means or another, snatch me out of the world, and what need I had to be always ready; and lifted up my heart in thankfulness to God, who had spared me, whose turn it might have been instead of theirs. Thought I, if God had taken me away instead of them, oh, what would have become of me! But since God had mercifully spared me, I would endeavor for the future to live devoted to his service. But, alas! how soon did such serious thoughts and purposes die away! Eyre was taken up that afternoon, but Maxwell could not be found until the next day.

The other instance happened the summer following, when a great number of the scholars went to bathe and cool themselves in the river, upon a very hot day. George Curwin, a freshman, who could not swim, went up to his waist near the foot of the bridge, ducking and trying to learn to swim. It being near high water, the tide came round the foot of the bridge with a strong current, and, ere he was aware, carried him past his depth, and soon hurried him into the current of the arch, which threw him a great way into the river, where he was dabbling and drowning. One of the tallest and stoutest young men immediately swam off to his relief, bid him get upon his back, and he would carry him ashore. He got upon the back of the young man, but unhappily, instead of taking him round the neck, he embraced both the arms of the young man so strongly, that he could not extend them to swim; who became now as much in danger of drowning as Curwin. He tried to shake him off, but could not, and both were now tumbling in the water. I happened to be upon a pier of the bridge, and called to the company, now on shore, (who cared not to go off to their help lest they should be alike entangled) to wade, the tallest up to his chin, and make a string to the shore, and I would try to save them. Upon which I immediately swam away to the helpless couple, kept myself from their laying hold on me, and continually pushing them forward, till they were got within the reach of the outmost man, and were recovered, seemingly at the last gasp; and thus, through divine goodness, they were both preserved. This filled us with thankfulness to God in sparing the young men, and making me instrumental in their preservation, and awak-

ened in me many serious thoughts and resolutions; but ah! soon did I sin them away. Mr. Curwin afterwards was fixed in the church at Salem, from whence he sprung, a co-pastor with the aged Rev. Mr. Nicholas Noyes; and, after serving them about three years and a half, died Nov. 23, 1717, aged 35, an excellent young man, leaving the aged Mr. Noyes to bewail his death. I was called, and even compelled, to preach his funeral sermon, upon a public Thanksgiving; a printed copy whereof I herewith send you.

In the last year of my being at college, it pleased God, in righteous judgment, so far to deliver me up to the corrupt workings of my own heart, that I fell into a scandalous sin, in which some of my classmates were concerned. This roused me more seriously to bethink myself of the wickedness of my heart and life; and though I had kept up some little show of religion, yet now I saw what a terrible punishment it was to be left of God, and exposed to his wrath and vengeance, and set myself upon seeking an interest in the favor of God, through the blessed Mediator; and resolved, through the grace of God assisting of me, to lead a sober, a righteous, and a godly life, and improve my time and talents in the service of my Maker and Redeemer, and applied myself more closely to my studies: but I found I could not recover what I had lost by my negligence.

In July, 1700, I took my first degree, Dr. Increase Mather being President; after which I returned to my honored father's house, where I betook myself to close studying, and humbling myself before God with fasting and prayer, imploring the pardon of all my sins, through the mediation of Christ; begging the divine Spirit to sanctify me throughout, in spirit, soul, and body, and fit me for, and use me in the service of the sanctuary, and direct and bless all my studies to that end. I joined to the North Church in Boston, under the pastoral care of the two Mathers. Some time in November, 1702, I was visited with a fever and sore throat, but through the mercy of God to a poor sinful creature, in a few days I recovered a good state of health; and from that time to this, November 1766, I have never had any sickness that has confined me to my bed.

While I continued at my good father's I prosecuted my studies; and looked something into the mathematics, though I gained but little; our advantages therefor being noways

equal to what they have, who now have the great Sir Isaac Newton, and Dr. Halley, and some other mathematicians, for their guides. About this time I made a visit to the college, as I generally did once or twice a year, where I remember the conversation turning upon the mathematics, one of the company, who was a considerable proficient in them, observing my ignorance, said to me he would give me a question, which if I answered in a month's close application, he should account me an apt scholar. He gave me the question. I, who was ashamed of the reproach cast upon me, set myself hard to work, and in a fortnight's time returned him a solution of the question, both by trigonometry and geometry, with a canon by which to resolve all questions of the like nature. When I showed it to him, he was surprised, said it was right, and owned he knew no way of resolving it but by algebra, which I was an utter stranger to. I also gave myself to the study of the Biblical Hebrew, turned the Lord's prayer, the creed, and part of the Assembly's Catechism into Hebrew, (for which I had Dr. Cotton Mather for my corrector,) and entered on the task of finding the radix of every Hebrew word in the Bible, with design to form a Hebrew Concordance; but when I had proceeded through a few chapters in Genesis, I found the work was done to my hand by one of the Buxtorfs. So I laid it by.

The pulpit being my great design, and divinity my chief study, I read all sorts of authors, and as I read, compared their sentiments with the sacred writings, and formed my judgment of the doctrines of Christianity by that only and infallible standard of truth; which led me insensibly into what is called the Calvinistical scheme, (though I never to this day have read Calvin's Works, and cannot call him master,) which sentiments, by the most plausible arguments to the contrary, that have fallen in my way, (and I have read the most of them,) I have never yet seen cause to depart from.

Through the importunity of my friends, I preached my first sermon, from Proverbs viii. 17, to a society of young men, meeting on Lord's day evening for the exercises of religion, (to which I belonged,) in the August twelvemonth after I took my first degree; and some months after preached publicly at Gloucester. By August, 1702, I became almost a constant preacher, both on week days, and on the Lord's day,



privately and publicly, insomuch as that I have sometimes preached every day of the week but Saturday, and both parts of the Sabbath, before and after; and, as my fond friends who heard me said, to good acceptance. At this time I preached for the Rev. Mr. John Danforth, of Dorchester, who was pleased to compliment me upon it in such strains of commendation, as would not be modest in me to mention. This constant preaching took me off from all other studies. About two months before I took my second degree, the reverend and deservedly famous Mr. Samuel Willard, then Vice-President, called upon me, (though I lived in Boston,) to give a common-place in the college hall; which I did, the latter end of June, from 2 Peter, i. 20, 21, endeavoring to prove the divine inspiration and authority of the holy Scriptures. When I had concluded, the President was so good as to say openly in the hall, "*Bene fecisti, Barnarde, et gratias ago tibi.*" Under him I took my second degree in July, 1703.

Here suffer me to take occasion to show you the manner of my studying my sermons, which I generally pursued when I had time for it; and upon some special occasions I made use of even in my advanced years. Having, in a proper manner, fixed upon the subject I designed to preach upon, I sought a text of Scripture most naturally including it; then I read such practical discourses as treated upon the subject; I read also such polemical authors, on both sides of the question, as I had by me, sometimes having ten or a dozen folios and other books lying open around me, and compared them one with another, and endeavored to make their best thoughts my own. After having spent some time (perhaps two or three days) in thus reading and meditating upon my subject, I then applied myself to my Bible, the only standard of truth, and examined how far my authors agreed or disagreed with it. Having settled my mind as to the truth of the doctrine I had under consideration, I then set myself to the closest meditation upon the most plain and natural method I could think of for the handling the subject. Sometimes, not always, I penned the heads of the discourse. Then I took the first head, and thought over what appeared to me most proper to confirm and illustrate it, laying it up in my mind; so I went through the several heads; and when I had thus gone over the whole, in its several parts, then I went over all in my meditation, generally walking in my study or in my father's garden. When



I thought myself ripe for it, I sat down to writing, and being a swift penman, I could finish an hour and a quarter's discourse, with rapid speaking, in about four hours' time. This manner of studying sermons cost me, 'tis true, a great deal of time, perhaps a week or fortnight for a sermon, and sometimes more; but I had this advantage by it, that there was a greater stock laid up in my memory for future use, and I found it easy to deliver my discourses memoriter; and by the full and clear view I had of my subject, I could correct the phraseology in my delivery. I kept indeed my notes open, and turned over the leaves as though I had read them, yet rarely casting my eye upon my notes, unless for the chapter and verse of a text which I quoted. When I was settled in the ministry, I found this method too operose, yet when called to special public services, if I had time, I practised it; only penning head by head as I meditated on them. Observing also that the aged Mr. Samuel Cheever, with whom I settled, very much failed in his memory, (for he was wholly a memoriter preacher) I thought I might be reduced to his circumstances if I lived to old age, and therefore betook myself to reading my notes; and I find the advantage of it, since it hath pleased God to spare me to a great old age.

In June, 1704, the church at Yarmouth sent for me to assist their pastor, the Rev. Mr. John Cotton, who was taken off from public service by a paralytic disorder; and having spent two months with them, I returned home. They fetched me again to them in July, 1705, where I preached to them some time; but having galled my right hand by some hard labor I was not used to, it turned to an ulcerous sore, inso-much that a probe put in at the roots of my fore and middle finger, the inside of my hand, it would come out at the middle of the back of my hand; which made me fear the loss of the use of it. For which reason I determined to return to Boston, to get my hand cured. Accordingly I took my passage on board a coaster the middle of September, and falling in with a number of shallops that were catching mackerel, I, who loved the sport, could not resist the temptation of hauling the line with my sore hand; by which means the salt water so rinsed and cleansed the ulcer, that when I showed it to the doctor at Boston, and let him know what had happened by the way, he told me I had cured the sore; and with some innocent salves to the orifices, it soon became

well. Thus kindly did Divine Providence deal with me, when I thought my danger had been very great. I returned to Yarmouth again, according to my promise, at their desire, in November. The February following, Mr. Cotton died, and then the church and people proceeded to invite me to a settlement among them. There was but one man who withheld his vote from me; and even the Quakers in the town, of which there were several, were approving of it; the reverend ministers also in the neighborhood seemed to be pleased with it. I wrote to my honored father about it, and he seemed to be backward in consenting to the motion, partly because of the distance of about 85 miles, and partly, (what he saw into further than I did,) that it would not be a comfortable settlement to me. So I put a stop to their proceedings, and returned home the latter end of March following, 170<sup>5</sup>.

My constant preaching went on as usual. In October, 1705, the Rev. Mr. Colman first invited me into his pulpit; I preached from 2 Corinthians, iv. 17. In the week time after it, the good gentleman, meeting me, carried me to dine with him; after dinner, he took me into his study, and told me, with great tenderness, the reason why he had not asked me to his pulpit long before, was because some of the chief of his people had esteemed me but as a mimic and tool of the Mathers, whom they were displeased with, and desired he would not invite me to preach among them; but they had now been with him, and with tears confessed their unjust thoughts of me, and said they would never trust to idle reports more, even for my sake, and desired him to improve me as often as he pleased. Mr. Colman then opened his heart to me, acquainted me with a very great part of his travels in England, his familiar converse with the famous Philomela, and showed me several of his poetical compositions; and from this time became a kind father, and intimate and fast friend to me, as long as he lived.

In the spring of 1707, I was appointed by Governor Dudley one of the chaplains to the army, which was sent to Port Royal, (now Annapolis,) to reduce that fort, and with it Acadie, or Nova Scotia, to obedience to the crown of England, under the command of Col. John March, of Newbury, as General; having under him two regiments, the first red, Col. Francis Wainwright, Lieut. Col. Samuel Appleton, both of

Ipswich, Major Shadrach Walton, of Piscataqua, with nine companies; Capt. Holmes of the grenadiers, of Boston, 1st, Capt. Gridley of Boston, 2d, Capt. Boyenton of Topsfield, 3d, Capt. Burrill of Lynn, 4th, Capt. Putnam of Salem, 5th, Capt. March, of Newbury, 6th, Capt. Freeman, of Harwich, 7th, Capt. Kent, of Newbury, 3th, Capt. Williamson. The other regiment, the blue, Col. Winthrop Hilton, of Exeter, Lieut. Col. William Wanton, of Rhode Island, Major — Spurr, of Dorchester, Capt. Otis, of Scituate; the grenadiers, 1st, Capt. Nichols, of Reading, 2d, Capt. Frothingham, of Charlestown, 3d, Capt. Tileston, of Dorchester, 4th, Capt. Hunt, of Weymouth, 5th, Capt. Talbot, of Taunton, 6th, Capt. Cook, 7th, Capt. Church, of Freetown, with 1076 soldiers under them. There were five chaplains to the army, viz. Mr. Daniel Epps, of Salem, Mr. Samuel Moody, of York, Mr. Samuel Hunt, itinerant at Dunstable, Mr. John Barnard, itinerant at Boston, Mr. William Allen, itinerant at Greenwich. The fleet consisted of the Deptford man-of-war, Capt. Charles Stukely, of 50 guns, 280 men; the Province galley, Capt. Cyprian Southack, 24 guns, 104 men; transports, Success galley, the store-ship, Capt. Eben. Wentworth, 14 guns, 28 men; Friendship, Capt. Jarvis, 4 guns, 10 men; the Abigail, Capt. Deering, 8 men; the Hannah and Mary, Capt. Gallop; the Randolph, Capt. Zach. Fowls, 9 men; the Abigail, Capt. Isa. Fowls, 10 men; the Friendship, Capt. Dennis, 8 men; a brig, Capt. Waters; sloops, the Richard and Sarah, Capt. Carr, 7 men; the Bathsheba, Capt. Cranson, 8 guns, of Rhode Island, 26 men; the Mary and Abigail, Capt. Newman, 5 men; the Henrietta, Capt. Phillips, 6 men; the Mary, Capt. Saunders, 5 men; the Sarah and Hannah, Capt. Winsley, 7 men; the Bonetta, Capt. Sacomb, 5 men; the man-of-war's tender, Capt. Cunningham, decked sloop; open sloops, tenders, the Success, Capt. Hilton, 2 men; the Charity, Capt. Hill, 2 men; the Adventure, Capt. Atkins, 2 men; the Speedwell, Capt. Carney, 3 men; the Success, Capt. Gardner, 3 men; the Endeavor, Capt. Lowell, 4 men; about 450 sailors. Beside these there were Col. Redknap, engineer; bombardiers and cannoneers, 14; William Dudley, secretary of war; Capt. Lawrence and two tenders; doctors and mates, 7; commissaries, Arthur Jeffreys and two under him; field-m Marshals, two; armorers, two; the general's trumpeter and boy, two.



So that the whole number of the forces consisted of about 1150 men.

The 13th of May the fleet came to sail, by sunrise, from Nantasket, with an easy south-west wind. In our passage we met with contrary winds and calms. May 17th, a council of war held on board the *Deptford*; ordered, that Col. Appleton should land on the north side Port Royal Basin, with his own company, and Major Spurr's, and Capt. Talbot's, and Burrill's, and Putnam's, and Hunt's, and Capt. Freeman's company, of Indians chiefly, about 320 men; while the General, and the rest of the forces, about 750, should land on the south side. The 26th of May we came to anchor in the Basin, landed our men that afternoon, between 4 and 5 o'clock, under Col. Appleton, with whom I was, on the north side. It being so late ere we landed, we could not reach the place of our designed encampment, but after several hours travel, partly through hideous woods, and fallen trees across our way, which sometimes we climbed over, at other times crept under. At length we arrived where were two or three houses and barns, and at nine at night took up our quarters there. There also Capt. Freeman and his company of Indians, who flanked our left as we marched along, who also had a warm skirmish with about 40 or 50 French, came to us without the loss of a man. The 27th, early in the morning, began our march; came to a deep gully, where we were ambushed by about 60 French; lost two of our men; marching a little farther, we took two prisoners, and by noon came to the spot where we fixed our camp, almost north of the fort, little more than musket shot, over the north river. About half an hour after Col. Appleton landed on the north, General March, with about 750 men, landed on the south shore, but so far distant from the fort, by reason of the wind blowing in their teeth, that they were forced to encamp that night by the way. Early the 27th, in the morning, they set forward; were ambushed (at a place called Allen's Creek,) by the French Governor, Subercas, with near 300 men, who lay hid in the thick brush on the other side of the creek. Our army marched with trumpets sounding, drums beating, and colors flying, on upon the marsh between them and the creek; gave three huzzas. Then the enemy discharged, from their covert, their whole volley upon our naked men. Our men pressed forward, and after a warm



dispute, the enemy retreated up a hill which lay behind them. Our men passed the creek, and ascended the hill after them, the enemy all the while firing briskly upon them, till we had gained pretty near them, and then they turned their backs and fled down the other side of the hill to the fort. By all the fire from the ambush, and while we were gaining the hill, which lasted above an hour, through divine favor we lost not so much as one man, and had but five men wounded. Our army was too much fatigued to pursue them to the fort, but encamped in some houses at the foot of the hill; set a strong guard near the fort to prevent any surprise.

By some deserters who came from the fort to us, we learned that there were about 500 men in the fort, and 220 women and children, which rendered it likely, that upon a few bombs thrown into the fort, the cries of their wives and children would oblige them to surrender. The artillery therefore were ordered up to us. Redknapp promised to see them sent the next day, but none came. Upon inquiry it was found that the engineer and captain of the man-of-war and Province galley had agreed in their sentiments, that it was morally impossible to send the artillery up to us, which must pass within command of the fort.

*May 31.* A council of war was held, in which it was unhappily agreed not to stay to break ground; but was dissented to by Col. Appleton, Capt. Otis and Boyenton. The reasons given were, the fort mounted 42 guns, some of 36 pounders, 500 men in it, our men unacquainted with attacking a fort, and no prospect of getting up the artillery; and therefore the army should decamp, and go to Menis, and Seconneeto, and try what they could do there. But before they decamped, they concluded by the movement of Col. Hilton, and brave Col. Warton, to burn the church, the storehouse, and all the houses close by the north bastion of the fort.

When Col. Appleton went over to Col. March's camp, he took me along with him. After the council of war was over, General March meeting me took me aside, and said to me, "Don't you smell a rat?" I, who knew not what he intended, answered, "No, sir." "Why," said he, "Col. Appleton is for staying to break ground, only to have his wages increased." I said, "Sir, I am a stranger to Col. Appleton's intentions and designs." He then said to me (somewhat roughly) "I have heard you should say the artillery might be

brought ;” (and indeed I had said so to Col. Appleton, and projected a safe method for it,) and I said to him, “ Sir, I think it may.” “ Well, then,” said he, “ if it should be attempted, you shall be one that shall bring it up.” I replied, “ Sir, that is not my business, as you well know ; however, if it will be of public service, and you please to command me to it, I will readily venture myself in it, and find a way to do it.” “ Very well,” said he. I then took the opportunity of being alone with him, and said, “ Sir, will you please to give me leave to observe some things to you, in which, it seems to me, you are greatly concerned ?” He replied, “ Yes, sir.” I then said, “ Sir, you are perfectly well acquainted with the design you came hither upon ; you know how much the welfare of your country, and your own honor lays at stake. I am afraid some you are connected with, are not so much concerned for either of them as I could wish. I beseech you, sir, to consider, if you return with the forces (somewhat of whose vigor and bravery you have seen) without doing any thing farther, whether all the fault will not be thrown upon you, as the head of all ? As for those gentlemen, who seem to me to oppose your measures, they will feel little or nothing, while I fear your name and honor will be exposed in such a manner, as I shall be exceeding sorry to hear of.” He listened to me, hugged me in his arms, and thanked me ; and said he would immediately call another council. He did so ; and employed my hand in writing letters to the gentlemen that were on board the vessels.

*June 3.* The council sat, and then concluded to stay, get up the artillery, and attack the fort. The next day, I went on board our ship to get me such accommodations as I wanted, concluding we should remain here at least a month longer. But lo ! I was sadly disappointed, and greatly surprised, by the commissary’s knocking at the cabin door, before sunrise, and informing me the army was come down in order to embark. For it seems they held another council in the evening, and concluded to burn the houses, and march to the fleet ; and they did so ; and upon June 5th the whole army embarked.

While we lay at Port Royal, I experienced signal deliverances ; one as I was crossing over the river to the General’s camp, the fort fired a cannon at me, the ball of which struck pretty near to the canoe. The other was, in order to take a

plan of the fort and avenues to it, I marched alone, well dressed, with a large pistol stuck in my girdle, and pen, ink, and paper in my hands; I marched till I came to the entrance of a straight narrow lane, leading to the fort, it may be rather more that musket shot off. The French, supposing me to be the engineer, fired a cannon at me, the ball of which struck ground so near me, a little to the right, as threw some dirt upon me. I thought with myself, that I had no business here, and retreated slowly backward out of danger; and thank God I escaped what was designed against me.

The fleet sailed away, having sent a packet to the Governor, and June 5th came to anchor in the spacious harbor of Casco Bay. While we lay there letters came from the Governor to Gen. March, ordering him at his peril to return to Port Royal, and telling him the Government were raising forces to send to us.

*July 7.* Arrived to us at Casco Bay, the Ruth frigate, of 24 guns, Capt. Alden commander, and two companies, Capt. Ephraim Savage, with his 50 men, and Capt. Buckminster, with his 50, which did not near make up the number of our deserters, since we lay at Casco. With them also came three gentlemen, Col. Elisha Hutchinson, (grandfather of the present Lieut. Governor,) Col. Penn Townsend, and Mr. John Leverett, (afterwards President of our college,) and the Rev. Mr. Bridge for their chaplain. The said three gentlemen were deputies from the Government, and superintending counsellors to General March, without whose advice he was to do nothing.

*July 11.* A number of boats went out this morning to catch lobsters and plaice among the islands, which are many; I went among the rest. One of the boats went near to the shore of one island, and we, who were next to them, were suddenly alarmed with the firing of about twenty small arms, and looking to the island whence the noise came, we saw about forty of the Indians scalping three of the men; the other two men that were in the boat they took prisoners. We were so near to the enemy that their shot would have reached us; but they all immediately betook themselves to their canoes (being about 150 that lay hid in the bushes,) and paddled away for life. The army took the alarm, and in a few minutes the ships' boats, with several hundred men, and General March at the head of them, were upon the full chase



after the Indians, but could not come up with them. I look upon this as an instance of the care of Divine Providence, and bless God who preserved me from falling into the hands of those savages.

*July 24.* An express from his Excellency to the three Commissioners, ordering the forces to sail for Port Royal; but the mutinous disposition of the men, too much encouraged by officers, with the jealousies and bickerings of the field-officers (excepting Col. Hilton and Col. Wanton,) among themselves, foreboded no good by going.

*July 25.* The fleet came to sail. Upon our passage Gen. March told me, (upon a signal made by the man-of-war to bear away for Passamaquoddy harbor, and my asking him where we were bound,) "he knew nothing of the matter, nor of our coming to sail, nor where we were bound; the three Commissioners, instead of being a council to him, did what they pleased, gave him their positive orders, which he should always obey." The 30th of July came to anchor in Passamaquoddy, with a fine fair north-west wind, which we lost.

So far my journal goes, which I have made short extracts from. I shall only add what I well remember. We went to Port Royal, landed in an orchard, were ambushed, and lost about fourteen men, drove the enemy before us, returned to the orchard, spent a few days there, and then embarked our men; but about 110 French, mostly privateers, with their captain at their head, (who arrived in our absence,) came and lay hid in the thicket of the woods and underbrush, just without a log fence, where Capt. Talbot, with forty men, were placed as a guard to the orchard, and observed till our men were mostly embarked, and the boats were ashore for the last freight, and Capt. Talbot called off from the guard, and then they broke in upon the orchard, where were only some of the officers, besides Talbot's guard, and a few others, with myself, and poured in their shot upon us, and killed us seven men. I had a shot brushed my wig, and was mercifully preserved. A few boat-loads of men going off immediately put back, and we soon drove them out of the orchard, killed a few of them, desperately wounded the privateer captain, and after that we all embarked, and returned for Boston as fast as we could. When we came home, the General found it to be sadly true, what I suggested to



him at Port Royal. Not only was he reprimanded and slighted by the Government, but despised and insulted as he walked the streets by the populace; the very children, at the sight of him, crying out "wooden swords!" Though he was in himself a valiant man, yet, I think, his capacity was below the post he sustained. Nor did I go without my share of obloquy, for a little piece of imprudence while I was absent; for which my pastors treated me cruelly, for reasons best known to themselves; by which my reputation sunk among some people. But the more thinking persons looked upon it as a vile treating of me, and continued their respects to me, especially the excellent Mr. Colman; so that I was almost constantly employed in preaching.

1708. Capt. John Wentworth, of Piscataqua, (afterwards Governor of it,) meeting me in Boston, greatly urged me to go his chaplain, in a ship of 500 tons, 20 guns, and 40 men, to Barbadoes and London. I proposed it to my good father; who told me, if I were not settled in the ministry before this time twelvemonth, he would consent to my taking a voyage. I continued my itinerant preaching; and in the winter of 1708, preaching at Watertown, I returned in the evening to sup at Cambridge with the Rev. Mr. Brattle. While we were at supper, the ringing of the college bell, with the tidings that the college was on fire, was brought to us. I immediately left the table, ran across the pastures to the college, found the area filled with the scholars, (President Leverett at the head of them,) and a multitude of the town's people, staring upon Stoughton Hall, but knew not where the fire was, the smoke pouring out at the eaves from one end of the hall to the other. I stepped to the President and told him I would see where the fire was; stripped off my coat and wig, tied a handkerchief about my head, ran up the stairs of the northerly entry, and discovered where the fire was; ran to the President, and said, "Sir, please to order a ladder at the window of such a chamber, and supply me with water, and I will go in and quench the fire." Accordingly I went into the chamber; it was on fire all round. I ran to the window to open it, but it was fastened so as I could not find how to open it; and I could stay no longer in the chamber than I could hold my breath; the smoke was so exceedingly thick, it would have suffocated me to have drawn a breath. But observing the bulk of the fire was at the bed, (for while

the President and scholars were at prayers in Harvard Hall, a spark, as it seemed, had snapped from the hearth, and set fire to the calico curtains.) I ran and told the President to order somebody to cut up the floor over the bed, and pour water till they had extinguished the fire there. He did so; and then we soon mastered the fire. The President was pleased to observe upon it, if I had not providentially been there, the college had been consumed.

The summer of 1709 arrived, and I not settled, when meeting Capt. Wentworth at Boston, he again urged me to take the same voyage with him, he last year proposed. I obtained my good father's consent, and we sailed from Nantasket Road, July 9, 1709, and arrived with an easy, comfortable passage, in one and twenty days, at Barbadoes. As we were running down the latitude, a seeker bore down upon us, fell into our wake, and chased us with all the sail he could make; but our ship (the *Lusitania*) being a prime sailer, kept her distance. Capt. Wentworth got his ship ready, kept his course steadily, and before noon we raised the island, and came to anchor before Bridgetown in the afternoon. Thus kind Providence preserved us. There was no congregation of Dissenters in this place; but I constantly attended public worship at church. A small number of considerable and valuable gentlemen, knowing I was a preacher, entreated me to entertain them upon a Lord's day; but I told them, I should not be here above two Sabbaths more, and I thought it would not be prudence to give any disturbance to the Episcopal clergy for so little a time, and refused their offer. While I was here, I had some acquaintance with several of the clergy. Mr. Beresford, the chief minister upon the island, kindly invited me to dine with him, and entertained me with great civility. He was a gentleman of considerable learning, sobriety, and virtue.

After about five weeks stay at Barbadoes, we set sail under the convoy of Commodore Logg in the *Weymouth*, and Capt. Norborough in the *Lark*, men-of-war, with about sixty sail, some bound for North America, but mostly for London. The day after we sailed came on a violent storm, something of a hurricane, the strength of which lasted about eight hours, when we could not hear one another speak upon deck, without turning our face to the ear of the man we spoke to, neither could we put a light into the poop lantern without a man

crawling upon his belly, and a second holding him by the heels, and a third him in like manner, to secure him. The storm parted the fleet; some fell in with the Weymouth, others with the Lark; and though the violence abated, yet it continued a very heavy storm for twelve or fourteen days, by which several of the fleet were much damaged, especially in their rigging. Commodore Logg was very careful and assisting the disabled ships that were with him. After the storm was over we spied three sail to leeward. The Commodore, who had made Wentworth a chasing ship, being a prime sailer, and ordered him to wear a broad pendant, now made signal for a chase. Wentworth bore away, the man-of-war after him, at more than a mile astern. Our ship outsailed the man-of-war, sparing her all our topgallant and studding-sails. By four in the afternoon, we overhauled the sternmost of the three, so as to fling a shot across her forefoot; she brought to. But the man-of-war had left us to stand for the fleet, who kept their course, and had been long out of sight; and the men-of-war now out of sight; when we spied a tall ship to windward, bearing down towards us, whose signals, which she made, we understood not; therefore concluded it was one of the French fleet sailing from Martinico, the same time we did from Barbadoes. Capt. Wentworth called his officers and men aft, and said to them, "You see, gentlemen, the fleet and man-of-war have left us; it will cost us darkness before we can take the prize under command. A tall ship, probably a French man-of-war, is coming towards us. I am shipped upon convoy; if we needlessly leave the convoy, and any mischance should befall us, we must make good all damages. I called you together to ask your advice what you would have me to do, whether we had best run all hazards, or forego the prize, and make the best of our way for the convoy." Though the men had an eager desire to the prize, (a ship of 250 tons, well loaded from Martinico,) yet they honestly answered, "Sir, since your freight is shipped under convoy, we think you cannot safely and justly lose the convoy." Away we then stood for the fleet, and Jack Frenchman rejoiced at their narrow escape. A few days before we reached the channel of England, the Lark and those of the fleet that parted from us in the storm, joined us; and I think we had no one vessel missing. When we entered the chops of the channel, in the night, we fell in with a fleet of tall ships,



which, by their actions, we knew to be men-of-war, and concluded it to be De Guy's squadron, which we heard was out upon a cruise. Wentworth's ship being an excellent sailer, he slung his yards, and got every thing ready, that, if it should prove an enemy, he might make a running fight, and possibly escape. But how were we surprised, when, in the first peep of day, we saw an eighty-gun ship, within pistol shot, upon our starboard quarter. For the men-of-war had placed themselves, by the help of a spy-boat running among the fleet in the night, close alongside of each of our fleet they took to be a ship of force. As the day came on, Capt. Norborough, in the *Lark*, knew the ship that was alongside of him to be an Englishman, and immediately fired a salute; which dissipated our fears, and filled us with joy. It proved to be my Lord Dursley's squadron, sent out to look for De Guy. They spared us three capital ships to guard us up channel. Going up channel we descried three French privateers lying a-hull, one of 30 guns. Our men-of-war took one of them, and recovered two prizes from them; the other escaped. We cast anchor the next day in the Downs; the day after were piloted up the river to Gravesend, where I and some passengers took boat and arrived at Billingsgate, London, that evening, the beginning of November, after a long passage. It was truly pleasant sailing up the river. Some days after our arrival, Commodore Logg came to me on the 'Change, and, in a very complaisant manner, desired me, if there was occasion, to be witness of his care of the fleet.

I had letters to Dr. Calamy, Dr. Oldfield, Mr. Fleming, and Mr. Pomfret, ministers; and I took my opportunity to wait upon them, who received me with a great deal of goodness; to Sir William Ashurst, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Parkhurst, to whom I sent my letters. After some weeks spent in London, I first preached for Mr. Fleming, and then at Mr. Reynolds's, Mr. Ratcliff's, Mr. Mauduit's, Dr. Calamy's, Dr. Oldfield's, Mr. Anderson's, Mr. Pomfret's, Mr. Masters's, and prayed, upon a Fast-day, both at Mr. Reynolds's and Dr. Hunt's. Besides which, I was employed at a small congregation near Eltham, the chief of which were Sir Alexander Carr and Esquire Stoddard; the rest were a poor people. This was as my parish, to which I preached constantly, unless called to preach in the city, and then I sent another in my stead. When I preached one morning, by candle-light, at



Dr. Calamy's, after the service was over, I was conducted into the vestry, with three or four gentlemen, to eat a piece of bread and butter, and drink a glass of sack. While I was there, came in to us an aged gentlewoman, (hearing I was of New England,) to inquire after her brother, Col. Shrimpton, whom I knew well; and she brought a young lady (properly so called) with her, who was very pleasant with me. She asked me if all the people of my country were white, as she saw I was; for being styled in the general West Indians, she thought we were all black, as she supposed the Indians to be. She asked me how long I had been in the kingdom. When I told her a few months, she said she was surprised to think how I could learn their language in so little a time; "Methinks," said she, "you speak as plain English as I do." I told her, all my country people, being English, spake the same language I did. With many such like questions she diverted me. What strangers were even the city of London to New England, excepting a few merchants who traded with us! Being invited by Dr. Calamy to dine with him, there was present the pious and excellent lady of the famous Col. Gardiner, and a young daughter of hers, about 13 or 14 years old. I was very kindly and pleasantly entertained by the Dr. and that lady. The Dr. among other things, surprised me by saying to me, "Mr. Barnard you don't think, I hope, to carry Philomela (Miss Singer)\* away from us?" which occasioned a very agreeable conversation upon that lady, and her writings. Before we broke up, Mrs. Gardiner very kindly invited me to go with her and her daughter, in her coach, down to Scotland, obligingly telling me my journey should cost me nothing. I had a strong inclination to have embraced her generous offer; but was forced to tell her, the time of the ship I came in, returning to New England, (with which I purposed to go,) was so near at hand, that I could not prudently run the risk of being absent when she sailed. But I most humbly thanked her for her obliging request, and was heartily sorry I could not gratify my own inclination so far as to comply with it. I preached for Mr. Fleming, who was taken off from his public services by the palsy, especially in his tongue. After my first preaching to them, they were fond of my continuing in their service, especially the chief of the congregation; inso-

[\* Afterwards the celebrated Mrs. Rowe. She has already been mentioned on page 189.—*Pub. Com.*]

much that my friends and acquaintance in London began to congratulate me upon the prospect of my settling in as good a congregation as most in London; and indeed the people sought for no other help, until Dr. Sacheverel's mob gutted, and burnt the bowels of Mr. Daniel Burgess's meeting-house, and then he wanting a place to preach in, and they one to preach to them, they united, and I was thrown out. Preaching for Mr. Anderson, a worthy Scotch minister, at St. James's, where was a great concourse of the Scotch nobility and gentry, he, with several of his vestry-men, expressed themselves highly pleased with my public performance and private conversation, and greatly urged me to stay and spend my days in the kingdom, saying, "We very much want men of your abilities and vigor," and that "he (Mr. Anderson,) and some others he knew had a great respect for me, would use their best endeavors to procure as good a congregation for me as any in London." I told him, I could be content to spend a few years among them, but I chose to return to New England, and there improve the remainder of my life in the service of the Gospel. "Well," said he, "if you will not abide with us, we will take no further concern about you." I returned him thanks for his kind respects to me.

While I preached at Mr. Fleming's, a gentleman that was of his congregation, who had been captain of a troop under King William, at the battle of the Boyne, was pleased to persuade me very much to stay in the kingdom, saying, "I expect an insurrection shortly in favor of the Pretender, and we very much want men of your principles, knowledge, and activity. I always keep two horses ready saddled in my stable to mount at a minute's warning, and one of them, with a pair of jack-boots, shall be at your service, to mount as a chaplain with us." I smiled, and thanked him.

Having some considerable acquaintance with Mr. Ratcliff, at Rotherhithe, for whom I preached several times, I cannot well refuse to take notice of that pious and ingenious gentleman's catechizing and instructing children, who came to him every Tuesday, from all parts round about, and from every sect; in which work he generally spent the day. His manner was to place the males and females by themselves from ten to sixteen years old, and class them according as they could say the catechism. Beginning with prayer, he then heard the girls, and then the boys, till he had gone through

the catechism with them, and then dismissed the girls, giving them a reward of a farthing or half-penny, as they performed. He then called upon the upper class of the boys to analyze such a text of Scripture as he had given them the Tuesday foregoing. Some of the lads were so expert at this exercise, as it would have surprised you, as it did me, to hear how justly they gave the occasion, coherence, intention, the several parts, the points of doctrine, and propositions of the text, and inferences resulting from it. He then dismissed the boys, giving them a farthing or half-penny, as they performed; but still retained the upper class, to whom he proposed a question to be disputed by them. He asked each boy which side of the question he was for, whether yea or nay; then placed the yeas and the nays by themselves; then asked one of the yeas what he had to say in proof of his opinion; then asked one of the nays what he had to say; and so went to the yeas and nays, one after another alternately, till he had gone through the class; when, as moderator, he summed up the force of the reasoning on both sides, and gave the true solution of the question. You would have admired, and been pleased with the reasons the youth advanced for the part they held. I remember the question disputed upon, when I was present, was, "Which is best, virtue or riches?" They said many things, on both sides, which I should have thought vastly exceeded the capacity of such youths. One prompt lad, in arguing for the preference of virtue, observed, among other things, that riches would not make a man good, but would tend to improve his wickedness. "There is," said he, "the Pope of Rome, who is the richest man in the world, and yet the wickedest man alive." This came from a boy of about thirteen years old, of poor circumstances, and low education, but what he received here. When the instruction was over, Mr. Ratcliff gave to each of these boys a penny to buy them bread for their dinner, which they had gone without for the sake of the catechism; being supplied with this stock from gentlemen of substance, as well as of his own.

I contracted a very considerable friendship with Esquire Stoddard, of the small congregation I preached to near Eltham, dined often at his house, was treated by him with great civility, and by the gentlewoman his housekeeper. She treated me once with a glass of currant wine of her own making. I was greatly pleased with it, and begged a receipt



of it. After consulting several ministers, whether she could, with safety to her promise, divulge the secret to a foreigner, bound out of the kingdom, and was noways likely to hurt him from whom she had the receipt, she gave it to me; and when I returned home, I soon spread it among my acquaintance.

It happened that Dr. Sacheverel's trial came on some months after I arrived in London, and I attended the trial in Westminster Hall one day, and had the pleasure of seeing the most brilliant assembly of lords, and ladies, and gentry; but, to my disappointment, the House of Lords adjourned, presently after my coming in, to consider a point of law; so that I heard none of the pleadings.

With some pleasant company, my own countrymen, I took a tour to Oxford, where, under the conduct of Mr. Caswell, professor of astronomy, an ingenious, most humble, and meek man, we were entertained with a view of the colleges, walks, gardens, theatre, libraries, and museum; and were diverted with the strange account the keeper of the museum gave us of its rarities, especially those from New England, which we knew much better than he did. While we were at Oxford we set out, in the rain, to see Blenheim House, built by the nation in honor to the great Duke of Marlborough, and fixed upon him and heirs forever. Though it was not finished, it appeared a magnificent and superb building, its gardens containing about sixty acres of land.

At another time, (at the desire of Mr. Mico, a merchant, brother to our Mr. Mico of Boston, to accompany a Connecticut farmer, who went to look after an estate he supposed he had right to there,) I took a journey as far as Staffordshire, through St. Albans, (where I viewed Duke Humphrey's sepulchre, or dined with Duke Humphrey, at 'tis called,) Dunstable, Woburn, Northampton, Coventry, to Lichfield, where we put up. We had the company of an elder and a 25 year old gentlewomen with us in the coach; who were at first very fearful and shy of us, as absolute strangers; but before we had travelled far, they became very easy and pleasant, being thoroughly gratified with our modest and entertaining conversation. The young lady we parted with the next day at noon, being received by a gentleman and lady in their coach, who waited for her at an appointed place; the elder lady still travelled with us to Lichfield. When we came to the inn,



I was in a hurry for horses to carry us about seven miles farther, to Rudgley. The good old lady seeing me about to move off, said to me, "Sir, I can't part with you yet; I must treat you with a glass of burnt claret. I was somewhat fearful of you at first, as strangers, as we are often treated somewhat rudely by such in travelling with them; but really, sir, I never travelled with more agreeable company, nor was better pleased than with your conversation and behavior." I thanked her for her great compliment. "No, sir," said she, "it is no compliment; and I have been thinking how to acknowledge your civility. Will a receipt of the best bacon in England be acceptable to you?" I answered her, "Yes, madam, with my most hearty thanks for it." She sat down and wrote me a receipt, which, when I came home, I scattered abroad; and from thence came all the right good bacon made in New England.

Upon my journey, it was my custom to send to the parson of the parish, after dinner, to come and take a glass of wine with a stranger; by which means I had the opportunity of seeing and sounding several clergymen, and found them generally very empty, and warm Jacobites. I lodged at Rudgley near a fortnight, and the first Sabbath attended the church service of the place, one Mr. Taylor being curate; and, as my custom was, waited upon the parson after the service was over, where I found four or five of the chief men of the parish. Mr. Taylor soon fell into a high encomium of Dr. Sacheverel, (who had a day or two before passed through Lichfield with a numerous cavalcade, as in triumph,) whom he esteemed the great defender of the church, which he thought would have gone near to have been pulled down by the Whigs, if it had not been for his famous (but really infamous) sermon. I made myself to appear to them as a stranger to, and very much unconcerned about, the controversy. However, I observed one thing to him, that I should have liked the Dr. better, if in his speech upon his trial he had abode by his principles in his sermon; whereas it seemed to me, that they did not well agree together. The parson said he could not think it possible for the Dr. not to be true, and consistent with himself. I asked him if he had seen the sermon and speech. He replied, he had seen neither of them. I thought so from his wild talk about them; and though I had both of them in my pocket, yet secreted them from him. One of

the gentlemen present said, "Sir, I believe you have had a liberal education." I said to him, "Sir, I may not deny that I have had the advantage of such an education as my country affords, but am sorry I have made no better an improvement of it." Upon which the parson abruptly took me by the hand, and said, "Sir, let us take a turn into the garden." We did so, and left the company. He sent for the bottle and glass, and entertained me with idle chat about the flowers, &c.; so I quickly withdrew, and went to my lodgings. Being come there, I showed the gentleman of the house (who was one of them at the parson's,) Dr. Sacheverel's sermon; he had scarce read a page before he broke forth into violent exclamations against him, and thought he deserved to be hanged for preaching and printing such stuff. (It is to be noted, that I travelled with a long wig, a sword by my side with mourning hilt, and black clothes,—the court being then in mourning for the Prince of Denmark, Queen Anne's husband,—by which means I was taken for a small courtier, and treated as such by many country 'squires and knights I met withal.) The Sabbath after I attended at a parish church, about three miles distant from my lodging, where I heard a venerable, grave, ancient gentleman, who preached much in the strain of our Dr. I. Mather, with great plainness and fidelity, as one that aimed at making his hearers real Christians; which was a rare thing to be heard in the Church. I waited upon him after service, and found him and his aged wife two good, devout Christians; we spent the remainder of the day very agreeably and profitably together. About sunset I was for taking my leave; the good old gentleman would, in his great civility, accompany me, as I thought he designed, a few rods. But when we had gone over half a mile, I said to him, "Sir, I am ashamed to put you to so long a travel in your great age; I heartily thank you for your respects shown to me, and wish you a good night." "No, sir," said he, "I cannot part with you yet. I'll accompany you a little farther;" and he did so, notwithstanding all I could say, till we came to my lodgings. We refreshed ourselves a little after our walk, and then he arose to return home. I thought myself obliged to the like civility to him, and therefore accompanied him to his house, being favored with a bright moon, and again bid him a good night; but the good old gentleman would walk with me back again. When we arrived at a brook, about half

way, I stopped and said to him, "Sir, your goodness to me is so great, that I am ashamed I cannot make you suitable returns; and though I have been entertained and pleased with your conversation and company, beyond what I have met with in England, yet I am even compelled, against my inclination, to say, I would not take a step farther, unless he allowed me to take leave of him." He replied, "Sir, though I have been greatly gratified with your company, yet, since it must be so, I wish you a good night; and may the blessing of God be with you." So we parted. I think the good man's name was Ridgley, an excellent Christian, a man of good learning, an apostolical preacher, of admirable meekness and humility, and great civility. While I was at Rudgley, I visited Uttoxeter, Wolverhampton, and Burton, from whence comes the best, stoutest, and finest ale in England; where, having occasion to converse with some lawyers, upon the affairs which carried me there, I was taken by them for a considerable lawyer. At length I returned to London.

There were many kind and pleasing proposals made to me, besides that of madam Gardiner's, which I neglected, for the same reason I did her's, my design to return in the ship I came in. Mr. William Whitingham, (whom I knew in Boston,) had a pleasant seat and living at Boston, in Lincolnshire; and meeting me in London, strongly invited me to go with him to his seat, and spend some time there, telling me the journey should cost me nothing. Capt. Robert Robinson, (formerly an apprentice to my good father, whose son, an admiral, has married my brother's only daughter,) commander of her Majesty's yatch, the Carolina, who then was about to carry over to Holland the great Duke of Marlborough, with other nobles, and their retinue, earnestly invited me to go with him, assuring me my trip to Holland should cost me nothing. But above all, the famous Mr. Rowe invited me to bear him company to Agford, when he was going down to marry the incomparable Philomela, whom I longed to see, saying my journey should be no charge to me. All of which I thought myself obliged to refuse, for the reason mentioned. Yet I was persuaded to stay longer in London, and I let the ship depart without me.

Attending at Dr. Brey's church, to hear Bishop Burnet, I had the favor of the Bishop's blessing.

Praying, upon a Fast, at Mr. Reynolds's, and Mr. Hunt's,



I was invited to sup with the ministers, which I did to my great satisfaction with their learned and devout conversation : when I took the opportunity of such a number of grave divines being together, to read to them, with their leave, the history of Maucompus, the giant Indian, sent over by me, from a learned, worthy divine of this country, as a specimen of a work he was about to offer to the world ; but those great men, while they acknowledged the vast reading and ingenuity of the author, yet thought he was too credulous and easily imposed upon, and therefore concluded this was no recommendation of the larger work, from whence it was extracted.

When my Lord Wharton was about to go over to Ireland, as Lord Lieutenant, he desired a gentleman of great learning and ready wit, with whom I was particularly acquainted, to look out an agreeable chaplain for him. The gentleman immediately addressed himself to me, urging me to take the gown, and embrace the opportunity of going his chaplain ; for he was the best natured nobleman in the kingdom, of regular life, the greatest friend to the Dissenters, would treat me with all goodness, and I should be in a fair way for preferment. After a considerable debate upon the affair, I said to the gentleman, " Sir, you know I was bred a Dissenter ; and I could make many exceptions to the articles, the rubric, and the practices of the Church of England. Yet, to make short of it, I had read all I could meet with on both sides of the controversy, and was settled in my own judgment, but was no bigot, as he knew ; and if he could give me any clear proof, and tolerable satisfaction, that the great Head of the church had empowered any man or number of men, civil or ecclesiastical, upon earth, to give law to his church, to appoint the regimen, modes of worship, and what ceremonies he or they pleased, I would turn Churchman to-morrow. But since the only Head of the church seemed to me to have reserved this power to himself alone, and ordered his ministers to teach only what he had commanded, I thought myself obliged to refuse coming under the yoke of bondage to any merely human authority ; and therefore I could not accept his kind offer." After weighing in his mind what I had said, he found himself at a loss for a satisfactory answer, and said, " Then I find I must look out for another ;" and this put an end to our conference about it.



In my conversation with some great merchants, I perceived that there was something moved at Court that tended to the prejudice of New England; and they observed, we very much wanted an Agent to appear on our behalf, and that Mr. Jeremiah Dummer, a courtier, and one intimate with the excellent ministry then at the helm, was as proper a person as we could get, being our own countryman, of admirable capacity, and diligent application. I immediately despatched letters to the Governor, Speaker of the House, and some other persons of figure and influence, laid what I had heard before them, and recommended Mr. Dummer to them; upon which he was presently appointed their Agent, and diverted what was threatening to us. Two years after, in the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, under her bad ministry, the Court seemed to be fixed upon taking away the New England charter, when Mr. Agent Dummer appeared, and wrote a pamphlet, showing that the New England charter was not an act of grace from the throne, but a contract between the king and our fathers; that we had fulfilled our part of the contract, and therefore it would be the highest injustice to deprive us of what we had bought at the expense of so much blood and treasure: which put a stop to the proceedings against us. That piece was reprinted in the time of the struggle about the stamp act; and I counted myself happy in being, in some small degree, instrumental in thus serving my native country.

Nothing could be more obsequious and cringing, even to meanness, than a great number of candidates for the ministry, from Scotland and Ireland, were to the standing ministry to put them into places. I have had several of them paying their court to me, sometimes two or three in a morning before I was out of bed, importuning me to open the way, to direct and recommend them to settlements in New England. But I let them know, that I looked upon myself a stranger to their education and manners, and therefore I could not honestly comply with their desires; and forasmuch as we had a college which furnished both the churches and the magistracy with able men, it would be highly injurious to my *Alma Mater*, for me to endeavor to supply the churches from abroad, seeing we needed them not.

When I was about to return home, I was earnestly courted by several considerable merchants, and some West India gentlemen, of my acquaintance, to go into trade; and they

offered to send by me what goods I pleased. One of them went so far, as to engage sending a thousand a year sterling from London, and all the rum and molasses from his large plantation in Antigua; and obliged me to take the name of his overseer, and his orders upon him. But I thanked them for their generous offer, and told them I wholly devoted myself to the service of God in the work of the ministry, and, God assisting me, no worldly considerations should take me off from it.

At length I took passage in the Buckingham Frigate, a ship of about 250 tons, Ephraim Breed, commander, which sailed to Portsmouth, to be under the convoy of Commodore Littleton, who was to take care of the fleet bound to the West Indies. The latter end of July, I travelled in the stage flying coach, which reached Portsmouth in one day; where I stayed with three New England passengers about a month, waiting for the convoy. While I was here, I was acquainted with several families of good fashion, which treated me with peculiar respects and goodness. Here I preached to the dissenting church one part of a Lord's day, to good acceptance. There happened to be an army, under Lord Shannon, lying at Cowes, bound to New England, and thence to Canada. We four New England passengers had a great inclination to see it. We ferried over to Ryde on Saturday, and travelled to Newport, on the Isle of Wight, where we visited Carisbrook castle, an ancient and decayed pile, intending on Monday morning to go to Cowes. Lord's day evening, as we discoursed of our voyage to New England, our landlord overheard us, and said to us, "Gentlemen, I wish you are not disappointed; I heard the signal guns for sailing fired very early this morning, and the wind was fair, but small." It put us, as well it might, into a great surprise; but it was too late in the night then to think of going to Ryde, seven miles distant; we therefore went to bed, rose on Monday before the sun, set away for Ryde. There we found the fleet had come to sail the morning before; but, in going round St. Helen's Point, the tide was too strong for the wind, and they were forced to come to anchor. What should we do now? Our clothes and effects were all on board ship, the wind fair and strong, the fleet under sail, and no boat to carry us to them. Within a quarter of an hour the ferry-boat from Portsmouth landed at Ryde; but the wind was high, and the sea

foaming. I begged of my companions not to lisp a word of our being bound out with the fleet, and content themselves to submit to my measures, or we should never get on board our ship. They promised they would. I then went up to the ferryman, as he landed, and said, "Ferryman, you have had a hard passage of it. I see your company are wet, and I suppose you will not care to go off again presently." "No, master," said he, "the wind and sea are turbulent; I must stay till it abates a little." We then mixed ourselves with other company, and talked of a passage to Portsmouth. The ferryman soon learned there were four of us men, bound over to Portsmouth, as he thought; which was a great fare with him. I called for bread and cheese and a mug of ale, for our breakfast, and sat down, seemingly very easy. Anon, the ferryman came to us, and said, "Masters, if you are bound over, the wind seems to be somewhat abated; I think we may go." I said to him, "Don't be in too great a hurry; we shall be ready presently." He came a second time; we then rose and followed him into the boat. After we had got a little way from shore, I said to my companions, "There is an honest, worthy gentleman, bound off in that fleet; I should be very glad to take leave of him; perhaps we may never see him again." "I should be glad to see him," said my companions, one and all. I understood a small boat, and was determined to take the helm myself, if fair means would not prevail with him to carry us to the ship; and I think, in such necessitous circumstances, I should have done nothing but what was right. But I said, "Well, ferryman, what shall I give you to take a run to that hindmost ship, that we may shake hands with an honest gentleman?" "O! master," said he, "the wind is high and scant, the sea so rough, and the distance so great, I cannot possibly go thither." "Come," said I, "I'll give you half a crown for it." "Indeed, I cannot," said he. "Well," said I, "I'll give you a crown," which I knew was as much as he ordinarily got in two or three days. He paused, and said, "Well, masters, to oblige you, I will try what I can do; but you must not detain me." We told him we would not hinder him one quarter of an hour. So he steered for our ship, which lay by for us; the fleet being mostly round the Point. As soon as we got on board, we gave him the crown, handed him a few biscuit and a bottle of rum, and then told him we would detain him no



longer. He broke out, as in great anguish, "What! am I caught?" We replied, "Yes, and we are well escaped; so fare you well." Had he known our circumstances, we should have come off well at the price of a guinea a man; so biting are these sharpers.

We came to sail, soon got up with the fleet, and put in at Torbay. I landed at Brixham, a poor small fish-town. The second day came to sail, and put in at Plymouth on Saturday, and on the next day set sail upon our voyage, August 27. Took our departure from Scilly, Aug. 31, 1710. Sept. 5, parted with the convoy, and the fleet separated on their different courses for their several ports, and we soon found ourselves a lone ship. Our ship was either ill built, or ill loaded, was so crank that she could not hold up her sides to a smart gale; we were often necessitated to settle our mainyard to Portland, and once to strike our topmasts; so that we had a very long passage. Sept. 7, we saw a tall ship standing after us, which we took for a French man-of-war; but night coming on, we altered our course and lost her; a happy escape, through a kind Providence. Sept. 23. Very hard north-west wind, and a mountainous sea, which put us to difficulties. Sept. 28. By bad steering, or a strong current, or both, we fell so much southward of our course, as to make the islands of Corvo and Flores. Oct. 14. Hoisted out our boat, it being calm; tried the current, found it set between three and four knots to the south, something westward; and took two tortoises, about sixty weight apiece. Oct. 20. Fell in with a large fleet, about four o'clock in the morning, saw their top and poop lights, which stood away north-east. We kept our course, and lost them by daylight.

Oct. 28 and 29. Many fowls, of different sorts, came about us, and some lodged on our rigging. The water was of a light green color, and we concluded we were on the banks, in lat.  $43^{\circ} 11'$ , long.  $62^{\circ} 11'$ . We hoisted out our boat, and sounded with 160 fathoms, but found no bottom. Oct. 30, sounded again, but had no bottom. Nov. 6, about four o'clock P. M., we got sounding in about 35 fathoms; brought up hake's teeth and some shells. The captain being confined with the gout, came not upon deck, but being told the depth, and showed the bottom, he, with the two mates, and a captain passenger, concluded we were in the South Channel; and it being a fair wind, the captain ordered such a course to be



steered, saying, "We shall be a-breast with the table land of Cape Cod by morning, and have the whole day before us to run up the bay for Boston." Observing the talk of the several officers, I confess I was greatly concerned in mind, lest we should be running among the shoals of Nantucket; but I said nothing to them, trusting in God, and not man, to preserve us. Before we had stood our course three hours, a strong north-west wind clapped all the sails a-back in a moment. We lay by for three or four days, kept the lead going every watch, found little or no alteration in the depth of water, and not much in the bottom brought up. Nov. 11th, in the morning watch, they brought up white sand; upon which they all agreed we were upon the back of Martha's Vineyard. I then asked them where they thought we were when we set our course, upon our first getting soundings. They answered me, we were certainly running upon Nantucket shoals, and had we continued that course two hours longer we should unavoidably have perished among them. I then observed to them, what abundant cause we had of thankfulness to a gracious God, who, in mercy to us, caused the wind so suddenly to blow in our teeth, and stop our way, though, doubtless, we some of us thought it against us. Let this great deliverance which a good God has given us never be forgotten by us.

The wind being favorable, we stood for the Vineyard, and in about two hours raised it, and got to anchor that day, it being Saturday, by one o'clock. Some of the passengers crossed the ferry that afternoon, and set out for Boston; another passenger and myself chose to stay the Sabbath over at the Vineyard. Tuesday morning we went over the ferry, and put away on horseback for Boston. We travelled but leisurely. As we drew towards Boston, we understood Thursday was a day of public Thanksgiving; we stopped at Braintree, and attended the public service there; and I arrived at my good father's house, after candle-lighting that evening, just before they were going to sit down to supper. And a joyful Thanksgiving it was, both to my parents and myself;—to my parents and brethren, who had been in great distress about me; all the vessels, that came out with us, had arrived, the last of them above a week before us; though the passengers who set out from the Vineyard, arrived at Boston Nov. 14, and informed my parents I was well at the Vine-

yard, and would be here in a day or two:—and to myself, who, after a very tedious passage of eleven weeks, having escaped the dangers of the sea, and the enemy, and been signally preserved from perishing by shipwreck, was now arrived safe, after more than a year and four months' absence, to join with my good parents and brethren, on such a special day, in our thankful praises to God for his great goodness to us.

The Wednesday evening after I came home, I preached at a private meeting of devout Christians, who monthly upheld such meetings at each other's houses alternately, from Isaiah xxxv. 10. *The ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads.* Which I considered as ultimately referring to the joy and triumph, with which the redeemed of the Lord shall arrive at the heavenly world, from all the dangers and temptations they had met with in this; in which also I described my own particular case, yet decently couched, with thankfulness. There was a crowded house, of four rooms upon a floor, who hung upon my lips. Soon after, I preached the same sermon upon the Sabbath, at Mr. Colman's meeting-house, with great satisfaction to the hearers.

A few days after my arrival, I waited upon Governor Dudley at Roxbury, to pay my duty to him, and deliver some books with letters I brought for him. He diligently inquired of me about the circumstances of the times in England. I gave him the best account I could; and among other things told him, the new ministry, St. John's and Harley, and the others, were supposed by those who best understood affairs, to be driving at the preparing the way for the Pretender, and had persuaded her Majesty he was her real brother, and she seemed to be willing to resign the crown to him; that the inferior clergy, were nineteen in twenty, in the Pretender's interest; and it was expected it would not be long before the nation would be embroiled in a civil war upon the account. He replied to me, "Child, you should not divulge such things; you will endanger the bringing yourself into mischief; you are too far from the Court, to know the secrets of it." I said to him, "Sir, I do not make this common talk, but I thought it my duty to acquaint your Excellency with it." Soon after King George I. came to the throne, in the year 1715, the kingdom was invaded, and insurrections

made in behalf of the Pretender. Meeting Governor Dudley after the tidings arrived to us of the insurrection, among other conversation, I said to him, "Sir, your Excellency may remember some accounts I gave you of affairs at home, which you was pleased to check me for. What does your Excellency think of it now?" "Ah, child," said he, "we old men dream dreams, but you young men see visions."

The pulpits in Boston, and round about the country, were soon open to me, so that between the public and private preaching, I had constant employment. And it gave me some diversion to hear (as I passed along the streets,) people in their shops saying to one another, "How much better he preaches now than before he went to England;" though I often preached the sermons I had made before.

In the summer of 1711, there was a fair prospect, from the generality of the people being fond of it, that I should have settled at Reading. But a very worthy gentleman accidentally travelling through the town, they invited him to preach to them the next Sabbath. He did so; and a wise Providence so ordered it, that when they came to a choice, the vote turned out for him. In the latter end of 1711, it was concluded by my friends, from the affection the people had for me, that I should have been fixed at Jamaica, a parish in Roxbury. I confess it pleased me, because it was within five miles of Boston. But happening to attend a lecture at Roxbury, Governor Dudley, who saw me come in, threw open his pew door to me. Some of the chief persons of Jamaica were present, and observing the respect the Governor showed me, concluded I should be a Governor's man, as they called it, and though they were particularly set for me before, yet, from some disgust they had to the Governor, altered their minds, and threw me off. The latter end of 1712, the people of Newton had a great inclination to settle me among them; but one of their chiefs made a visit to —, to consult him about it; he only answered with a forbidding shrug, and so put an end to it. There were the prospects of my settling in several other places; but a good and wise Providence overruled it for the best.

In the year 1713, a number of the brethren of the North Church in Boston, to which I belonged, fourteen in number, concluded, with the assistance of several of the first men of the church and congregation, to build a new meeting-house,



with design to settle me in it. I knew nothing of their designs for me, till the house was raised; when at the dinner, to which I was invited, one of the chief of them said to me, "Sir, I hope within a little while to see you settled in this new house." When the house was near finished, the aged Dr. I. Mather sent for the aforesaid fourteen members, one by one, closeted them, appeared against their settling a *manifesto*\* man, as he styled me because of the great friendship Mr. Colman showed to me, and extorted from as many as he could, a promise that they would not vote for me. By the direction of the Mathers, the said fourteen men got into a private room, and combined into a church. Soon after they proceeded to the choice of a minister; five of them gave their votes for Mr. Webb, and four for me; the other five would not vote at all, because they had been made to promise they would not vote for me. So a minister was chosen, and afterwards settled, by five persons out of fourteen, when the other nine were evidently for another person. The conduct of the Mathers was wondered at by all. Within a few days, I made a visit to Dr. C. M. as I generally visited him once a week or fortnight; and in all my visits to him, before this, he never said one word to me about the new house, nor I to him; but now he opened himself to me, and said, "Mr. Barnard, do you think we could easily bear to have the best men in our house leave us, as Capt. Charnock, Capt. Bant, Mr. Greenwood, Mr. Ruck, and it may be counsellor Hutchinson, and Mr. Troisel? No, sir, we cannot part with such men as these." Which was a plain telling me, the grand reason of their opposition to my settlement in the new house was, the fear that those gentlemen would leave them to sit under my ministry, in case I was fixed there; as I understood afterwards several of them designed. Soon after the choice of Mr. Webb, I made a visit to Mr. R. in an evening, where I found counsellor Hutchinson and his brother, E. Hutchinson, discoursing of the management of the affairs of the new house; and presently counsellor H. applied himself to me, saying, "It is cruel hard treatment, when the house was built designedly for you, and most if not all the members of the church aimed at settling you with them, to have it so

[\* The church in Brattle Square, of which Mr. Colman was pastor, was for a while, in contempt, called the *Manifesto Church*, from "A Manifesto or Declaration set forth by the Undertakers of the New Church now erected in Boston in New England, Nov. 17, 1699." *Pub. Com.*]



clandestinely, and unjustly, contrary to their minds, wrested from you. But I will see who shall be settled in it; (it is to be noted that he had generously given the ground it stood upon, but had not yet given them a deed for it,) I'll shut up the doors of the house, and see who will dare to open them, without my leave." I said to him, "Sir, you will greatly endanger a controversy between you and your ministers, if you should do so." He replied, with some warmth, "Sir, I have already borne heavy things from them; but this is too much to bear calmly. If they will contend with me, my back is broad enough to bear it." I then said to him, "Sir, I humbly entreat you to consider what will be the natural effect of it. It will disturb your mind, prejudice you against your ministers, endanger your losing the benefit of their ministry, and will render you a sufferer in your best interest. I therefore earnestly beseech you, sir, to engage in no controversy with them upon my account; but leave me to the care of Divine Providence, which does all things well, and I trust will provide for me." I saw he was pleased with my answer to him; and presently diverted the discourse another way. I never knew till this time, that this honorable gentleman had any particular regards to me, or was any ways inclined to see me fixed in the new house. Within a few weeks he gave the society a deed for the ground; and they settled among them a much better man than myself. And I was truly thankful to God, that he was pleased to make use of me as an instrument to quench the flame that was kindling; which doubtless would have burnt very fiercely, had it not been stifled.

I preached in the new house, the second Sabbath of their meeting, on May 23, 1714, from Gen. xxviii. 17. The dedication of the house to the worship and service of God, and the gate of heaven. Within a few years something happened in Mr. Webb's conduct, about settling a colleague with him, which gave occasion to the Mathers repenting of their treatment of me, insomuch that Dr. C. M. said, "Johnny Barnard would not have treated them so."

After so many disappointments, and being now turned of my thirty-second year, I began to be discouraged, and think, whether Providence designed me for the work of the ministry; whether I was not called upon to lay aside my own inclination, and betake myself to some other business. But I

considered my parents' and my own solemn dedication to this service ; and hearing from several parts of the country, that many had been greatly profited by my preaching, and ministers informing me, that this and the other person had given them an account that my preaching such or such a sermon was the means of their being first awakened, and turning into the path of religion and virtue, I was encouraged to keep to my studies, and go on in the work of the gospel, as I had opportunity, and to commit my case to God, and wait his pleasure. I often thought, if my father's circumstances would have afforded it, (which they would not,) I would live all my days at Cambridge, near the College, and preach to any people who needed help, but never come under the awful charge of a church, but give myself wholly up to studying.

The aged and Rev. Mr. Samuel Cheever, pastor of the church in Marblehead, needing assistance, the church and town nominated Mr. Edward Holyoke, (now President,) Mr. Amos Cheever, and myself, to preach to them, upon probation, for three months, alternately. The committee came to me in August, 1714, to acquaint me with their design, and desire my compliance with it. I went and preached to them, August 11, and took my turn with the others, until the church, in January, came to a choice, and the vote finally came out for me ; and the town concurred in it, voting a salary. The committee brought me the votes both of choice and maintenance, and desired my acceptance of them. I thanked them for their respects to me, and their generous provision for my support ; but knowing there were two of the church, and some chief men of the town, who swayed many others, were very fond of settling Mr. Holyoke with them, which would occasion a controversy among them, I deferred complying with their request, and told them I would take some time to consider it. Some months after, they came to me again to receive my answer. I told them I had heard there was a considerable strife in the town for the settling of Mr. Holyoke, which was very discouraging to me ; and asked them, if they thought the town was large enough to require another house. They answered me, they believed there were people enough to fill another house. I then asked them, if they had any thing against Mr. Holyoke's settling among them. They said, no ; if the vote of the church had turned out for him, they should have been entirely satisfied. Then

said I to them, "Why may not Mr. Holyoke's friends in Marblehead be allowed to build a house for him, as well as the church enjoy their inclination to settle me with them?" They said if it could be done peaceably, they had nothing against it. Upon which I asked, if any of Mr. Holyoke's Marblehead friends were in town. They informed me such and such were come to treat with him. I then desired they would seek them out, and appoint a meeting with them, either at Mr. Holyoke's, or my father's, and I would wait upon them, in the evening, and try if we could compromise matters. Accordingly all met at Mr. Holyoke's father's. I told them what I had proposed; and after some discourse upon it among themselves, I said to them, "Gentlemen, if you can amicably agree that Mr. Holyoke shall settle among his friends, I will accept the offer of the church to settle with them; otherwise I know not how to comply with your request; for I do not care to fix in a town under the disadvantage of strife and contention." Mr. Holyoke then said, "If Mr. Barnard will go to Marblehead, I will go also; else not." They presently fell into an agreement to build a new house for Mr. Holyoke, and my friends promised to use their influence with the town to consent to it; and so they parted good friends.

Upon the 9th of November, 1715, I removed, upon the people's desire, to Marblehead; the day before Mr. Holyoke's people first opened their new house, in which several neighboring ministers kept a day of prayer for the divine direction and blessing upon their intended settlement. In January following, Mr. Holyoke left his tutorship at the College, and came to live in Marblehead, and was ordained the next April. I carried on part of the labors of the Sabbath with my venerable father Cheever, till I was ordained, July 18, 1716. When we returned from the public to his house, the good man broke out, before all the ministers, "Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace;" and having obtained help from God, I am continued to this day, ministering unto my people in much weakness, fear, and trembling; preaching none other things than what the Law and the Prophets, Jesus Christ and his Apostles, have made known; testifying both to Jew and Gentile, repentance towards God, and faith towards the Lord Jesus Christ.

The 18th of September, 1718, I married Miss Anna Wood-



bury, from Ipswich, an only child, whose parents were both dead ; a young gentlewoman of comely personage, and good fortune, but above all, strictly virtuous, and of admirable economy ; who is yet living, though now crippled by paralytic or rheumatic disorders in her right leg. It has pleased God to deny children to us ; and we are satisfied with the divine allotment, which is always wisest and best.

After my settlement, I found my hands full of employment ; for though Mr. Cheever preached one part of the day, for three or four years, yet all the work in the church government, baptisms, and visiting the sick of a large congregation, and attending the funerals, fell upon me ; besides our stated lecture, in conjunction with Mr. Holyoke, the business of our Association, and often calls to special services in the churches of the neighborhood ; and for about five years before, as well as after the death of Mr. Cheever, the latter end of May, 1724, the whole work lay upon me.

At a time when the old North Church, which always had two ministers, was destitute of one of them, I happened to be in company, at the Rev. Mr. Wellstead's, in Boston, with the honorable P. H. the chief man of that church. After some pleasant conversation, he said to me, " Mr. Barnard, would you be willing to leave Marblehead, and come to Boston ?" Perceiving the drift of his question, I said to him, " Sir, I think it would be always best for Boston churches to seek throughout the country for the ablest and best qualified ministers they can find, and invite and fix them in their churches. Our fathers, in their early days, went into this practice ; and I conceive there would be this advantage arising from it, (besides that of Boston's being well supplied,) that the young ministers of bright genius, settled in poor country towns, and cramped in their studies, would more diligently apply themselves to them, in hopes of preferment ; and so all the churches might fare the better." " Well, sir," said he, with seriousness and earnestness, " will you come to Boston, if we invite you thither ?" To which I replied, " Though I think it will not be so well with us, until we go into the practice I have named, yet, sir, I look upon myself so strongly engaged to Marblehead, from their kind treatment of me, that no prospect of worldly interest shall prevail with me to leave them ;" which put an end to the discourse upon this subject.



The Rev. Mr. Holyoke lived in the strictest brotherly love and friendship with me in our two separate churches in Marblehead, till it pleased God, on March 23, in the year 1737, to remove by death the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth from his Presidentship at the College, to a higher sphere of action and honors, among the blessed above ; which necessitated the Corporation and Overseers to look out for another proper person to supply his place. Some of the Overseers and Corporation were pleased to propose it to me to accept of the Presidentship, informing me that many of them had their thoughts upon me. But I gave them to understand that, through long disuse, I looked upon myself so much unacquainted with college literature, as utterly incapacitated me for that service, and therefore, I could not, in prudence nor justice, accept of the offer, if it should be made to me ; but I thought the Rev. Mr. Holyoke the fittest person for that station of any I knew in the Province. And attending upon President Wadsworth's funeral, I took the opportunity, at Cambridge, to mention the Rev. Mr. Holyoke to several both of the Corporation and Overseers ; from which time he became a candidate for the place, the eyes of the people being generally fixed upon him. Some of the Boston ministers were ready to think that the choice should be made out of themselves, and could not well bear it that there should be any thought about those who lived in the country ; and therefore made some exception to Mr. Holyoke, as that they should vote for him if it were not for his principles. In the midst of this public talk, I happened to be invited to Governor Belcher's table. While we were sitting together, before dinner, with a Boston minister present, his Excellency was pleased to ask me, who I thought was a proper person for a President. I readily answered, "In my humble opinion there is no fitter person in the Province than the Rev. Mr. Holyoke, of Marblehead." Upon which the minister present said, "I should think so too, were it not for his principles." I confess I was nettled ; and said, "Sir, do you know of any bad principles he holds ?" He replied, "No ; but he should be glad to know his principles." I then said to him, with some smartness, "Sir, I am surprised that a gentleman of your character should insinuate bad principles of a brother, when you say you know of none ; especially since that gentleman has been approved as a valuable minister among us for above

twenty years." His Excellency then asked me, what I thought of Mr. Holyoke's qualifications. I answered him, "May it please your Excellency, I think the grand qualifications for a President are, a virtuous, religious man, a man of learning, a gentleman, and one of a good spirit for government; and all of these meet in Mr. Holyoke. He is universally known to be a virtuous, religious man; and were he but of common capacity with his brethren, yet his having lived fourteen years at the College, and the greatest part of that time a tutor there, gives him so much the advantage above others, as leaves no room to call in question his learning. That he is a gentleman in his behavior, we all know, and so fitted for converse with all gentlemen strangers, who visit the College; and I know no man better qualified with a spirit for government, who knows how to treat his equals and inferiors with due civility, while he preserves a proper distance." "Well," said his Excellency, "Mr. Barnard, I agree with you in your qualifications of a President; and if a man had all the learning of Cicero, and sanctity of St. Paul, but was destitute of a spirit for government, he would not be fit for that place. But," said his Excellency, "will you vouch, Mr. Barnard, for Mr. Holyoke's Calvinistical principles?" To which I replied, "If more than thirty years' intimacy, and more than twenty years' living in the same town with him, and often conversing with him, and scores of times hearing him preach, can lead me into the knowledge of a man's principles, I think Mr. Holyoke as orthodox a Calvinist as any man; though I look upon him too much of a gentleman, and of too catholic a temper, to cram his principles down another man's throat." "Then," said his Excellency, "I believe he must be the man."

*May 30, 1737.* The Rev. Mr. Edward Holyoke was unanimously chosen President of the College by the Corporation; and June 2d, as unanimously accepted by the honorable and reverend Board of Overseers. June 8th, a Committee from the Board of Overseers came down to Marblehead, to treat with Mr. Holyoke and his people about his accepting, and compliance with the choice they had made, and their relinquishing their right in him. His people met together about the important affair; sent for me to pray with them upon the occasion; and notwithstanding all that could be said to them, they voted not to part with him. Another

Committee from the Board of Overseers came to wait upon Mr. Holyoke and his people, if it might be, to obtain his removal to the College. The church and people had their meeting the day after the Committee came, and again sent for me to open their meeting with prayer to God to direct them in what was before them. I endeavored to adapt my prayer to their circumstances, and pleaded, if it were agreeable to the divine will that his servant should be fixed at the head of the College, he would please to overrule the hearts of his people to deny themselves for the sake of the more universal serviceableness and benefit of the country, and all the churches in it; leaving it to the infinitely wise and good God to make up to them abundantly, what, for his sake, they were willing to part with. And now they voted that their beloved pastor might remove to the College, if he saw cause for it.

*July 31.* My brother Holyoke gave his people to understand that he looked upon what had happened as a clear call from God to leave them; and accordingly took leave of his people, and went to Cambridge, to prepare for his removal; and accordingly, September 7, removed his wife and family to the President's house, and took the College under his care, which has greatly flourished under his administration; which, through the divine favor, he continues in to this day. After his removal, some persons asked his people, how they were persuaded to part with so valuable a man; who returned for answer, "Old Barnard prayed him away."

Mr. Holyoke's church and congregation having heard several candidates for the ministry, on the 2d of November kept a day of prayer, to seek direction and a blessing from God in the choice of another minister; the services of which were carried on by several neighboring ministers, and I preached to them upon that occasion. The 7th of November, the church and congregation met, and chose Mr. Simon Bradstreet, son of the Rev. Mr. Simon Bradstreet, of Charlestown, for their pastor; and on the 4th of January, 1733, he was solemnly separated to the work of the ministry and pastoral office in that church, by the laying on of my hands, and the hands of the elders, met in Council upon that occasion, who appointed me Moderator, and to give the Charge. The Rev. Mr. Bradstreet proves a most worthy, pious, devout Christian, and faithful pastor, aiming and laboring to win over his people to God, and Christ, and holiness; has the hearty



affections of his people, equal to what Mr. Holyoke had; and continues to this day, laboring in word and doctrine among them; with whom also I live in brotherly correspondence.

I have attended many ordinations, and have been chosen moderator and ordainer at most of them. Numerous Councils I have been called to by contending churches, where we have generally, though not always, restored peace. I will venture to mention to you a few of them.

A Council was called to sit upon a case wherein a minister had suspended a deacon and a captain from communion for their ill treatment of him, and bad language to him. (If I should mention the instances, it would surprise you.) Dr. Colman's, Mr. Foxcroft's, Mr. Webb's churches, out of Boston, our church, Mr. Prescott's, Mr. Chipman's, from the neighboring towns, were called. The Boston churches came with six, eight, and ten messengers; we in the country, with one or two at the most. They were strangers to the people and the circumstances of the affair; they came prejudiced against the minister for his tyranny, as they called it, though he was really one of the humblest, meekest men upon earth. We knew both minister and people, and their circumstances, having been upon Council there before, upon a like occasion. The Boston churches carried all the votes very strongly against the minister for his tyranny in punishing two such brethren so severely upon so slight an occasion, as they esteemed it. I informed them, that the neighboring churches had sat in Council, upon an affair like this, (I mean a quarrel, though not a suspension,) wherein these two men were concerned; that we had treated them with all gentleness and goodness, convinced them of their error, and brought them to acknowledge their fault; that therefore those two brethren were to be considered as upon their good behavior; and their falling into the same fault, with more of ill will and behavior, was a great aggravation of their present crime. But the Boston churches went on condemning the minister and clearing the brethren. I observed to the moderator, I was afraid if they proceeded after this manner, (for we of the country voted not with them,) they would entirely ruin the success of the ministry in this place. When the people saw that their minister was so sharply reprov'd and severely condemned, (as he was in their votes,) for no just cause, and the brethren acquitted of all blame, though there was abundant occasion to



condemn them, they would look upon him as unworthy of the ministerial office. They replied, they could take care of that in the Result. We spent the day, and the whole night, till the sun shone in at our windows, ere we had finished the debates, and all the votes were passed. Then the Boston churches rose, pocketed the papers, got their horses, and were going from us. I said to them, "Gentlemen, remember there is no Result drawn." The moderator said, "We have the papers and votes, and can draw a Result out of them at Boston." I replied, "Can you, sir? Assure yourselves, there will be some of us so faithful, as publicly to inform the world, that it was not the Result of this Council." The Dr. was quite sick, and forced to stay, and in complaisance to him many others stayed also, though some ministers and brethren were gone from us. I was greatly concerned at the deplorable state of this church, took the Rev. Mr. Webb aside, and showed him wherein we now left them worse than we found them. He agreed in my sentiments. I then proposed to him for us to try if we could bring the minister and brethren to an agreement among themselves; that he should take the two brethren, (for they esteemed him their peculiar friend,) and try what he could bring them to; and I would use my endeavors with the minister. I soon found the humble minister ready to comply with any reasonable methods to restore peace, and to ask forgiveness, if he had said or done amiss. Mr. Webb labored above an hour with the brethren in vain; and prevailed with me to try what I could do with them. I went into the room where they were with others, and after salutation, sat down, and fell into transient discourse with the mixed company, and gradually brought on the present affair, without applying to any in particular. I perceived the deacon, in his discourse, stood much upon his honor. I then applied myself directly to him, and said, "Deacon, I am persuaded you never did yourself so much honor in all your life, as you would do, if you would but be a little active and condescending in healing this breach." He said, "How so, sir?" I endeavored to show him how. He seemed to listen to me. I thought it best striking while the iron was hot, and said, "Come, deacon, shall I draw up something for you both to sign, which I think will heal the breach?" He said, "You may, if you please." Accordingly, I drew a very general acknowledgment, read it to him, and he made

exceptions to the words, "our reverend pastor." I said to him "Mr. — was certainly the pastor of their church, as he was a deacon of it, and why then should he not be styled so?" Then he said the minister ought to acknowledge his fault, as well as they. I assured them, that he was very ready to do it. Upon which they both signed the writing. Having, through divine assistance, overcome the difficulty, I went with them immediately to the Council, whom I had persuaded to stay; and sent for the minister from another room, who presently came. I then said, "The deacon and captain were willing to do themselves the honor of putting an end to this controversy; and I knew the minister stood ready to join with them in it; therefore I would read to them what the brethren had to offer." I then began to read the draught they had signed; and at the word pastor, the deacon said, "Pastor! pastor! he is none of my pastor." "Well, deacon," said I, "we will then say, the reverend Mr. —." "Reverend!" said the deacon, "I can't call him reverend." Upon which one of the brethren of the Council, who had been warm in the deacon's favor, hastily started up, and was about to utter what I thought would spoil all. I therefore beckoned to him, with my hand and eye, to sit down, and say nothing; he took my meaning, and sat down. Then I proceeded,—"Come, deacon, though you don't allow him to be a pastor and reverend, yet we all do, and in respect to us you should let the words stand." He consented to it. I then read all over again, and the deacon and captain acknowledged it as theirs, and that they had set their hands to it. The Council gladly received it. The minister then humbly expressed his sense of his own weakness, and feared that, in the day of temptation, he had not conducted himself as he should have done; and begged his brethren's forgiveness, wherein he might have said or done any thing offensive to them; "and from this time," said he, "my brethren, let us live in love and peace."

As soon as the parties were gone out of the room, the gentleman whom I stopped, said to me, "Sir, I did not think the deacon had been such a kind of man; he should never have had my votes, if I had known his temper and behavior, which I have now seen something of." I smiling, told him, "We of the neighborhood knew him, and therefore could not vote with them." The Council thanked me for the pains I

had taken, and rejoiced in the happy issue which Providence had brought the difficult affair to ; and I bless God, that he was pleased to improve so weak an instrument in restoring peace to a divided church.

Another church having a difficult affair before them, wherein many of them were offended with their minister, newly settled, upon presumptions that he had \* \* \*, after a Council of churches in the neighborhood, and the churches of Boston, failed of issuing the matter, the said church agreed with the aggrieved brethren to call our church, Mr. Holyoke's, and Mr. Prescott's, more than eighty miles off, and four of the neighboring churches, all of which had not yet been concerned in the affair, to sit in Council, and give our judgment, and bound themselves to abide by our Result. The distant churches went the journey, though in the depth of winter, and when we came to the place, found that none of the churches of the neighborhood had seen cause to meet us. It seems, the aggrieved hearing of our coming, which they did not expect, laid discouragement in the way of their neighbors, and prevented their coming. We adjourned from Thursday evening to the next Monday, eleven o'clock, to give opportunity to send to those churches, and desire them to give us a meeting. The messenger from the aggrieved, as we learned by one that accompanied him, rather discouraged than encouraged them to come to us. However, one of them, the Rev. Mr. Brown, came on Monday. The next day, we formed the Council, chose one Moderator, and entered upon business. The aggrieved being called in, and asked what they had to lay before us, one of the chief of them said to me, "Sir, I think you ought not to act here, because you have given your judgment already." I asked him, "Wherein?" He said, "I heard you should say, you would travel a thousand miles to save a man from being condemned without any evidence against him." I told him, "I believed I had said so ; but, sir," said I, "is this your case?" Having heard what they had to say on both sides, I took care to draw every vote as plain and strong as possible, founded on a text of Scripture, pointed to in the margin ; and every vote passed, without exception from one of the Council. They then put me upon drawing the Result, which was done so that every member of the Council concurred in it ; the texts being placed in the margin of the Result. We then went into



public, read our Result, and observed to them, they could not but know it would have been unrighteous in us to condemn any man, when there was no evidence against him, and they themselves had been so cautious, as to desire we would observe they did not accuse him; exhorted them to live in peace; prayed with and for them; and then left them with copies of our Result: and the good end was very much answered. When the copy of the Result was laid before the Boston ministers, the Rev. Peter Thacher, of Boston, was pleased to say, "He thought there had not been more of the presence of God in any Council, since the Apostles' days, than was in this; and he looked upon the Result as a pattern to all Councils for the time to come." So it pleased God to make use of weak instruments, that the power may the more evidently appear to be of him. To God be all the glory.

I will mention one more instance wherein I was concerned, between a minister newly settled, and some of his church, who taxed him with impure speech and action, before his ordination. One of the offended waited upon him alone, told him the crime, and desired Christian satisfaction; but obtained none. He then took two of the brethren with him, went to the minister, charged him with the crime, and desired satisfaction, before these brethren. They received none from him. This was followed with an open rupture in the church. A Council was called, some of the Boston churches, and others, of which our church was one. Somebody had advised the minister to bring an action of slander and defamation against the brother that had waited upon him, desiring satisfaction. He had no more thought than to comply with the advice. The affair was now depending with the Council. Dr. C. Mather wrote to me, as nearest to the place of the Court's sitting, (at Salem,) to attend the Court, and endeavor to prevent their proceeding in it. I did so; and dining with the Court, I observed to the Judges, that when such an action came on, I had somewhat to offer, with their leave, if they would please to let me know when. They told me I should have liberty, and they would notify me in a proper time. In the afternoon the action was called. The attorney for the plaintiff opened the case. I asked leave of the Court to ask the plaintiff a question. They gave me leave. I then asked the minister "If he knew of any other time and company, wherein he accused him, besides that of



his taking two brethren with him, when he came to his lodgings." He answered me, "He knew of no other." "Then," said I, "your action is wholly grounded upon that?" He said, "Yes." The defendant's attorney pleaded his cause well enough, but with many fleers upon the ministry and our churches; (the attorney belonged to the Church of England.) When he had done, the Chief Judge said to me, "Mr. Barnard, now is as good a time as any to offer what you have to say in this case." I paid my respects to the Court, and delivered my speech, (the copy of which I have by me,) the substance of which was, "That as this honorable Court were Christians, they could not but be concerned for the welfare of the church of Christ, and I was well assured would do nothing to hurt it; that this particular case was evidently in the hands of the church, and by them referred to a Council of churches, who now had it under consideration; that if the civil authority should think fitting for them to take such a case out of the hands of an ecclesiastical process, there would be an utter impossibility of laying conviction before an offending brother, and every church, of every denomination, would be precluded from observing the laws of Christ, and so his laws be rendered absolutely useless; which I hoped no Christian magistrate would ever attempt. They had heard out of the plaintiff's own mouth, that his action was founded altogether upon what a brother had done in an exact conformity to the divine law. And therefore I prayed the Judges to dismiss the action." Mr. Webb, who was sent from Boston on purpose, and was now by me, said to the Court, "He joined in my sentiments and request." The Judges immediately threw the action out of Court, being glad, as they expressed it, to get rid of so dirty an affair. Then one of the lawyers said openly in the Court, "My speech smelt damnably of the lamp." Thus happily did this matter issue, respecting the Court; but it went on in the Council, and how it was managed there, I cannot say, because through indisposition, I could not attend.

Many a time, when contentions have been kindling in some of our churches, and some of the brethren have come to me, laid their case before me, and asked my advice, instead of giving them any, I have designedly asked them such questions as would draw advice out of their own breasts, and wrote to their minister; by which means the smothering fire has been extinguished.

So long ago as the year 1727, I understood that Mr. John Checkley (who was fixed afterwards in your parts, and possibly known to you,) was gone over to England to take orders, and (as I was told at Boston,) with an eye upon Marblehead Church of England, which was then destitute. I knew the man to be void of a liberal education, though he had got some Latin at school, and that he was an indefatigable enemy to the churches of this country, and a Non-juror to the British Government; for which reasons I consulted the Rév. Mr. Holyoke, and we agreed to write to Dr. Gibson, then Bishop of London, if possible to prevent so troublesome a man coming among us. Accordingly, I drew a letter, which Mr. Holyoke signed with me, and sent it, unsealed, enclosed in another, to Mr. Henry Newman, a very worthy gentleman, whom I knew in England, desiring him, if he approved of it, to seal it and deliver it to his lordship; but if not, to destroy it. Mr. Newman wrote me word that he not only highly approved it himself, but his lordship, when he had read it, expressed himself as greatly pleased with it; and desired him to acquaint us that, if he could find time, he would write us an answer with his own hand, (which he did not,) and inform us that he would take special care to appoint for the church in our town, a good man, of catholic temper, and loyal to the Government; and it seemed, by Mr. Newman's letter, as if his lordship had his eye upon Mr. Price, who soon after was sent to Boston. But the Church of England in Marblehead, hearing of Mr. Pigot, at Providence, agreed with him, and sent to his lordship to appoint him for them. He complied with their request, and he was fixed for a time among them, till he run from them. The consequence of our letter was, the Bishop inquired of our former Governor Shute, then in London, and finding we had wrote the honest truth, in our character of Mr. Checkley, refused to admit him to orders; though afterward the Bishop of Exeter (if I mistake not) did, and sent him to Narraganset. Thus our town, and the churches of this Province, through the favor of God, got rid of a turbulent, vexatious and persecuting-spirited Non-juror. Blessed be God for his kind dealings with us! I have the copy of the letter by me.

In the time of the Whitfieldian ferment, in 1741, I was enabled, by the grace of God, so to conduct, as not only to preserve my own flock in peace and quietness, but to prevent

the other church in town, and their minister, from being thrown into the like disorders and confusions, in which so many towns and churches in the country were involved; and when the ministers at the Convention proposed to draw up a public Testimony against several errors and bad practices prevalent among us, they made use of my hand for the draught. When some of the ministers, very hot in their thought of the good work in the land, taxed me with opposing the work of God, I told them I sincerely endeavored to think as they did; but since I could not, I hoped, as I was content they should think as they saw cause, they would allow me also to think for myself. I also preached a sermon, at the Boston lecture, in March, 1742, upon *Zeal for Good Works*, which was immediately published, and proved very much the occasion of checking many of the disorders in several places; and for which I have received more thanks and compliments, from several parts of the country, and from gentlemen whom I knew not, than for any thing I ever did. The phrases of "*zeal guided by knowledge, tempered with prudence, and accompanied with charity,*" sounded in the pulpits in Boston, and in the country churches, many months after. Nor have I been without high expressions of commendation, from some of the most judicious ministers, for my volume of the *Mystery of the Gospel*. When my book, of the *Confirmation of the Truth of the Christian Religion*, came over from London, bound in royal octavo, the very Rev. Dr. Colman said upon reading it, "they were more than royal sermons." I printed also a volume upon *The Imperfection of the Creature, and the Exceeding Breadth of the Divine Commandment*, to good acceptance. I have given the world *A New Version of David's Psalms*, which has been greatly commended for its plainness, tolerable poetry, and great strictness to the original; inso-much that the Rev. Mr. Prince told me, that it more strictly agreed to the original than any of twenty versions he had seen; and the reverend Messrs. Mather, Byles, and Cooper, said they were the best they knew for a public congregation. There are also more than twenty single sermons I have printed, which I hope will be of some service among our people.

After the suppression of the Rebellion by the battle of Culloden, the Convention of ministers at Boston thought it proper for them to address King George II. with their congratulations, and thankful acknowledgments of the divine



favor to his Majesty and the nation, in that signal victory, under the conduct of the Duke of Cumberland, to express their firm allegiance to his Majesty, and their fervent prayers for his long life and happy reign; when being appointed one of the committee, my poor hand was employed to form the draught.

In the spring of the year 1745, the Government sent to me, desiring me to go one of the chaplains in the expedition against Louisburgh. I laid the matter before my church, telling them I would go or stay, according as I should know the mind of God by their actions. They unanimously appeared against my going, from the difficulties attending that service at my age, being then in my 64th year; for which reason I was obliged to deny the Government's request.

Some years ago, the Convention of ministers proposed the raising a fund, for the propagating of the Gospel among the Six Nations of Indians, bordering upon the lakes, who were in friendship with us, and the forming of a Corporation to manage that affair. Being one of the committee, I was put upon draughting the scheme. It met with an unexpected stop for a while; but when it pleased God to give success to our arms against Canada, both ministers and people thought themselves more than ever obliged to attempt the proselyting these nations to the Christian faith and manners, and therefore some of the ministers in Boston consulted with some prime gentlemen there about it, who readily came into it, and about thirty were designed for a Corporation. They sent to me to know if I would be one of the Corporation. I sent them word they might make use of my hand and purse, as they pleased; and, if I lived to come to Boston, I would confirm it. They made use of my draught, with what alterations I know not, addressed the Government to grant them the powers of a Corporation. upon their plan. The Government granted their request. Could they have been contented with this, all would have been well and none would have given disturbance to them. But they thought it would be more safe and honorary, to have the sanction of his Majesty to what the Government had done, and therefore sent it over to the King, requesting his hand to it. I wish somebody had not designedly at first started that motion on purpose to prevent the design taking place; for upon its being laid before the King, Archbishop Secker appeared strongly against it, as only a design



to propagate the Dissenting interest, and so quashed it, with a prohibition to the Government's granting a charter for the intended purpose. Would such a man as Archbishop Secker have appeared against such a truly noble, pious, charitable design, if he had not had intimations (though false ones) that the real intent was to counterwork the propagation of the Church of England in America? They knew well, how vilely they abused the charity for the *Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, chiefly to encourage and support their church in opposition to the established churches (which they call Dissenters,) in America, and concluded we should imitate them; but we abhorred the thought of it. However, this pretence crushed one of the most charitable designs that could be. So, like the dog in the fable, they neither eat the hay, nor suffered the generous horse to eat it.

Though I suffered greatly by the depreciating of the wretched, false paper medium, to the loss of several hundred of pounds yearly, which I spent in the service of my people, out of my own stock, yet, when the change came on of a silver currency, and two of the chief of my people came to me, and desired me to give them an account of what I had received, as stipend, from my first settlement, and by computation found they fell seven hundred and forty pounds sterling short of their engagement to me, and asked me what they should do in the case, "for," said they, "it is a due debt," I frankly forgave all that vast debt, and gave them under my hand that I did so, saying to them, "I sought not theirs, but them."

My church and congregation have once or twice been in danger of being thrown into a controversy; but a good and a wise God has been pleased so to direct me, in the management of the affairs, that the fire has been quenched before it broke out into a flame; though I had some of the chief and stubbornest spirits to deal with; and now for more than one and fifty years we have enjoyed as great peace and unity among us, as any church in the country.

From November, 1702, to November, 1766, sixty-four years, through the distinguishing goodness of God, I have never been confined by any sickness to my bed; though I have been exercised with many pains and some special weaknesses at times; as in the year 1732, I was visited with the sciatica, for ten weeks together, and yet performed my public

services through all that time, though forced to stand upon one leg, while in the pulpit, the pain being so great I could not bear to extend the other to the ground. I consulted the physicians of the town; went to Boston, to the funeral of my excellent father, took the opportunity of consulting the ablest physicians there; found some directed to bleeding, some to a course of physic, but all agreed that possibly a blister might help me. When I came home, I thought what they all agreed in was most likely to serve me, and therefore put on a very large and strong blister, about two inches below the pain, upon the thick of my thigh, which, through the blessing of God, thoroughly cured me; so that I have never been affected with that disorder since. Possibly this may be serviceable to others in a like case. In the summer of 1746, I had contracted, by my much and strong speaking, such a weakness in my diaphragm, and it may be some other organs employed in speech, that I was in danger of losing the power of audible speech; for which reason my kind people desired me to desist preaching for a month or two, or more if wanted, and they would supply the pulpit the meanwhile at their own charge. I complied with their desire, and in this time travelled to Rhode Island, and what with my rest from public labors, and my travelling, through the blessing of God, I recovered such a firmness of strength as to return to the service of the pulpit in about two months.

We have had our Sabbaths and New Moons constantly observed with us, throughout the long time I have been here; except twice by a sudden cold arresting me, when my people were forced to attend at the other house; and I never left my people without help, but one Sabbath, when upon a journey, through the unhappy failure of one I had good reason to depend on, I left them destitute. So constant have I been in the labors of the pulpit throughout the course of my time, that I have been often years without any assistance; and once, I find near eight years, wherein I have not had so much as the relief of one half day. As to my charities, I always thought the tenth of my income due to our great Melchisedeck. My private ones are known unto God; but there is one way of service I will venture to tell you of; I have generally kept two boys of poor parents at school, and by this means have been instrumental of bringing up, from unlikely

families, such as have made good men and valuable members of the commonwealth.

The Church of England was set up in Marblehead about the time I moved into it; and designing to cultivate a good understanding with their minister, I found him neither a scholar nor a gentleman, but a poor, mean bigot, with whom we could have no intimate correspondence; of such behavior as he was forced to run away from his people in a few years. Their second minister was something of a scholar and gentleman, but, at his first coming among us, very shy of us, and upon all occasions declaiming against the Dissenters. However, being of good moral behavior, I visited him, conversed with him, till we became free with one another. Then I took an opportunity to ask him, what was the occasion of his being so warm against us, at his first coming? "Why sir," said he, "you must not wonder at it, when you consider that before I came over to you, I was filled with the conception of you as an heathenish, irreligious people, full of spleen and rancor against the Church of England; but when I had been among you some time, I found you a virtuous, religious, civilized people, and of moderate temper towards the church; and therefore I thought proper to alter my conduct." We lived in good friendship with one another, till, in hopes to better his circumstances, he removed to Virginia. Their third minister\* had pretty good school learning, having been usher in his father's grammar school, but never educated at the Universities, nor knew any thing of arts and sciences beyond the school; and was a worthless man, with whom we had customary correspondence, but no intimacy. He also, for some reasons known to himself, anon run away from his people. Their fourth minister† was a Scotch gentleman, of great learning; and being originally of the Kirk of Scotland, still retained some fondness for it, and therefore, though true to the Church of England, yet far from a bigot. With him we lived in close friendship, till upon some prospect and invitation to what he thought better accommodations, he also left his church and went to Maryland. Which occasioned their sexton to say, "Their church was the healthiest church in the country, for they never buried a minister yet, though they had had four, who all run away." I held some corres-

[\* Mr. Pigot.

† Mr. Malcom. See 1 Mass. Hist. Coll. VIII. 77.—*Pub. Com.*]



pondence, by letters, with the second and fourth, after they were gone from us; and in their letters to me they both lamented their unhappiness in being deprived of our company.

Their fifth minister was the worthy Mr. Bours, of Rhode Island, bred at our College; a man of an excellent temper, good learning, and great piety; whose good carriage gained more to the Church of England than in all the years that preceded him. My people were very fond of him, and kind to him; insomuch that the church minister has told me, he received more presents from my people than from his own; and I and Mr. Bradstreet (of the other church in the town,) maintained the strictest brotherly love and friendship with him. The last time he was abroad, among other things, he told me, though his brethren at Boston had hitherto hindered him, yet he was determined with himself to attend our Lecture for the future, as he had opportunity; as we had often attended his funerals, and some of his red letter services. It pleased God, the next day, he was confined by sickness, (though he had complained of a strange pain in his bowels, for some time before,) and in a few days expired. A grievous loss! Being one of the pall-bearers at his funeral, after our return to the house, one of the chief of his people, in the name of the others present, asked me to give them my advice what they should do to supply his place. I freely said to them, though they could not expect I should advise any bred among us, to take orders for their church, yet I could heartily advise them to seek and procure such an one, if they could; because he would be better acquainted with the manners and humors of the people, and know how to adapt himself to them, than a foreign missionary. I saw that a foreign missionary, present with us, changed countenance upon it. I therefore added, though we may have men of great learning and probity sent among us, (such was he that colored,) yet one of our own, having a more thorough knowledge of the disposition of our people, would better suit them. Upon which a missionary, bred among us, replied, "I think you are right, Mr. Barnard; such an one will best know how to adapt himself to the people." The church followed the advice, and procured Mr. Weeks, a virtuous, learned, sweet-tempered gentleman, with whom we live as brethren. And may a good God spare him long a blessing to them.

My kind flock, sensible I had begrudged no labors while I



had been among them, were very forward, some years ago, to have afforded me what help in the ministry I pleased, at their own charge, and often moved it to me. I gave them to understand, that I was not willing to put them to more charge than needs must; but was willing, while God was graciously pleased to continue my abilities of body and mind, to spend myself in their service. But in the beginning of the year 1760, in my 79th year, I acquainted my church that, finding my strength decaying, and not knowing how suddenly I might be taken from them, I thought it would be best, both for them and me, to have some constant assistance. They immediately provided help for me. And having heard several candidates for the ministry, I found that, after hearing Mr. Job Whitney once, a very great number of my people were very strongly set in their affections for him; and, after a second hearing of him, were so eager as to urge that he might be forthwith ordained to the work of the ministry among us; even the very next week; there being nothing, they thought, to hinder it. Several of the chief both of the church and congregation, were not so fond of him, and thought we ought to proceed more deliberately. I was greatly afraid of a controversy; committed the case to the infinitely wise God, and begged direction from him. When, upon a number of those that were fixed upon Mr. Whitney, meeting together to consult how to conduct in the affair, they were pleased to send for me, and asked my advice. I freely told them, that, however satisfied I or they might be with Mr. Whitney, so far as we knew him, yet an affair of so great importance as that of settling a minister, on which our spiritual welfare, and that of our children, was so dependent, should not be hurried over, but managed with mature thought and prudent deliberation. The apostle of our Lord had charged us, to "lay hands suddenly on no man." There seemed to me to be several things necessary, which would unavoidably take up a considerable deal of time; and it would be prudence for us to take time, lest by too hasty actions we bring ourselves into difficulties. It would be fitting that we should be further acquainted with Mr. Whitney, that we might better discern his aptness to teach, than one or two sermons could inform us; that we might more thoroughly understand his principles in the Christian religion, and know his Christian life and conversation. It was requisite that he should acquaint himself with the

neighboring ministers, that they might be satisfied in their laying on of hands, and receiving him as a brother; that we ought, in a solemn manner, to ask the direction and blessing of the great Head of the church in our choice, that he may prove a valuable gift of the ascended Saviour to us; and this would require the assistance of some of the neighboring ministers, and their preparation for it. After which the church would proceed to a choice; and then the person chosen was to be approved of by the congregation, who were to be concerned in his maintenance; after all which he was to be publicly separated to the service of the Gospel of Christ. All of which they plainly saw would unavoidably take up several months' time; and I desired them seriously to think of what I had said, and to act accordingly. Some time in January, 1761, at a meeting of the church and congregation, I proposed to them to hear Mr. Whitney and two others, each of them alternately, for three months, which would be a month a-piece; after which we would call in the help of neighboring ministers in keeping a day of prayer for direction, and then proceed to a choice. This was agreed upon. But before one month was out, it pleased God to visit Mr. Whitney with sickness, and he died before the three months came about. Though I truly lamented his death, yet I could not help thinking, the wise and good Providence of God had hereby prevented that contention I feared we were going into.

We then heard some others, and among them Mr. William Whitwell, son of Mr. William Whitwell, merchant in Boston, who preached his first sermon 24th May, 1761. Upon several times hearing of him, my church and congregation generally inclined to him, and thought it needless to hear any other, and therefore soon after, that is in October, desired him to come and live among us, and carry on the labors of the pulpit with me constantly. He did so, October 31, and from that time preached one part of each Sabbath. The chief of my flock having told me they relied upon me as to his principles, which they thought I was a better judge of than themselves, and, if I approved of him, they would look no farther, for fear lest, by hearing many, they should grow divided in their opinions, I informed them that, upon hearing of him, and often conversing with him, I could not but approve of his principles; that, upon inquiry among the ministers of Boston, who knew him, I found they valued him as a

serious, good man, of good learning, and of sound principles. Upon which they agreed with him to preach every other Sabbath for three months, and then desired him to move into the town, that we might be better acquainted with him. I let him know that my people grew more and more disposed to fix him among us, and there would be no hazard of his being chosen; and he came to dwell with us, as above. The 14th of January, 1762, we had a day of prayer for direction and a blessing; and January 17th, we had a church meeting, and unanimously chose Mr. William Whitwell for our minister; the same day the congregation met, and unanimously concurred with the church's choice. When they were about to vote for his salary, they let me know that they feared it would be offensive to me, if they voted him more than they gave me. Upon which, being present at their meeting, I declared to them, that it would be so far from an offence to me, that I verily thought he would need more than I had, and it would be highly pleasing to me to see them fix a better stipend upon him, especially after my decease, when they would not have the burden of two to support. Upon which they readily voted him a salary of one hundred and four pounds during my life, and an hundred sterling after my decease. August 25th was appointed for the day of his ordination, when, having sent to the eleven churches of the Association, and Dr. Sewall's church in Boston, to which Mr. Whitwell belonged, the greatest part of the churches came together; and I laid before them the regularity of our proceeding, and the unanimity of our choice of Mr. Whitwell; and demanded of Mr. Whitwell a confession of his faith, which he gave us; and the whole Council was satisfied in all parts. I then desired them to concur with us in the public solemn separation of Mr. Whitwell to the work of the ministry, and co-pastor in this church, and nominated Dr. Sewall to begin with prayer. They agreed that it was most fitting for me to ordain and give the Charge, and voted the Rev. Mr. Simon Bradstreet to give the Right Hand of Fellowship. We then went into public, where was a full, crowded house, and each performed the part that was assigned them, and the Rev. Mr. T. Barnard of Salem preached an excellent sermon upon the occasion. Strangers, that were assembled with us, were pleased to observe, that they never saw an ordination managed with greater decency, gravity, and solemnity.



Thus it hath pleased God, in his great goodness, to lead us with all peace and quietness through the difficult affair of settling a minister among us; and my people are provided with a very good man, an excellent preacher, and worthy minister, and I with a very obliging, dutiful son. I heartily rejoice, and give thanks to a gracious God, and the merciful Head of the church, that I have lived to see this day; and earnestly pray God that the Rev. Mr. Whitwell may be long continued, and do more service to the church and people of God than I have done; and, by the purity of his doctrine, the fervor of his address, the wisdom of his counsels, and the holiness of his life, be a greater blessing to this people and in the world, than I have been.

Sept. 6. The Rev. Mr. Whitwell went to Martha's Vineyard, and married one of the daughters of the Rev. Nathaniel Hancock, Esq. and returned with his wife to Boston the 25th of the said month, and Oct. 20 brought her to town, and became settled among us.

Having obtained help from God, I continue unto this day, ministering, in my turn, unto my people, and waiting for a dismissal from the state of service to that of rewards; which, through the mercy of God, I hope will be glorious.

Suffer me to turn aside, and take a view of the very different state of the town, upon worldly accounts, since I came into it. When I first came, [in 1714] there were two companies of poor, smoke-dried, rude, ill-clothed men, trained to no military discipline but that of "*whipping the snake*," as they called it; whereas now, [in 1766] and for years past, we are a distinct regiment, consisting of seven full companies, well clad, of bright countenances, vigorous and active men, so well trained in the use of their arms, and the various motions and marches, that I have heard some Colonels of other regiments, and a Brigadier General say, they never saw throughout the country, not in their own regiment, no, nor in Boston, so goodly an appearance of spirited men, and so well exercised a regiment. When I came, there was not so much as one proper carpenter, nor mason, nor tailor, nor butcher in the town, nor any thing of a market worth naming; but they had their houses built by country workmen, and their clothes made out of town, and supplied themselves with beef and pork from Boston, which drained the town of its money. But now we abound in artificers, and some of



the best, and our markets large, even to a full supply. And, what above all I would remark, there was not so much as one foreign trading vessel belonging to the town, nor for several years after I came into it; though no town had really greater advantages in their hands. The people contented themselves to be the slaves that digged in the mines, and left the merchants of Boston, Salem, and Europe, to carry away the gains; by which means the town was always in dismally poor circumstances, involved in debt to the merchants more than they were worth; nor could I find twenty families in it that, upon the best examination, could stand upon their own legs; and they were generally as rude, swearing, drunken, and fighting a crew, as they were poor. Whereas, not only are the public ways vastly mended, but the manners of the people greatly cultivated; and we have many gentleman-like and polite families, and the very fishermen generally scorn the rudenesses of the former generation.

I soon saw that the town had a price in its hands, and it was a pity they had not a heart to improve it. I therefore laid myself out to get acquaintance with the English masters of vessels, that I might by them be let into the mystery of the fish trade, and in a little time I gained a pretty thorough understanding in it. When I saw the advantages of it, I thought it my duty to stir up my people, such as I thought would hearken to me, and were capable of practising upon the advice, to send the fish to market themselves, that they might reap the benefit of it, to the enriching themselves, and serving the town. But, alas! I could inspire no man with courage and resolution enough to engage in it, till I met with Mr. Joseph Swett, a young man of strict justice, great industry, enterprising genius, quick apprehension, and firm resolution, but of small fortune. To him I opened myself fully, laid the scheme clearly before him, and he hearkened unto me, and was wise enough to put it in practice. He first sent a small cargo to Barbadoes. He soon found he increased his stock, built vessels, and sent the fish to Europe, and prospered in the trade, to the enriching of himself; and some of his family, by carrying on the trade, have arrived at large estates. The more promising young men of the town soon followed his example; that now we have between thirty and forty ships, brigs, snows, and topsail schooners engaged in foreign trade. From so small a beginning the town has risen into its

present flourishing circumstances, and we need no foreigner to transport our fish, but are able ourselves to send it all to the market. Let God have the praise, who has redeemed the town from a state of bondage into a state of liberty and freedom.

Thus, dear sir, at your earnest desire, I have given you a short and faithful epitome of a long, but unprofitable and sinful life. And oh ! what reason have I to blush, and be ashamed, and deeply to humble myself before God, when I reflect upon the innumerable errors and sins, both of my youth and riper years ; especially for my sloth and negligence, in the great and important work of the ministry ; and that in the course of so long a life, I have done so little service for God, and his church, and people in the world ; and have basely hid my talents in a napkin, or buried them in the earth, when I should have improved them, to increase them, and in paying a due tribute to the great Author of my being, and glorious Head of the church. Many a time have I reflected, with shame and grief of soul, upon my vile mispence of my time while at the College ; very much occasioned by the wickedness of my heart in abusing my readiness to perform the College exercises, to almost a total neglect of my studies, which ought to have been an encouragement to me to have applied myself more closely to reading and meditation, that I might have been better furnished with some useful knowledge, wherewith to have served God and my generation ; which afterward I found it very difficult to recover any thing of, when I came to be taken up with the study of divinity, composing sermons, and attending the care of a flock. Oh, that our youth at the College, especially such as design for the ministry, would know their advantages, and wisely improve the price put into their hands to get knowledge and good literature, that they may not hereafter have occasion (as I have had,) to lament their folly, in letting slip the proper opportunity, which they may never expect will offer itself to them again.

I can truly say, that in the course of my ministry, I have endeavored to preach Jesus Christ and his laws, and not vain philosophy or the traditions of men ; to set forth Christ, as the promised Messiah, the Son of God, and the alone Saviour of a guilty world, and the Judge of the quick and the dead ; adorable in his person and natures, most amiable in his offices

and benefits ; as an all-sufficient and willing Saviour, even for the chief of sinners ; who yet will save none without a life of repentance and new obedience, and a sincere subjection to the government of his righteous sceptre. I have also endeavored to show to poor sinners their wretched, sinful and miserable state, in their fall by Adam, and from their own wicked hearts and lives, and to convince them of their absolute need of a Saviour, and, by the most powerful motives of the Gospel, to persuade them to accept of Jesus Christ as their only Saviour, upon Gospel terms, and become his obedient followers, by a sober, righteous, and godly life and conversation. These have been the chief and constant subjects of my preaching. But, after all, what abundant reason have I to cry out, my leanness ! my leanness ! and bewail my want of zeal in the cause of God, of Christ, and the souls of his people, and the many neglects and unfaithfulness in the work of my ministry ; and what I fear has been the sad consequence thereof, my very great unsuccessfulness. Though I bless God, there are several who are evidently the epistle of Christ, ministered by me, written, not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God, not in tables of stone, but in fleshly tables of the heart. Yet, alas ! the generality of my people cannot be prevailed with to come to the holy table, nor to live as the disciples of the holy Jesus. The seafaring business, (which is very much the business of the town,) which one would think should teach them to pray, and live like dying persons, but tends to encourage them in their insensibility and immoral practices.

My deficiencies have been so many, and my transgressions so great, that upon a view of them, I might well fear lest, after I have preached the Gospel to others, I myself should prove a castaway. But my hope is grounded, not upon the perfection of my works, but the infinite mercy of God, and merit of Jesus Christ, whom (if I know my own heart,) I have sincerely accepted of, and devoted myself unto ; and therefore I trust my poor sinful person, and my defective services will finally be accepted, through that advocate with the Father, and propitiation for our sins.

While therefore, with the deepest prostration, I would humbly implore the divine mercy may be magnified to me, the chief of sinners, I would earnestly entreat of you, dear brother, to join with me in your fervent supplications at the



throne of grace, that I may be finally pardoned and accepted in the Beloved.

With my most hearty respects to you, and all friends with you, and wishing you a more useful and successful ministry, with a firm health, and long time of serviceableness here, and more abundant rewards hereafter from our great and good Lord and Master, I subscribe,

Dear Sir,

Your unworthy brother,

And fellow laborer in the Gospel,

JOHN BARNARD.

Marblehead, November 14, 1766.

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REPEAL OF THE CLAUSE IN THE ACT OF THE ASSEMBLY OF  
RHODE ISLAND EXCEPTING ROMAN CATHOLICS FROM  
THE PRIVILEGES OF FREEMEN.

[At the regular monthly meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, held Jan 28, 1836, the following Paper was read by the Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D. a resident member. Whereupon it was voted that it be referred to the Committee of Publication, and be inserted in the next volume of the Society's Collections.—*Pub. Com.*]

*To the Massachusetts Historical Society.*

In the Annals of America [under A. D. 1664] an Act of the General Assembly of Rhode Island, 166 $\frac{3}{4}$ , is stated to have allowed all men of competent estates and of civil conversation, "Roman Catholics only excepted," to be admitted freemen. The authenticity of the excepting clause has been disputed; but, if a subsequent repeal of such an exception be conclusive evidence of its original insertion, the question is now settled. A copy of the Act of Repeal is now before me in the handwriting of Mr. John Howland, President of the Rhode Island Historical Society. The document being of some historical importance, is now communicated, with an account of its discovery as given me by my correspondent in a letter dated



“ *Providence, March 4, 1834.*

“ A paper relating to the Roman Catholic exception in the Act of Toleration passed in 1663 $\frac{3}{4}$  by the Colonial Assembly of Rhode Island has fallen into my hands, and I herewith enclose it to you, as it sets at rest in my mind the question contested. In conversation a few days since with Mr. John Howland, an aged, intelligent and respectable antiquary, I adverted to the above subject, when it suddenly occurred to his recollection that there was an Act passed by the General Assembly between 1780 and '84, and published in the newspaper of the day, repealing the exception made in 1663 $\frac{3}{4}$  against Roman Catholics. Whereupon I went to the file of newspapers of that day, preserved in the Foster Collection, but found they were not entire. But in the mean time, Mr. Howland went to the schedules of the Assembly, filed in the office of the Secretary of State, and found the Act in print, a copy of which I here enclose, in the handwriting of Mr. Howland.

“ *February Session, 1733.*

“ *Be it enacted, &c.* That all the Rights and Privileges of the Protestant citizens of this State, as declared in and by an Act made and passed the first day of March, A. D. 1663, be and the same are hereby fully extended to Roman Catholic citizens, and that they being of competent estates, and of civil conversation, and acknowledging and paying obedience to the Civil Magistrate, shall be admitted Freemen, and shall have liberty to choose and be chosen Civil or Military Officers within this State: Any Exception in said Act to the contrary notwithstanding.”

“ The above is on page 79.”

Respectfully communicated  
to the Mass. Hist. Society.

A. H.

## MEMOIR OF REV. JOHN ALLYN, D. D.

THE REV. JOHN ALLYN, D. D. was born at Barnstable, Mass., on the 21st of March, 1767. He pursued the preparatory studies for admission to college under the care of the Rev. Mr. Hilliard, who was then minister of Barnstable, but afterwards the colleague and successor of the venerable Dr. Appleton of Cambridge. He entered Harvard University in 1781, and took the usual degrees of A. B. in 1785 and of A. M. in 1788. Not long before he was graduated, he was seized with a violent and dangerous illness, in consequence of which he was unable to appear in the part assigned to him at the Commencement. Though but in his eighteenth year when he left college, yet during his whole academic course he was distinguished by persevering industry, and by a developement of talent which gave him a very high rank among the members of his class. He returned to Barnstable, where he was for some time engaged in the business of instruction. Having determined to devote himself to the work of the Christian ministry, he studied theology under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Samuel West of Dartmouth, now New Bedford,—a man distinguished for his Scriptural learning and metaphysical powers, as well as for eccentricities, of which some anecdotes are still current in our community.

In September, 1788, the subject of this notice received an invitation from the church and society in Duxbury to settle with them in the ministry. On the 12th of the following October he signified his acceptance of the invitation. He was ordained on the 3d of December, 1788. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Samuel West of New Bedford, from 2 Timothy, ii. 15; the charge was given by the Rev. Dr. Hitchcock of Pembroke; and the right hand of fellowship presented by the Rev. David Barnes of Scituate. These performances were printed.\*

\* It is observable that in the record of the ordination the clergy of the council are called *bishops*. Thus it is said, "Bishop Hitchcock gave the charge, and Bishop Barnes the right hand of fellowship." I know not whether this was a common style in such records at that time, or a peculiarity of this case.

The ministry of Dr. Allyn in Duxbury was long, and for the most part, happy. He discharged his duties with uniform fidelity and ability. He was the personal friend as well as the spiritual guide of his people,—heartily devoted to their temporal and eternal welfare, judicious but fearless in rebuking sin, wise and faithful in the administration of the interests of religion. The purpose, which lay nearest to his heart was, to build up the cause of righteousness and of practical truth. He was the benefactor of the poor, the comforter of the distressed, the counsellor of all; and the affectionate respect of those, for whom he labored, rewarded for many years his zealous and unwearied services.

His professional reputation was continually increasing, till he stood among the first clergymen in the Commonwealth. His opinions were valued and his aid sought in those ways, which implied that his judgment was regarded with respectful confidence. He was alone in the ministry of his church at Duxbury till June 7, 1826, when the Rev. Benjamin Kent was settled as associate pastor. After that time, Dr. Allyn seldom engaged in any public services, as his strength and spirits were constantly declining. He died on Friday, July 19th, 1833, and was buried on the following Monday. The corpse was borne to his meeting-house, where his old friend and classmate, the Rev. Professor Ware of Harvard University, who always loved and honored him, preached a funeral sermon from Luke xx. 36. The body was deposited in the tomb of a highly respected parishioner and friend, the Hon. George Partridge, one of the worthies of the Revolution. When Dr. Allyn died, he was in the 67th year of his age, and in the 45th year of his ministry. The Rev. Mr. Kent, after a faithful, laborious, and trying ministry, had resigned his office, as colleague, a short time before the death of the senior pastor.

It will be conceded by all who knew Dr. Allyn, that in the general cast of his mind there was much striking originality. He was seldom content to think, or to express his thoughts, like ordinary men; and when he did utter a truth in itself common-place and obvious, he often placed it in such an attitude, or exhibited it in such relations, as to give it all the interest of novelty. This disposition to avoid the beaten track of thought was sometimes indulged to an excess, which rendered his expressions liable to misconstruction by those who

were unacquainted with his intellectual habits. He certainly had none of that dread of giving offence by contradiction, or by peculiarity of sentiment, which sometimes degenerates into the timid and unmanly pliancy so expressively designated by the *assentatio* of the ancient Romans. A man, who unites with such a disposition an incautious frankness of conversation, is quite likely to be misunderstood. His remarks may easily be taken out of the connection and circumstances in which they were uttered, and may be represented in such a bald manner as to give them a strange and objectionable aspect. This sometimes happened to Dr. Allyn. But those who were familiar with the character of his thoughts, and saw the application and bearing of his maxims or his general observations, were struck at once with their far-reaching wisdom and their felicitous novelty. The same turn of mind which rendered him impatient of every thing obvious or trite in conversation, enabled him frequently to surprise and delight those who heard him by eliciting rich instruction from the most ordinary object or passage among the cares and employments of social life, and by connecting with topics apparently the most barren or unworthy of notice, maxims and truths that were not soon forgotten. He often laid open a valuable mine, where others saw only the stones of the field or the common soil of earth.

Dr. Allyn had a rich, but peculiar imagination. It was by no means poetical, but might be designated as the playful and homely imagination of strong common sense, throwing around every subject the most apt and pertinent illustrations, placing his views in a strong light by familiar and amusing comparisons, and supposing cases to exhibit in a most forcible and interesting manner the application of principles. His peculiar excellence did not lie in sustained and continuous reasoning, which indeed he would occasionally allow himself unwarrantably to undervalue,—but rather in striking out single views distinguished by their freshness, and by their tendency to kindle and stir up the minds of others. He had but little of that patience of investigation, which goes through a long process to arrive at an ordinary result. He loved rather to throw out his thoughts in a desultory and startling manner, wandering delightfully from one topic to another, sometimes by casual associations, and sometimes by resemblances and relations; which, however apparently strange at first, were perceived



to be just and fine when developed by the touch of his genius. He had a happy facility of blending strokes of quaint or rich humor with the most important truths, in such a manner as to produce a racy mixture of valuable instruction and animating amusement. These qualities imparted to his conversation a peculiar zest, which few, who had the privilege of enjoying it, will ever forget. His sayings were not of a kind to pass away with the occasion, but were remembered and applied. They left a deep impression, especially on the minds of the young, to whom he knew well how to adapt his remarks, and whose delight in listening to him was a matter of common observation. Many, who in their youth were familiar with him in his best days, have remarked, that they received more wisdom and more happy excitement from him, than from any other person they had ever known. In the practical philosophy of life, which brings its instructions home to men's business and bosoms, he had few equals, and scarcely a superior.

Among Dr. Allyn's moral qualities, benevolence was one of the most prominent. He was a liberal giver, almost to a fault. Wherever misery could be relieved, wherever comfort could be bestowed, no man was more dutifully prompt and busy. It was remarkable, that with his slender means, he was able to do so much in these labors of kindness. If he incurred any fault in this respect, it was by neglecting a just regard to the proportion between his bounty and his resources. No personal or party considerations mingled in the exercise of his benevolence. The poor and the aged, the neglected and the forgotten, were the favorite objects of his charitable attentions. The inhabitants of solitary and obscure cottages remember, and will long remember, his readiness to relieve their wants, his judicious endeavors to enable them to help themselves, his kind counsels, his fervent prayers, his faithful and consolatory instructions. If ever a man lived free from the debasing influences of selfishness, Dr. Allyn did so;—if ever one was most happy when doing most good, he was that man.

The piety of Dr. Allyn was sincere, rational, and constant, connecting itself intimately with his habitual trains of thought, and manifest in all his great and favorite principles. Few men had more of the reality of religious feeling, and less of the trappings which are sometimes mistaken for its essence,

or of the regular mechanism by which so many suppose it must necessarily be exhibited. If there were those, who sometimes thought that he might justly be charged with speaking lightly of sacred subjects, they overlooked the fact that his pleasantry was exercised, not upon serious truths, but upon the appendages or speculations which men have connected with religion. In addition to this, should be recollected his habit of supposing, perhaps with too much confidence, that he should not be misunderstood. His persuasions with respect to the moral government of God, the necessity and the solemn truths of divine revelation, the awful responsibility growing out of the connection between this life and a future existence,—his reverence for the Scriptures,—and his conviction of the inestimable importance of the Gospel to the good of the individual and of society,—were deep, permanent, and thorough. He thought and conversed much about death and the spiritual world. His views on these subjects were peculiarly happy and attractive; and his manner of stating them was sometimes remarkably impressive. He loved to indulge conjectures respecting the nature and employments of the future state, in which the spirit of a truly Christian philosophy was always visible, and which often were full of rich and delightful meaning.

His sermons were not distinguished by those qualities, which constitute the reputation of common-place popularity. They had none of the indiscriminate statements, coarse appeals, and exaggerated representations, by which many minds are easily warmed into admiration at the moment, but from which they take no edifying or salutary impressions. His preaching was adapted to be useful in the most effectual manner, by enlightening the mind, and by interesting the affections of the heart in behalf of the great truths that take hold on eternity. He never sought or courted the praise, which is so often won by striking declamation, or by random boldness, but believed that men are to be made wise unto salvation by the application of Christian truths to their moral and intellectual nature, in conformity with the laws of the human constitution as established by God. He deemed it of great importance, that preaching should be quite plain and intelligible. This was a favorite topic in his conversation; and many will remember, that he not unfrequently directed his wit against the poor ambition of learned, beautiful, or

profound discourses, at the expense of edification and all the true purposes of pulpit instruction. The theory, which he habitually maintained on this subject, he reduced to practice.

Dr. Allyn was peculiarly happy in giving pertinent and impressive illustrations of difficult passages of Scripture, especially in the religious exercises of the family. The new and striking points of view, in which he set some portion of the Sacred Writings by his comparisons and applications, will long be remembered by those who heard them. His theological sentiments on all important points were those, which are usually designated as belonging to the liberal school. No man, however, was less shackled by the trammels of sect and party. His opinions were his own, and could not be said to coincide with the lines marked out by any denomination, or to be conformed to any human creeds. They were, for the most part, clear, well defined, and fearlessly expressed. But he had a very strong and decided dislike of religious controversy. If his views on this subject were sometimes indiscriminate, or carried to an unreasonable extreme, it was because the narrow spirit and the bigoted pertinacity, which so often accompany and follow disputation, were peculiarly uncongenial to his largeness of mind. His liberality towards such as differed from the portion of the religious community with whom he was classed, is well remembered by all who were acquainted with his habitual feelings and conduct.

As a scholar, Dr. Allyn deservedly stood at a high point of respectability. He had little of the erudition that is merely curious; nor did he make his mind "the warehouse of other men's lumber." But his classical reading and his professional learning, while they ranged within no narrow limits, were well chosen and well directed. He had large stores of such knowledge as is connected with the most interesting and important topics of inquiry, or with useful applications to the wants and duties of life. In his early years he had been a diligent student, and read with a keen appetite; at a later period, he cared less for books, and delighted more in the observation of man and of nature, and in giving free play to his own thoughts. Of his library, which was valuable and judiciously selected, he had made an industrious use. His favorite commentators on Scripture were Grotius, Le Clerc, and Locke,—especially the last, for whose character and writings he entertained the most profound respect. In mental philos-



ophy and ethics, the authors, in whom he most delighted, were Locke and Abraham Tucker.

I have spoken of Dr. Allyn as he was in his best days, when the peculiar powers of his extraordinary mind were in full action. The latter part of his life was darkened by disease, suffering, and decay. A premature feebleness came upon his system. He was gradually prostrated under the effects of a paralysis, which reduced him to bodily helplessness, and at length brought a cloud over the light of his once clear and powerful intellect, till the last of mortal changes came to his relief. But we willingly forget this period of sorrow, and think of him now only as he was in those better years, when his playful wisdom, his benevolent heart, his enlightened views of religion, and his strong, original habits of thought, were the delight of every circle in which he moved.

The published writings of Dr. Allyn are few. His strong reluctance to commit his productions to the press was rarely overcome. His writings, whether published or in manuscript, though marked with an abundance of good sense, and sometimes of a high order, cannot be said on the whole to do justice to his characteristic powers, or to give an adequate representation of his mind. This is to be accounted for by the fact, that for his best exertions he depended much on the excitement of company, and the animation of social intercourse. It was in the unrestrained flow of conversation, in the extemporaneous discussion of topics started by familiar questions, or in collision with other minds, that his friends witnessed and enjoyed those flashes of fine thought and striking illustration, which appeared more faintly, or vanished, in the solitary labors of the pen.

The following is a list of Dr. Allyn's published writings.

A Sermon at the Ordination of Alden Bradford, in the East Parish of Pownalborough, Nov. 14th, 1793.

A Sermon on the Day of Public Thanksgiving, Nov. 29, 1798.

A Sermon preached at Hanover, Oct. 30th, 1799, entitled "The Flesh and the Spirit."

A Sermon delivered at Plymouth, Dec. 22d, 1801, one of the best of the numerous sermons on that occasion.

A Sermon at the Anniversary Election, May 29th, 1805. This is an excellent discourse,—the best which Dr. Allyn published.



A New Year's Sermon delivered at Duxbury, Jan. 1st, 1806.

No. I. of "The Christian Monitor, a Religious Periodical Work." This was published in 1806, and constitutes the first half of the first volume of the Christian Monitor. It consists of "Prayers and Devotional Exercises," and is one of the most valuable manuals of devotion in the language.

A Sermon preached at Sandwich, Aug. 24, 1808, before the Academy in that place.

A Charge at the Ordination of Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., Jan. 1st, 1817.

A Charge at the Ordination of Rev. Benjamin Kent, as Associate Pastor with Dr. Allyn in Duxbury, June 7th, 1826.

Dr. Allyn likewise published two very characteristic and striking obituary notices,—one of Dr. West of New Bedford, and the other of Dr. Barnes of Scituate.

In 1804 Dr. Allyn delivered the Oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and in 1809 the Duddleian Lecture in Harvard College on Supremacy and Infallibility, from Matt. xxiii. 8 and 9,—neither of which was published.

In the summer of 1807 he was employed on a missionary tour in Maine, by the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America.

He was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in Oct. 1799,—a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Aug. 1803,—and received the degree of D. D. from Harvard College in 1813. C. F.

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## MEMOIR OF SAMUEL DAVIS, ESQ.

The late SAMUEL DAVIS, Esq. of Plymouth, was the son of Thomas Davis, a substantial merchant of that town. Samuel, the fourth of six sons, some of whom have been much distinguished, and all highly respectable in the various walks of life, was born March 5th, 1765. His early education was more thorough than would have been expected from the state of town schools at that period. This was probably more owing to his early taste for books, and his feeble health, which unfitted him for active pursuits, than to the advantages he enjoyed. Mechanical employments were then, as they are beginning again to be considered, the surest means of procuring a respectable establishment in life. In conformity with this opinion, and with a due regard to his own inclination, he was placed as an apprentice with a goldsmith and jeweller in Boston. The leisure hours of his apprenticeship were devoted to the improvement of his mind, and during this period he made valuable contributions to the *Centinel*, then in its infancy, and which afterwards became one of our most respectable public journals. On the expiration of his apprenticeship he returned to his native town, and there pursued for some years the business to which he was bred, with much assiduity and with unusual taste and skill. His constitution being very slender, and his patrimonial estate being adequate to his wants as a single man, he soon relinquished this business and devoted himself to more congenial pursuits. His attainments as a scholar were very respectable, and he also cultivated the polite arts with much success. Some of his poetical productions, among which may be mentioned his hymn for the celebration of the landing of the Forefathers, discover much of the inspiration of the poet.

During the latter part of his life he applied himself very assiduously to the history and antiquities of the Old Colony, in the knowledge of which none exceeded him, and he thus became more publicly known. Having thoroughly explored the records and traditions of the Old Colony, he acquired an intimate acquaintance with its history, and particularly with

the genealogy of its first settlers. Such was his reputation in this respect, that he was constantly receiving applications from all parts of the country for information upon these subjects, which was always communicated cheerfully and satisfactorily. Harvard University conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts A. D. 1819. He was Corresponding Secretary of the Pilgrim Society from its establishment to the time of his death. He was admitted a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society January 30, 1812, and he enriched its Collections with the history of his native town and many other valuable articles. He, with the Rev. Dr. Freeman and Benj. R. Nichols, Esq. was appointed by the General Court to make and transcribe selections of the most important portions of the Old Colony records, to be deposited in the Secretary's office. That this duty was faithfully and ably executed, those who know the Commissioners need not be informed. He died July 10th, 1829. The following interesting sketch of the life and character of Mr. Davis was published a few days after his decease, and deserves a higher place than the columns of a newspaper.

“This gentleman was a rare example of the genuine love of antiquity. Living at Plymouth amid the fast disappearing remains of a most remarkable and interesting people, with reverence of the Pilgrims, himself a descendant from them, his thoughts naturally were directed to whatever had connexion with the first settlement of our country. As he was free from domestic cares, and possessed a competence, there was nothing to interfere with the indulgence of his taste, and its gratification soon became the leading object of his life. He appeared to live but in and for the past. The fragments of local tradition strewed over the Old Colony, were with careful hands gathered up by him and stored. There was no rock, nor tree, nor mountain, sacred to Indian superstition or to Pilgrim enterprise, but was familiar to his eyes and thoughts.

“Such indeed was the intimacy and the confidence with which he conversed with the dead, that they seemed to stand to him in the stead of the living. Yet though he courted not society, he was not unsocial. He had friends who looked upon him with esteem and tenderness. To strangers also he was particularly attractive.

“They who have visited Plymouth will not soon forget the

unpretending, but intelligent individual, who made them the offer of his aid and guidance, who recalled to their minds all the touching associations of the place, who caused each stone to tell its own story, and as his reserve gradually wore away by acquaintance, unfolded to them much of their own family history, which they themselves had never heard of before. To assist himself in his researches he devoted much of his time to the study of the Indian languages, and to the examination of Plymouth records. No one indeed had so great a command as he had of all the facts essential to a complete history of the Old Colony. Many of them, it is feared, have perished with him. It is hoped, however, that of the mass of papers, which he has left behind him, some use may yet be made. On the whole his life was pure, tranquil, useful. It was noiseless, but not less happy on that account to one of his feelings. His death was as peaceful as his life. He retired to rest on the evening of the 10th instant, in his usual state of health, and was found the next morning dead in his bed. Thus, while in the arms of sleep, he passed from this world to another. He has joined the mighty company that keep their silent watch on the old hill, which overlooks the town of Plymouth. On that venerable mount he spent no small portion of his life, in deciphering the crumbling monuments that are scattered over it, and there in death, beneath the turf he had so often trod, his body reposes.”

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MEMOIR OF THE REV. JAMES FREEMAN, D. D. BY F. W.  
P. GREENWOOD.

The Massachusetts Historical Society will always honor the name of JAMES FREEMAN. He was one of its founders. His concern for its usefulness and interests was zealous and unceasing. He labored for it abundantly. His time and pen were freely employed in its service. Much of its success may be attributed to his exertions. Now that he rests from all his earthly labors, it gratefully enrolls him among its fathers and benefactors.



Though the character of Dr. Freeman was unobtrusive, and his life was signalized by no striking exploits, yet neither the one nor the other could with any justice or propriety be called common. His character was marked with some rare lines, and his life is inseparably connected with the religious history of our country.

It will be necessary in the course of this Memoir, to speak of differences of religious opinion, and to make use of terms which denote these differences; but the writer trusts that this will be done in such a manner, as to give no just cause of offence to any denomination or individual. He intends to state facts, and not to discuss, far less to prescribe, doctrines. He feels that he should deserve rebuke, if he were to introduce an unworthy sectarian feeling into the Collections of a Society, which has nothing sectarian in its character, and the members of which meet together on the broad ground of a common interest in the history and antiquities of their country.

James Freeman was born in the neighboring town of Charlestown, where his parents, Constant and Lois Freeman, at that time resided, on the 22d of April, 1759.\* He received his preparatory instruction at the Public Latin School in Boston, under Mr. Lovell; entered Cambridge College in 1773, and was graduated at that institution in 1777, at the age of 18. Among his classmates I find the names of the late Dr. Bentley, Judge Dawes, Rufus King, and Dr. Porter. Both at school and at college his morals were pure, and his scholarship, though not distinguished, respectable. He was in the habit of undervaluing his own youthful proficiency; but his few surviving cotemporaries do not speak of it so disparagingly. In after years he was certainly considered to be a ripe scholar, by those who could not well be mistaken in their judgment. He was then an excellent mathematician; was well acquainted with geography and history at large, and thoroughly so with the geography and history of his own country; and could read with ease and pleasure the Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish languages.

\* Constant Freeman was a native of Truro, Barnstable County, as was also his first wife, Lois, whose maiden name was Cobb. He was a man of strong mind and excellent character, and his life was marked by enterprise and vicissitude. He was the third Freeman who had borne the name of Constant, and was a descendant of Samuel Freeman, who came from England to this country among the first planters of Massachusetts, in the year 1630.

His youth was not destitute of incidents. The last years of his college life were spent during the troubles and strong excitements of the opening revolutionary war. It is known that his own feelings were so decidedly enlisted on the side of his native and in opposition to the mother country, that he engaged in drilling a company of men, which was raised on Cape Cod for the ranks of the colonial army.

“In the summer of 1780 he sailed for Quebec with his sister and youngest brother. The vessel in which he embarked was fitted out as a cartel; but not being acknowledged as such by the Governor of Quebec, on his arrival he was made a prisoner, and put on board a guard-ship. He remained in this situation till December, when the severity of winter no longer suffering the guard-ship to lie in the river, he was admitted on shore a prisoner on parole. In the summer of 1782, he obtained permission of the Governor to go to New York, and embarked in a letter of marque, which, after she had been out a week, was captured by a privateer from Salem, and he carried into that port. Immediately on his arrival he began to preach.”\*

It is probable that the theological studies of the subject of our memoir, were pursued in rather a desultory manner, which was indeed the only manner which the times permitted. He had passed a year at Cambridge as a resident graduate, afterwards made use of the libraries of his friends, both ministers and laymen, and studied at Quebec as he could.

Just at the close of the revolutionary war, the event took place, which was to have the principal influence on Mr. Freeman's life—I mean his pastoral connexion with the congregation of King's Chapel in this city.

On the evacuation of Boston by the British troops in March, 1776, the rector of King's Chapel, Dr. Caner, who espoused the English cause, accompanied them; and his assistant, Mr. Troutbeck, also went away some months afterward. For about a year the Chapel remained shut. In the autumn of 1777, the congregation of the Old South Church, whose house of worship had been spoiled by the British

\* This event is here more correctly stated than it was in the funeral sermon, for it is stated in Dr. Freeman's own words. I quote the passage from a brief memoir, written by himself, which is contained in a manuscript volume of family histories, with a sight of which I have lately been favored by one of his nieces. His purpose in going to Quebec was to place his sister and brother with their father, who was then a merchant in that city.

troops, and used by them as a riding-school, applied to the few proprietors of King's Chapel who were left in Boston, for permission to worship in their church. The permission was obtained, and the Old South congregation had the Chapel to their sole use for a few months; after which, as the proprietors of the church had resumed their services, the two societies worshipped together, the one employing its own forms of worship in the morning, and the other doing the same in the afternoon. Among those who officiated at this season for the episcopal society was Mr. Sargeant, previously of the episcopal church in Cambridge.

In September, 1782, the attention of some members of the church was turned towards Mr. Freeman, who was then a candidate for the ministry, and he was invited by a letter from the wardens to officiate as reader, for a term of six months. The invitation was accepted by Mr. Freeman, and he entered on his duties on the 18th of the following October.\* In the month of February, 1783, the Old South congregation left the Chapel, and returned to their own house. On the 21st of April, that same year, Mr. Freeman was chosen pastor of the Chapel church, at the age of twenty-four.

When Mr. Freeman consented to act as reader at the Chapel, he stipulated only for liberty to omit the reading of the Athanasian Creed. Leave to do this seems to have been yielded without difficulty; at which we need not wonder; for although the members of the church were orthodox, and attached to episcopacy, the Athanasian Creed was probably

\* It is probable that from the very first, Mr. Freeman preached his own sermons, at least a part of the time. This fact is to be inferred from a passage in a letter from him to his sister Lois, afterwards Mrs. Davis, dated December 27th, 1782. This passage I have been kindly permitted by her daughter, Mrs. Minot, to copy. It is as follows:

“While I was upon the Cape, I endeavored to visit all my friends; for being now engaged in the church, I expect not to go there again for many years. The first time I preached at the Chapel, the church was opened with some degree of splendor. There was an anthem and other pieces of music exceedingly beautiful. The audience was immense, and of such a kind as to overpower all confidence. I felt the weight of it most sensibly. On Christmas day I had another trial of the same kind to pass through. The exertions I am obliged to make on such occasions, keep my mind in a continual agitation. There is a pain attending it, but there is also a pleasure.”

Mr. Freeman at this time lived in the family of his friend Mr. Minot, where he remained till he was himself married, which was in the year 1788, to Mrs. Martha Clarke, daughter of Obadiah Curtis, of Newton, and widow of Samuel Clarke, of Boston. There were no children by this marriage, but he always treated with paternal affection and care the son and grandchildren of his wife.



no favorite with any one, and was therefore easily if not cheerfully resigned. That the general sentiment was against that strange compound of unintelligible definitions and unchristian anathemas, is to be inferred from the fact, that on the regular formation and establishment of the American Episcopal Church, it was not admitted into her Liturgy.

The mind of Mr. Freeman was at first satisfied with being allowed to omit the reading of the obnoxious creed. The prayers for those in authority were of course altered, to suit the altered political state of the country. In other respects the service which he read, as well as the service of all other episcopal churches, was precisely that of the Church of England; the Liturgy of the American Episcopal Church not being adopted till the year 1785. But it was not long before he began to feel scruples concerning other parts of the service, especially those which expressed or implied a belief in the doctrine of the Trinity. As he thought, and read, and studied, and conversed on the subject of this doctrine, he became more and more convinced that it was unscriptural and untrue, and more and more uneasy in reading passages of solemn devotion, in which it was assumed as a Christian truth. It was a season of great mental trial. On the one side were ancient custom, and venerable authority, and the opinions and feelings of respected and beloved friends, urging him to remain in the former ways; while on the other were a careful conscience and deepening convictions of truth, commanding him to depart from them. He communicated his difficulties to those of his friends with whom he was most intimate. He would come into their houses, and say, "I must leave you. Much as I love you, I must leave you. I cannot conscientiously perform the service of the church any longer, as it now stands." But since he had been among this small remnant of episcopalians as their minister, he had endeared himself to them by his engaging manners and his pastoral services, and it was by no means easy for his friends to part with him. At length a suggestion was made, which terminated in happy and important results. It was said, "Why not state your difficulties, and the grounds of them, publicly to your whole people, that they may be able to judge of the case, and determine whether it is such as to require a separation between you and them, or not?" The suggestion was adopted. He preached a series of sermons, in which he



plainly stated his dissatisfaction with the trinitarian portions of the Liturgy, went fully into an examination of the trinitarian doctrine, and gave his reasons for rejecting it. He has himself assured me that when he delivered those sermons, he was under a strong impression that they would be the last he should ever pronounce from this pulpit. He supposed that some of his hearers might be favorably affected by his arguments, but he could scarcely hope that they would meet with general approbation. He had unburthened his mind; he had justified his course; and he made himself ready to resign his ministerial connexion. But such, as is well known, was not the event. He was heard patiently, attentively, kindly. The greater part of his hearers responded to his sentiments, and resolved to alter their Liturgy and retain their pastor. The first vote favoring this conclusion was passed on the 20th of February, 1785; by which vote a committee was appointed to report such alterations in the Liturgy as were deemed necessary. Alterations were reported, in general conformity with those made in the amended Liturgy of Dr. Samuel Clarke; and on the 19th of June, the proprietors voted, by a majority of about three fourths, to adopt those alterations.

Thus did Mr. Freeman, by following the dictates of his reason and conscience, become the first preacher in this country of what he held to be a purified Christian faith; and thus, through the means of his mental integrity and powers of exposition, did the First Episcopal Church in New England, become the First Unitarian Church in the New World.

I mention this not as a matter of boasting, but as an historical fact. He, our departed father, never boasted of it, or indeed of any thing which he ever did or helped to do; and at that time the change in doctrine and service which was effected, was not certainly regarded by pastor or people as a subject of triumph, but of serious and arduous duty. No motive of future fame or reputation could have been before them; but only a sense of the great opposition and odium which would press upon them from without, together with a deep resolve to bear up against it.

It may be said that the relation in which Dr. Freeman stands to the Unitarian Christianity of this country, is the fruit of circumstances alone; that it was because he happened to be placed in a peculiar situation, at the commencement of

our independent national existence, that he was led to be the first open propounder and defender of that form of faith. I should be at a loss to say what events and what relations are not in some measure the fruit of circumstances. In circumstances I behold the hand of an omnipresent and overruling Providence ; but in the use, the neglect or the abuse of those circumstances, I perceive the proofs and marks of human ability, liberty and character. The young reader at King's Chapel was surely placed in peculiar circumstances. It is his praise that he made a right and manly use of them ; that he did not smother his convictions, and hush down his conscience, and endeavor to explain away to himself, for the sake of a little false and outward peace, the obvious sense of the prayers which he uttered before God and his people, but took that other and far better course of explicitness and honesty. By this proper use of circumstances, he placed himself where he now stands in our religious history.

While I say that Mr. Freeman was the first preacher of Unitarian Christianity in our country, I am not ignorant that he has himself said, in a note to his sermon on the death of Dr. Howard, " that *Dr. Mayhew* may with justice be denominated the first preacher of Unitarianism in Boston, and his religious society the first Unitarian Society." There is no doubt that Dr. Mayhew, and some of his cōtemporaries beside, held opinions which were antitrinitarian, and did not conceal them. Passages are quoted, in the note abovementioned, from Dr. Mayhew's sermons, which prove that he did not believe in the equality of Christ with the Father ; but they are passages which would not have aroused general attention, or disturbed general prejudices. To such preaching can hardly be awarded the character of an avowal of Unitarianism ; and no such avowal was at the time understood to have been made. Dr. Freeman was not the first clergyman in the country who entertained opinions at variance with the received doctrine of the Trinity ; but it is now conceded by all, that he was the first who openly and explicitly avowed and maintained proper Unitarian Christianity.

His calm confidence in the merits of his cause, the suavity and kindness of his deportment, the guard which he kept over his zeal, and the regard which he manifested for the good and wise of all denominations, appeared in advantageous contrast with the noise and heat and uncharitableness

with which he was at first and by some assailed. His own conviction that the open avowal of his religious tenets would be likely to deprive him of his situation at the Chapel, and the probability that this would be the case, prevented the remotest suspicion that he was actuated by any but the most disinterested motives; and the purity and probity of his life and conduct, in like manner forbade the supposition that his change of faith could be connected with any principles or feelings but those which were virtuous and upright. Good and fairminded men, whether ministers or laymen, were his friends. Among the latter were Richard Cranch, George Richards Minot, Christopher Gore, Dr. Dexter, and indeed most of the distinguished men of the time. Among the former were Chauncy and Howard and Eckley, Belknap and Clarke, Eliot and Lathrop. With these men and such as these, whose names are canonized among us, and whose society he has now gone to rejoin—how short, after all, is the separation which years and the grave interpose between friends!—with these men he lived, on terms of intimacy and confidence; and by the indirect influence alone which he thus exerted on the hearts, if not on the minds of his associates and others, he must have recommended his views in the most unexceptionable manner.

But the avowal of obnoxious opinions, and the alterations of the received Liturgy of his church, were not the only difficulties which presented themselves in Mr. Freeman's path, and which he was called upon to surmount. Another difficulty, consequent upon these, was to be engaged and disposed of as it best might be. The church was still episcopal in its forms and usages and predilections, and were desirous of obtaining episcopal ordination for their pastor. But how was this to be effected? Was it probable that any bishop, knowing his sentiments, would be willing to ordain him? At least the attempt could be made. A letter was accordingly addressed by the wardens to Bishop Provost, dated July 29, 1787, in which they earnestly requested him to bestow ordination on Mr. Freeman, but at the same time expressed their determination to adhere to their altered Liturgy, a copy of which they sent to the Bishop with the letter. Bishop Provost refused, and very properly, to take the responsibility of the ordination upon himself, under the existing circumstances, and stated that the case would be reserved for the considera-



tion of the General Convention. The church, on their part, being convinced that the agitation of the subject in the Convention would give rise to much unpleasant debate, and that the result would be unfavorable to their wishes, urged their claims no further in that quarter, but came to the determination of resorting to first principles, and ordaining their minister themselves. Mr. Freeman was accordingly ordained by his society alone, as their rector and minister, by a solemn, appropriate, and interesting service, at the time of evening prayer, on the 13th of November, 1787. Forty-eight years afterwards, in that very desk where he stood up, firmly yet meekly, to receive the public sanction of his people's choice, and the Book of God which was placed in his right hand, and the blessing which was invoked upon his head,—was his funeral service performed.\*

A greater outcry, from some quarters, was made on the occasion of this independent ordination,† than when the Liturgy was altered and the Unitarian faith was professed at the Chapel. But Mr. Freeman went on quietly in his former course, till its angry echoes died away on his ear. He addressed himself to the duties which were before him, being “an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity;” “giving attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine.” Friends multiplied around him; he saw the opinions to which he had proved himself so true, spreading with a sure and healthy growth; and his days flowed on in usefulness, honor, and peace.

The character of Dr. Freeman‡ was one, which in its its more prominent features, could not be mistaken. Honesty and truth the most pure and transparent, associated in happy union with gentleness and urbanity, unaffected modesty, and real kindness and good will to all men—these were qualities so distinctly marked on his every word and action, and even look, that no one could know him without reading them there. He was remarkably candid, but not, as it is sometimes expressed, candid to a fault. His consideration

\* November 18, 1835.

† See the account of this ordination, with its attendant circumstances, in the writer's *History of King's Chapel*.

‡ He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity, from the University at Cambridge, in the year 1811.



for the feelings of others, saved his candor from hardening into rudeness. He uttered nothing but the truth, but he did not utter it unseasonably or harshly. He always spoke what he meant, but he never meant to wound or to offend; and if, in a moment of excitement, he did wound or offend, he was ready to pour out his oil and wine to soothe and heal. This union of plainness and kindness, of truth and benignity, was observable in both his conversation and his writings. He was always explicit, but seldom controversial. He would rather defend himself, than attack others.

He was truly humble, but he was above all the arts of deception and double-dealing; and he could not be awed or moved in any way from self-respect and duty. He made all allowances for ignorance and prejudice and frailty, but arrogance he would not submit to, and hypocrisy he could not abide.

Dr. Freeman possessed in a remarkable manner the virtue of contentment. You heard no complaints from him. He was abundantly satisfied with his lot;—he was deeply grateful for his lot. The serenity of his countenance was an index to the serenity of his soul. The angel of contentment seemed to shade and fan it with his wings. “I have enjoyed a great deal in this world,” he would often say, “a great deal more than I deserve.” “My life has been a very happy one,” he said to a friend, after his constitution was broken, and he had been exercised for years with a painful disorder, “My life has been a very happy one; I have suffered nothing.”

Great philosophical equanimity and self-command were naturally associated with his contented temper, and indeed made part of it. His dignified endurance of provocation, as I have before remarked, was exemplary. His patience under disappointment, was so steady and complete, that it was only the few who were acquainted with circumstances, who knew that he had been disappointed, and these few knew it only from sympathy, and not from any signs in him.

Dr. Freeman possessed strong feelings and affections, and was capable of ardent and lasting attachments. His general manner, especially in his preaching, was so calm, sedate, and rational, with even occasional abruptness, that a transient observer might have been led to suppose that he was not apt to be moved, or that he was even deficient in feeling. But this would have been a mistake. His heart was full of feel-

ing, which not unfrequently rose up to his eyes and flowed out in tears. A similar mistake might have been made concerning his piety. He had seen so much external piety which was false and delusive, that he was induced to restrain the expression of his own religious emotions, as some might think, too carefully, and thereby permit it to be supposed that they did not exist. But his piety was real, vital, practical, ever-glowing. It was the sun of his internal world, which ripened the rich fruits of his life. All who knew him, knew that he was pious, truly and deeply so.

He was generous, though poor. He would cheerfully cancel a debt, on the debtor's plea of inability, and he valued money only as it enabled him to contribute to the comfort of those who needed his assistance.

He loved children, and loved to converse with and encourage them, and draw out their faculties and affections. His manners, always affable and kind, were never so completely lovely as in his intercourse with them. Naturally and insensibly did he instil moral principles and religious thoughts into their minds, and his good influence, being thus gentle, was permanent. The same sweetness and consideration were manifested toward all who were his juniors. Nothing seemed to give him so much pleasure as to see a virtuous, intelligent, and ingenuous youth. Toward young ministers and candidates for the ministry, his bearing was truly paternal. I have heard several of my brethren speak with grateful warmth of his early attentions to them; attentions which were valuable in themselves, and yet enhanced in value by their seasonableness.

Dr. Freeman was a just man; a man to be trusted. You could confide your property to him, and, a more delicate trust, your character. He was not blind to the faults of men, nor was he blind to any of their good qualities; and he would rather dwell on the latter than expose the former. He found something good in every one; and it was his pleasure to find it, and to point it out. No difference of opinion, no public rumor or clamor, could sway the course of this universal justice. If it was swayed at all, it was by his kindness of heart, which sometimes led him to treat the demerits of an individual more leniently than the interests of strict morality and the demands of strict justice might seem to require. But this was because he was merciful to the sin-

ner, and not because he was insensible to the sin. It was one of his favorite maxims, that a Christian should be indulgent to others, and severe to himself.

The mind of Dr. Freeman was one of great originality. It arrived at its own conclusions, and in its own way. You could not be long in his society, without feeling that you were in the presence of one who observed and reflected for himself. His opinions of books and of subjects, were not the echoes of public opinion, or of the paragraphs of a popular review, or of the judgments of a great man. They were his own, and were expressed with decision, yet without an attempt or a wish to dictate. He liked to hear the opinions of others, and heard them respectfully. What he said was often racy and pointed, and was sometimes even paradoxical; but his point was never envenomed, and he would allow so many exceptions and qualifications to his paradoxes, as the conversation proceeded, that they lost their startling guise, and took the aspect of sober truths.

Few men had more practical wisdom than the subject of this memoir; and when occasion called, he could bring it into effective use, and cause it to exercise its due influence. He was a member of the last Convention for amending the constitution of Massachusetts; and perhaps there was no man in that body whose opinion had greater weight, or was attended to with more marked respect, than his. A plan which he proposed, in committee, for reducing and equalizing the representation of the state, is thought by some who recollect its principle, to be the best which has yet been devised.

Dr. Freeman ranks high among the writers of our country. In early life he contributed a full share to the passing literature of the day—a literature which is called fugitive, but which often leaves a permanent impression on the mental and moral character of a people. The pieces which he published in the magazines and journals, were marked, as I have been told, by sprightliness and good-natured satire, and by purity of style.

Of a graver nature were the papers composed for the Collections of this Society, and printed for the most part in the eighth volume of the first series. These papers consist chiefly of historical accounts of towns on Cape Cod,—a part of the country to which he was peculiarly attached—and are



signed by the letters *r. s.* denoting his office of Recording Secretary to the Society, which office was held by him from 1798 to 1812. These town histories may be regarded as models of this species of composition. In the volume above named there is a reprint of the Journal of Plymouth Plantation, commonly called Mourt's Relation, to which Dr. Freeman appended a body of notes. These notes, on account of the accurate local knowledge displayed in them, add much to the value of the ancient description, and enable the reader to trace with great distinctness the path of the Pilgrims, from their first landing on Cape Cod to their settlement at Plymouth.

But his reputation as a writer rests principally upon his published Sermons. These are highly and deservedly esteemed; and their author's mental and moral character is expressed in them more clearly than I can describe it. Their subjects are various, but their style is uniform; and that style is distinguished for its purity, simplicity, and perspicuity. We do not meet in them with the billowy swells of eloquence, or the lightning flashes of genius; but they abound in just observation, acute remark, lucid exposition, affectionate appeal, distinct and practical instruction, sincere and confiding piety, with passages of graphic beauty and quiet pathos. You see before you the holy Lake of Galilee, not disturbed by sudden storms, and tossing the terrified disciples on its wild waves, but bearing up their bark on its quiet bosom, while they sit in peace, and listen to the heavenly wisdom of their Lord. We of this Society especially, shall prize the sermons of Dr. Freeman for their own and for their writer's sake; and the volume which he caused to be printed and distributed among his parishioners a few years ago, in grateful acknowledgment of their liberality towards him, will be held precious by each individual possessor.\*

\* The first volume of sermons which Dr. Freeman gave to the public, passed through three editions, the first of which was printed in 1812, and the third in 1821. This volume was entitled "Sermons on Particular Occasions. By James Freeman." It contained ten Sermons and two Charges. The next volume which he issued, entitled "Eighteen Sermons and a Charge," was printed in 1829, but not published. It is the one which he printed at his own expense, and distributed among his parishioners and friends. In 1832 he collected the Sermons and Charges of these two volumes together, omitted some of the Notes, added one very brief but marrowy sermon on Necessity, and a free translation of one of St. Basil's homilies, and published the whole in one volume, with the title of "Sermons and Charges. By James Freeman. New Edition." It is probable that this volume contains all the sermons which he cared to leave behind him. I am acquainted with more eloquent volumes of Sermons, but with none more interesting than this.



Till the year 1809, Dr. Freeman performed the ministerial duties of this church, alone. About this time his strength experienced a decline; and on the 1st of January of the above mentioned year, the Rev. Samuel Cary was ordained as his assistant and colleague. In this connexion, while it lasted, Dr. Freeman was very happy. But it was permitted to last but a short time. The health of Mr. Cary failed; he was constrained to relinquish his duties; he sailed for England in the hope of restoration, but died there not long after his arrival, on the 22d of October, 1815;—and with faltering accents and an almost bursting heart, Dr. Freeman preached in this pulpit the Funeral Discourse on his young and excellent friend.

Again he was alone in his charge till the summer of the year 1824, when the present surviving minister of the church accepted an invitation to be settled as his colleague, and was inducted as such on the 29th of August. From my boyhood I had sat under the ministry of Dr. Freeman; from my boyhood I had revered and loved him; and I looked forward to some years at least of that important assistance which a father might render to a son, of that intimate and improving communion which a son might hold with his father. But it was not to be so. The illness of my venerated colleague had so greatly impaired his constitution, that he felt himself obliged to retire from the pulpit about the close of the year 1825, and in the summer of 1826 he went to his residence in Newton, which he left no more, till his spirit departed to a better world.

Although for these last ten years of his retirement, Dr. Freeman was compelled to resist the attacks of an obdurate disorder by the daily use of medicine, and was subject to occasional fits of severe agony, yet the work of decline and the progress of infirmity were very gradual with him. In winter he was confined to the house, but in summer and autumn he was generally to be found in his garden, or the grounds about his house, of the cultivation of which he was exceedingly fond. It was pleasant to see him, to hear him, to talk with him, and he delighted in the visits and converse of his friends. His appearance, which always within my own remembrance had been venerable, was now patriarchal. His form was slightly bowed by age; his blue eyes spoke nothing but kind-

ness and thoughtfulness; the top of his finely-shaped head was bare, and his remaining locks were as white as snow.

It was the desire of our departed friend and father that he might not outlive his active usefulness, or stay on earth till the faculties of his mind were impaired. But this was in submission to the will of Providence, and it was the will of Providence, that he should remain for a time an example of patience and resignation. He never troubled his friends with the repeated expression of this desire to be gone; his remarkable good sense kept by him to the last, and preserved him from the common and less agreeable peculiarities of old age. Even when his mind grew enfeebled, it showed its strength in weakness. His memory sometimes failed him, and his ideas would become somewhat confused, within the few months preceding his death; but his bearing was always calm and manly; he fell into no second childhood.

He looked upon death as it approached him, without fear, yet with pious humility. He viewed the last change as a most solemn change; the judgment of God upon the soul as a most solemn judgment. "Let no one say when I am dead," he expressed himself to his nearest friends, "that I trusted in my own merits. My own merits are nothing. I trust only in the mercy of God through Jesus Christ."

When the attack fell upon him which terminated in his death, he asked the physician who came to see him what he thought of his situation. "You are very ill, sir," was the reply. Then the longing to be away could no longer be suppressed. "You bear me," was the answer of our aged friend, "the most gratifying intelligence which I have heard for years."

He languished in unconsciousness, interrupted by pain, for a few days; but during the last two days of his life pain left him, and on the night of Saturday, the 14th of this month,\* about midnight, he breathed out his spirit as quietly as an infant goes to sleep.

It was the intention of his friends, that his remains should be brought to Boston the Wednesday succeeding his death, and that the funeral service should be performed over them, in the church where he had ministered so long. But as it was found on the morning of Tuesday, that the body was

\* November, 1835; in the 77th year of his age.

not in a state to bear the removal, his funeral took place at his house in Newton on the afternoon of that day. The sun was setting, as the mortal part of our father was laid in the tomb. The rays shone softly and richly on the quiet and retired village grave-yard. The last leaves of a mild autumn, were dropping around the friends who were standing there in solemn silence. It was a beautiful and appropriate closing scene.

The next day a funeral service was performed in the Chapel, which was attended by the congregation, and by numbers beside, who were desirous of paying this tribute of respect to departed worth, and on the following Sunday a funeral sermon was pronounced by the present minister of the church, the greater part of which is embodied in this memoir.

Among the notices which were called forth by the event of Dr. Freeman's death, may be mentioned those which appeared in the Register and Observer, in the Boston Courier, and in the National Intelligencer. Beside these, a sketch of his life and character was given by the Rev. Dr. Parkman, in a review, printed in the Christian Examiner, for January, 1836, of the Funeral Sermon preached in King's Chapel. A Funeral Discourse, delivered at Louisville, Kentucky, by James Freeman Clarke, a grandson of Dr. Freeman, was published in the Western Messenger for January, and is a feeling testimonial of filial piety and gratitude. "I would lay this poor wreath," says the author, "upon the tomb of one who was the guide and teacher of my youth; more than a father in tenderness and affection; and a friend such as I can never hope to see again in this world."

The following quotation, which may fitly conclude this memoir, is taken by permission from a sermon preached on the same occasion at the First Church, by its pastor, the Rev. Mr. Frothingham. It was in that church that Dr. Freeman "worshipped in his boyhood."

"His opinions," observes the preacher, "would be often peculiar, but his spirit was always large and generous. He was singularly free and plain in his speech, but in his manners singularly urbane. And this union of dissimilar qualities endeared him to the young, while it invested him with the charm of originality even for men of the keenest and widest observation. It is rare to meet one so utterly free from all narrowness whether in thought or feeling; rare to find such



a simple ingenuousness and unworn cordiality under the white locks of wisdom. He was an unpretending man. He laid claim to deserts of no kind. Yet no one could stand more resolutely for what he believed to be sacred truth, than he did when his convictions were every where spoken against ;— and if there are any here who will be called to any thing like the torture of his slow endurances, they can ask nothing better of God, than the sweet and un murmuring temper, the unexpressed submission,—which was none the less Christian for being silent—with which his were sustained.”

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MEMOIR OF REV. JOHN PRINCE, L.L. D. BY CHARLES  
W. UPHAM.

The subject of the following Memoir was a very remarkable instance of the favorable condition of society in this country, which permits and encourages those who have a zeal for knowledge and improvement to raise themselves from the common walks of life to eminence and distinction.

JOHN PRINCE was born in Boston on the 22d of July, 1751. His parents resided in the north part of the city, and were worthy and excellent members of the New North Society. They were of Puritan descent, and, as was the case with all who worthily claimed that name, were careful to give their son a good education, and to impress upon his mind a reverent sense of religious truth and duty. His father being a mechanic the son naturally was intended and directed by him to similar pursuits. He was early bound out as an apprentice to a pewterer and tinman, and continued industriously and faithfully to labor in his calling until his indentures had expired.

But his genius, from the beginning, had indicated a propensity to a different mode of life. From a child his chief enjoyments were found in books. He was wont to retire from the sports of boyhood. There was no play for him to be compared with the delight of reading. During the hours of



leisure in the period of his apprenticeship, he sought no other recreation than in the acquisition of knowledge.

It followed of course that, upon becoming free, he abandoned his trade and devoted himself to study. In a very short time he was prepared to enter college, and received his bachelor's degree at Cambridge in 1776, at the age of twenty-five. After leaving college he was engaged for some time in the instruction of a school. He pursued the study of divinity under the direction of the Rev. Samuel Williams, of Bradford, in the county of Essex, a clergyman highly distinguished for talents and attainments, afterwards Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Harvard University. He was ordained over the First Church in Salem on the 10th of November, 1779. On the 8th of December, 1824, the writer of this Memoir was settled as a colleague, with his concurrence. He died on the 7th of June, 1836, having nearly completed his 85th year. His ministry lasted 57 years and 7 months.\*

In sketching the character of Dr. Prince I shall consider him as a Philosopher, a Divine, and a Christian.

The basis of his philosophical attainments was laid in the thirst for knowledge already alluded to. This trait was early developed, and continued to be his most marked characteristic until the hand of death was upon him. It was exercised in almost every possible direction, and as his memory was wonderfully capacious and retentive, the result was that he accumulated and had at command as large an amount of knowledge, as can easily be found in the possession of any one mind. Without taking into the account what he derived from books,—and few men have ever read more,—his eyes and his ears were always open, and his hands were always busy. No idle moment ever passed over him. He noticed every occurrence, and explored every object within the reach of his curious

\* Dr. Prince was, in early life, of an apparently infirm constitution. His parents were apprehensive that they might not be able to rear him. At the time of his ordination his health was very delicate. One of the members of the society, before the vote inviting him to settle was put, observed in the Parish meeting that he concurred with all the rest of the society in admiring Mr. Prince very much, as a preacher and as a man, but that he doubted about the expediency of settling a minister, whose complaints were so alarming that the society would in all probability very soon be called to bury him. Dr. Orne rose in reply, and admitted that Mr. Prince was in feeble health, but stated that he did not apprehend his condition to be so immediately alarming as the other gentleman supposed, and concluded by saying that Mr. Prince might get over his infirmities, and live to bury them all. He did live to bury them all.

observation. When a mere boy, he was intent to learn all that was going on in the great world around him; and this appetite for knowledge enabled him to lay up a body of reminiscences, drawn from his early youth and from every period of his life, which made him, in his old age, a truly instructive companion. He was an attentive and inquisitive spectator of the opening scenes of the revolutionary drama in Boston, from the massacre through all the intermediate events, including the destruction of the tea, to the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill. He was equally well stored with facts in reference to men and things during all the subsequent period of his life; and what he knew he related in a style of narrative, such as those who enjoyed his acquaintance, can scarcely expect ever to find equalled.

In this connection it is necessary to remark,—as it was a distinguishing trait in the character of Dr. Prince, and one worthy of imitation by all,—that vigorous, unremitted, and universal as was his thirst for knowledge, it was invariably kept within the bounds of prudence, propriety and good feeling. Probably no man ever lived more free from the charge of being a prier into other persons' affairs, or a tattler of their failings. He did not appear to have a sense to discern the private frailties or follies of men. His lips were never known to circulate scandal or gossip. During his long ministry I do not believe that he has ever been even suspected of widening a breach by tale-bearing, of raising a laugh at another's expense, or of uttering a syllable to the disparagement of a single member of the community. All the notices he took, and all the circumstances he related in which other men were concerned, were only such as could be made to point a general moral, and illustrate a principle of human nature, without affecting any individual injuriously. What I have now said will commend itself to his friends as a true and accurate feature of his character, and it strikingly illustrates his judgment and prudence, the integrity of his mind, the tenderness of his feelings, and his strong sense of justice towards all men.

His passion for knowledge, receiving a particularly strong bias from the manual occupation to which he served an apprenticeship, inclined him, with peculiar interest, to the pursuit and cultivation of the several branches of Experimental Natural Philosophy. On the 10th of November, 1783, just four years from the day of his ordination, when 32 years of

age, he communicated to the scientific world his improved construction of the Air Pump. His letter, giving the first account of it, addressed to President Willard, of Harvard College, may be seen in the first volume of the *Memoirs of the American Academy*. The present generation can form no conception of the interest awakened by this admirable invention, not only in this country, but throughout Europe. His name was at once enrolled among the benefactors and ornaments of modern science, and on that roll it will remain inscribed until science itself shall be no more. The philosophical journals of the day emulated each other in praising the scientific research and the profoundness of reasoning displayed in the construction. The American philosopher was allowed to have surpassed all former attempts in the same department. His name is recorded, by an eminent writer, in connection with that of the famous Boyle, among "those who have improved the instruments of science and of whose labors we are now reaping the benefit."\* The machine is still called, by way of distinction, "the American Air Pump," and its figure was selected to represent a constellation in the heavens, and imprinted upon celestial globes.

His reputation was thus established among the first philosophers and mechanics of his age. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Brown University, in Rhode Island, and was admitted to the several learned and philosophical societies of the country.†

It will not be expected of me to enumerate in detail the various improvements made by Dr. Prince in philosophical instruments. He introduced some of great importance into the microscope, and contrived an alteration in the kaleidoscope, by which a world of wonders, the brilliancy and glory of which transcend all that the eye of man ever contemplated, or his imagination conceived, was revealed to view, as existing in the darkest and roughest metals and rocks beneath our feet. His last work of the kind was a stand for a telescope. This was a great desideratum in science. As telescopes must be so made as to revolve in every direction,

\* Lectures on Natural and Experimental Philosophy, by George Adams. London, 1799, Vol. I. p. 44—54. Rees's Cyclopaedia, Art. Air Pump. Analytical Review, July, 1789. Nicholson's Journal, Vol. I. p. 119. The best account of the American Air Pump is to be found in Dobson's Supplement to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Art. Pneumatics.

† He was admitted a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Jan. 29, 1793.



horizontally and perpendicularly, it had always before been supposed necessary to support them on a point, upon which it was found impossible to prevent a greater or less vibration, thus introducing uncertainty, to some extent, into the observations of astronomers. Dr. Prince contrived a stand, on which the telescope rests in a solid bed, with perfect firmness, and at the same time is movable in every direction and by the slightest touch of the finger. The following is the conclusion of the description given by him of this ingenious structure, as published by the American Academy. "I made the brass work myself, and finished it on my birth day,—80 years old."

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to do justice to Dr. Prince's claims upon the gratitude of the scientific world. His modesty and indifference to fame were so real and sincere that it never occurred to him to take pains to appropriate to himself the improvements and discoveries he had made.

Fortunately for the cause of science, his whole philosophical and literary correspondence has been preserved. All his own letters, and many of them are very elaborate and minute, containing full discussions, and, frequently, drawings executed by the pen, were carefully copied out into manuscript volumes. These manuscript volumes are the monuments of his genius, and the only record of his contributions to the cause of science. It was his custom, when he had made an improvement in the construction and use of a philosophical instrument, instead of publishing it to the world, to communicate a full description of it, by private letter, to the principal instrument makers in London. During his whole life, down to March 19th, 1836, the date of his last letter to Samuel Jones, of London, he has, in this manner, been promoting the interests of science, while his agency, to a very great extent, has been unknown to the public.

A long letter, occupying ten closely written pages, is found under the date of Nov. 3d, 1792, addressed to George Adams, of London, and containing a full description of an improved construction of the lucernal microscope. On the 3d of July, 1795, he wrote another letter to Mr. Adams, describing still further improvements in the same instrument. Without making any public acknowledgment of his obligations to Dr. Prince, Mr. Adams proceeded to construct lucernal microscopes upon the plan suggested by him. Shortly after the



death of Mr. Adams, which occurred in the latter part of 1795, an article appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine, signed by John Hill, a distinguished cultivator of science, in which the importance of these improvements was shown at large, and illustrated by a plate. The writer stated that he had procured his instrument from Mr. Adams a short time before his death, and that Adams intimated to him, at the time, that he had been indebted for some important suggestions in its construction, to "a clergyman." The purpose of Mr. Hill's communication seemed to be, in part to make known the improvement, and in part to draw out the clergyman who had invented it. Dr. Prince's attention was directed to Mr. Hill's publication by his London correspondent, but I do not find that he answered the inquiry, at the time, or took any steps to secure the credit, with the readers of the Gentleman's Magazine, of the beautifully and truly ingenious construction which had attracted so much curiosity and admiration. He probably preferred to let the subject drop, rather than keep it before the public to the disadvantage of the memory of his friend.\*

The fact that Mr. Adams neglected to make him known as the author of these improvements was, however, freely remarked upon by others. One of his philosophical correspondents, in a letter, dated London, March 3d, 1798, thus alludes to the subject: "I am rather surprised that the late Mr. Adams appears not to have made known the person to whom he was under so many and repeated obligations." But while such remarks fell from others, they were never known to pass the lips of Dr. Prince. The feelings they express were not permitted to enter his breast. It was a beautiful and most noble trait in his character, and one which was impressed upon the notice of every observer, that he was incapable of jealousy and suspicion. So far from allowing himself to harbor unkind feelings towards Mr. Adams, or to indulge the idea that he had treated him with injustice, he rejoiced in his reputation, delighted to promote his prosperity, and when he heard of his death was most deeply and tenderly affected.

After the death of Mr. Adams, his successor in business,

\* Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. 66, 2d part, 1796, pp. 897, 1080. When Mr. Dobson, of Philadelphia, published the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, Dr. Prince caused Mr. Hill's description to be reprinted in it, under the article Optics.

Mr. Wm. Jones, sought Dr. Prince's correspondence in language of which the following is a specimen, extracted from a letter, dated London, Feb. 18, 1797: "A correspondence with you, sir, will be as flattering to me as it is desirable. I have long heard of your knowledge and expertness in science, and shall be happy to receive any communications that have resulted from your study and experience."

In a letter, dated July 3, 1797, Mr. Jones repeats his solicitations, as follows: "Your celebrity as a philosopher is not a little known in this country. Mr. Jefferson, many years ago, mentioned your name to me, and showed me the description of your air pump. A correspondence with you respecting science and instruments, will be highly gratifying to me, and what small leisure an unremitting attention to business will permit, I shall be happy to snatch occasionally for your information."

The correspondence, thus commenced with this enlightened and philosophical mechanic, was continued with him, and after his death, with his brother, without intermission, to the close of Dr. Prince's life, and became the foundation of a sincere and most interesting friendship. It is indeed delightful to witness the genial influence of scientific pursuits upon the affections, binding together the hearts of those between whose persons an ocean had always rolled.

The letters of Messrs. William and Samuel Jones are full of expressions of admiration and gratitude towards Dr. Prince. In one of them, dated March 3, 1798, Mr. Jones says, "It is to you that the Air Pump and Lucernal owe their present state of perfection and improvement." In another, dated September 29, 1798, he says, "In all respects I think you have made the Lucernal as complete and as simple as it can be made." Under the date of March 4, 1798, Mr. Jones acknowledges the adoption of Dr. Prince's "very useful and ingenious emendations" in the construction of the "astronomical lantern machinery."

Thus a constant intercommunication of friendly offices was kept up for nearly forty years. The correspondence is creditable to the Messrs. Jones in every point of view. On the part of Dr. Prince, it contains a body of instruction such as can no where else be found, and would be regarded as an invaluable directory, by all whose business or whose pleasure it is to make use of the instruments of science.

Dr. Prince was eminently learned in almost every department of Natural Philosophy. And what he knew it was his great delight to communicate. His visitors were introduced, through his admirable apparatus and specimens, to all the wonders of Astronomy, Optics, Pneumatics, Botany, Mineralogy, Chemistry, and Entomology. Indeed there is nothing beautiful, brilliant, dazzling, or rich, in any department of the outward world, and which the ingenuity and skill of man has yet been able to explore, which he did not spread out before them. And all was illustrated, explained, and set forth, with a facility, a clearness, a sprightliness of manner, which never failed to charm the admiring listener. As an experimental lecturer and operator, in his own parlor and surrounded by his private friends, he was never surpassed by any public professor of science. The delightful amenity and simplicity of his manners and spirit were in admirable harmony with the genius of science itself, and he never explored the glorious mysteries and glittering recesses of nature, without discerning, and causing all others to discern and adore, traces of the power and wisdom of its author. Wherever he walked with science, there he walked with God. Whenever he led another into the hidden halls of nature's temple, he taught him to pay glad and admiring homage to the enshrined divinity.

Dr. Prince brought his scientific skill and learning to contribute to the diffusion of useful instruction and refined entertainment in a great variety of ingenious methods. He was as much interested in man as in nature. His knowledge of the history and usages of nations was very extensive. All the arts of civilized and social life had engaged his study. In architecture, painting, and the fine arts generally, his taste was highly cultivated. His collection of engravings and specimens was very extensive and curious. By means of optical instruments he was enabled to make a most satisfactory display of all these treasures of knowledge. In the course of a winter's evening, his delighted visiter, sitting all the while quietly in his chair, was enabled to inspect the temples and the structures of ancient and of modern Rome, to explore the ruins of the old world, to traverse the streets of London, Paris, St. Petersburg, to visit the villas of Italy and noblemen's seats in England, to watch the successive aspects of an eruption of *Ætna* or *Vesuvius*, and literally to survey the whole earth and the glories thereof.



Thus did our venerable philosopher make science contribute to his own happiness and improvement, and to the happiness and improvement of his friends and acquaintances.

The character and reputation of Dr. Prince as a Divine, were injuriously affected by his very great eminence as a Philosopher. The world is reluctant to believe that a single mind can fully master more than one department of knowledge; and if a person has vindicated a title to be placed in the front rank in any branch of attainment foreign to his professional pursuit, it has been inferred that he could not possibly be equally distinguished in that profession. This is, in general, a safe mode of reasoning; but we know that there are cases in which it is not applicable.

Dr. Prince was a very learned theologian. Those of his brethren who have had much intercourse with him will justify this declaration. In all the facts, illustrations and reasonings that constitute the science of natural theology, his philosophical attainments gave him preeminence. He was also thoroughly versed in revealed religion. His views of the interpretation and general criticism of the Scriptures were wise and comprehensive. Few divines have ever been so conversant with the history of opinions in the Church. His acquaintance with the literature of theology was extraordinarily minute and exact. With the character, bearing, and general contents of every work of note, in our language, or in the Latin tongue, he was familiar. Having for more than half a century corresponded with the principal London booksellers and been in the constant receipt of their catalogues,\* he had enjoyed great facilities for the accumulation of a theological library, and was possessed of a most valuable, rare, and extensive collection of standard works. It is defective only in the modern publications which have issued from Germany. Dr. Prince had no book in his library which he had not read, and whatever he read he always remembered.

Although he was justly numbered among the Liberal cler-

\* Dr. Prince was consulted by colleges, academies, and lyceums, in all parts of America, with reference to the collection of philosophical apparatus and libraries, and for nearly half a century has been employed to select and import books and instruments for public institutions and for literary and scientific individuals. His agency in thus providing and diffusing the means of knowledge has been extensively serviceable to the country. Within the few last years of his life he has procured philosophical instruments for colleges and academies in several States of the Union, from Vermont to Tennessee. At some of our public institutions the most beautifully constructed instruments may be found, the work of his own hands.



gymen of the present day, his preaching, in reference to the doctrines inculcated, has, I am inclined to think, been but little, if at all, affected by any of the controversies of the last half century. His theological sentiments were always substantially the same, and would probably be found to harmonize very nearly with the views in which serious and candid Christians of both parties, if they could get rid of the disturbing influence of names and phrases and sectarian lines of division, would discover themselves to be united. His preaching was rational, catholic, philosophical, and liberal, and although not calculated to be popular at the present day, was duly estimated and admired by our predecessors. His appearance in the pulpit was venerable and impressive in the highest degree, and the tones of his voice were truly noble and melodious. His figure was tall, and although very much bent by age, remarkably graceful and dignified. His dress was conformed to the fashion of the old school, and a full head of hair, perfectly whitened by time, was gathered in curls above his shoulders, so as to resemble the wigs worn by our ancestors, for which it was often mistaken. He preached his last sermon on the afternoon of the 17th of April; and the image of his hoary locks and benevolent countenance will not soon grow dim on the memories of those who have seen him in the desk.

Dr. Prince's published sermons bear strong marks of his excellent abilities and learning. His discourse on the death of his early friend and beloved associate, Dr. Barnard, is an admirable production, and in some passages exhibits an almost unrivalled tenderness of sensibility and beauty of expression. The following sentence is particularly interesting on the present occasion. "The Lord has taken away my friend, my brother, my companion and fellow-laborer in his vineyard. But he is gone to his heavenly father; and can I complain? I may weep for myself, but I cannot for him. I have followed him through many of the walks of life, and I must follow him through death. I ask your prayers that I may be prepared for it." He has followed him through death. Let us rejoice in the hope that the friends are again united to part no more.\*

\* Dr. Prince's sermon on the death of Dr. Barnard was preached in October, 1814. The following circumstances had made such an impression on his mind that he thought

Great as was his taste for human science and philosophy, I speak with full conviction drawn from a daily intimacy of many years, when I say that theology was the subject upon which he most loved to meditate, theological works were most frequently in his hands, and, as he advanced towards the end of life, I doubt not that among his most delightful anticipations of the heavenly state, was the disclosure there to be made, of all those truths relating to eternity, the soul, and its author, about which his thoughts had been so habitually exercised.

It remains for me to speak of Dr. Prince as a Christian. He was indeed a Christian, for he had the spirit of Christ, which is a spirit of gentleness, tenderness and love. He loved God most devoutly; and he so loved man, that he seemed not to know how to cherish any other affection towards him. I believe him to have been incapable of hatred or enmity; and, as he was an enemy to no one, so I believe that he had not an enemy in the world. It appears that his benignant disposition was an object of particular remark at a very early period of his life. Mr. Barnard, in giving the Right Hand of Fellowship at his ordination, congratulated the people, in the plain simplicity of the times, that they had obtained for their pastor "a person of Mr. Prince's fine temper and respectable abilities."

The Christian piety of Dr. Prince was put to the severest test. Life had for him its full share of troubles, and the disease of which he finally died subjected him to the most excruciating sufferings, but no one ever heard a murmur or a complaint pass his lips. Neither the spirit of resignation nor the spirit of faith deserted him for a moment. The Gospel shed its sweetest and divinest radiance upon his bed of suffering and death.

proper, in publishing the sermon, to record them in a note to the clause, quoted above, "I have followed him through many of the walks of life." The note is here subjoined.

"It is a singular concurrence in our walks of life, and one that has some effect upon the social feelings, that we were educated at the same university, and after we graduated kept the same schools in the same town; studied divinity with the same clergyman; settled in the ministry in the same town; the same person preached our ordination sermons; and we received honorary degrees from the same university."

It is a singular continuation of this series of concurrences, and as affecting as it is singular, that, owing to some error at the time, Dr. Prince's remains were carried down into the wrong tomb, and laid by the side of Dr. Barnard's. He followed him; literally, from the cradle to the grave.

The last years of the life of our venerable friend realized the brightest picture of a happy old age. By the kindness of his people he was released from labor and care; a long respite was given him, after the day of toil was over, and before the summons came to depart. In the pursuits of philosophy and religion; in the peaceful and cherished society of a kindred spirit; in the company of his friends; in the exercise of amiable affections towards man, and of admiring adoration towards God, the glories of whose creation he was continually exploring; and in the enjoyment of enough of this world's goods to meet his wants, he quietly descended the lengthened vale of years. He had his trials, and at times they were severe indeed, but his patience and faith were sufficient to sustain him while they lasted, and when they had passed away, the very memory of them seemed to be obliterated by the pleasant engagements which, in cheerful conversation, in instructive books, in philosophical experiments, and in the employments of his workshop, were ever at hand. His faculties of body and mind remained sound and bright to the end; "his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated;" and at last he came to his "grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in in his season."\*

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#### MEMOIR OF REV. EZRA SHAW GOODWIN.

EZRA SHAW GOODWIN was born at Plymouth, September 11, 1787. His education was commenced at the common schools in his native town, and the studies preparatory for admission to college he pursued under the care of the Rev. David Gurney, of Middleborough. He entered the University in Cambridge in 1803, and graduated in 1807. In 1809 he commenced preaching, and was ordained as minister of the First Parish in Sandwich, March 17, 1813. In 1814 he was married to Miss Ellen Watson Davis, the eldest daughter

\* In grateful acknowledgment of the kindness and fidelity of his parish, Dr. Prince bequeathed a valuable theological library of 450 volumes for the perpetual use of the ministers of the First Church in Salem.

of Hon. John Davis, of Boston. In 1822 he was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in 1830 a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He died February 5, 1833, in the 46th year of his age, and in the 20th of his ministry.

The following notices of Mr. Goodwin, giving a just view of his character, are extracted from a biographical memoir prefixed to a volume of his Sermons published after his decease.\*

In the earlier part of his ministry especially, he devoted himself entirely to the peculiar duties of his situation, and was little known except to the churches in his immediate neighborhood. But in this faithful discharge of the quiet duties of a clergyman, in a retired parish, he was preparing himself for a more enlarged sphere of usefulness, and was laying up treasures of thought and knowledge to be improved in after years. He felt that no man could be faithful to the high trust which such a situation imposes, who did not advance himself in at least as great a proportion as he contributed to the advancement of others, and that if a Christian minister were a stationary being, there was reason to fear he neglected a large portion of the gift within him. We accordingly find that he neglected no opportunity to acquire information, or impart it to others, in any of the branches of useful or entertaining knowledge. No one could pass an hour in his society and not discover his fondness for philosophical inquiry, and his extensive knowledge on subjects of general interest. He was a most ardent admirer of nature, and an accurate observer of its order and its laws. As has been well expressed by another, "his mind was always vigorous and inquisitive; his heart was always kind. He was not, as many solitary students are, ignorant of all subjects and indifferent to all but those within their own confined sphere. His eyes were open to surrounding objects and passing events, and he could speak pleasantly on most of the topics of general interest. Natural history received much of his attention, for he loved to study the works as well as the word of God.

\* These sermons, fifteen in number, were printed, principally, for distribution among his late parishioners, and near friends and connexions. The biographical memoir, prefixed, was written by his esteemed friend and kinsman, REV. HERSEY B. GOODWIN, just now departed from us, at an early age; resembling his beloved and honored relative in many points of character; like him, also,

"Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit."



But all his knowledge was consecrated to the high uses of piety. From the fields and the woods, from the rivers and the sea, he brought their first fruits and their rare and beautiful things, and laid them as an offering upon the altar."

To this observation of nature and a deep insight into men and things around him, was added a diligent study of books. His memory was both quick and retentive to a remarkable degree. Many passages of his favorite authors, though read or heard by him but once, never escaped him. Of poetry he was particularly fond—and to his intimate friends his mind seemed to contain a volume of the richest and most beautiful extracts from the best English poets of ancient and modern times. But the study to which he was most strongly attached and to which he devoted his chief attention, by night as well as by day, was the study of the Scriptures in the original languages, and of the various books which serve to illustrate them. In this, as in all his other investigations, he manifested his supreme regard for truth—his enthusiastic love of it. He loved it for its own sake. He cherished it simply because it was truth. In his efforts to find it and then to propagate it, he was equally free, fearless and sincere. It was this uncompromising integrity in presenting truth to others, and this perfect freedom in searching for it himself, that appeared to many, not intimately connected with him, to border on imprudence—but in proportion as men understood his peculiarities, they respected him for his honesty and admired him for his simplicity and frankness.

With these qualities of independence and freedom from dissimulation, humility and charity were harmoniously blended. These last virtues were, in fact, the natural fruits of the former. His supreme reverence for truth, which was with him but one form of reverence for that Being who is the foundation of truth, was most naturally productive of an expansive benevolence and that charity which vaunteth not itself. In this respect he illustrated the following remark of Coleridge, of which his character has often reminded us. "He who fancies that he must be perpetually stooping down to the prejudices of his fellow creatures, is perpetually reminding and reassuring himself of his own vast superiority to them. But no real greatness can long co-exist with deceit. The whole faculties of man must be exerted in order to noble energies; and he who is not earnestly sincere, lives in but half

his being—self-mutilated—self-paralyzed.” He respected human nature because it was created in the image of God, and an object of God’s mercy and parental care.

Such are some of the most striking features in the intellectual and moral character of Mr. Goodwin. As a writer and preacher he was distinguished for clearness of conception and for frankness, approaching in some cases to boldness, in his methods of stating and illustrating truth. As a pastor, he won the esteem, affection and confidence of his flock—taking a deep interest in all their affairs, and showing himself their counsellor and friend in prosperity as well as in adversity. As a friend he was strong in his attachments, and his friends were no less strongly attached to him. It is the language of one who knew him from his childhood, and was most intimate with him in his preparatory studies and during his college life, “he was free from all envy, jealousy and presumption, and was always, and to all, unaffectedly kind and sincere. His friendship was not liable to the chill of pride or the consumings of anger.”

The views through which the public has become most acquainted with Mr. Goodwin, have appeared in various numbers of the *Christian Examiner*, and have reference to the meaning of those Greek and Hebrew words which in the received version of our Scriptures are invested with the sense of eternal duration. On the result of that investigation, it must be left for the learned to decide; but that it indicated great originality and independence, patience of research, and a true Christian charity, there can be but one opinion.”\*

The following is a list of Mr. Goodwin’s writings, published in his life time.

Notices of the Great Storm, Sept. 23, 1815. *Mass. Historical Collections*, Vol. X. Second Series.

Meaning of the words translated Eternity and Eternal, in

\* The first of these articles appeared in 1828, in the form of an essay on the meaning of the expressions “everlasting punishment” and “life eternal,” in Matthew xxv. 46. Mr. Goodwin, in two letters in Vols. X. and XII. of the *Examiner*, went into a thorough investigation of the meaning of these words, *αιων* and *αιωνιος*, from their etymology, the earlier lexicographers, and particularly from their use by the classic writers. On the last point, all the passages in which either of these words is found in Homer, Hesiod, Æschylus, Pindar, (except the Fragments) Sophocles, Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, and his treatises *de Mundo*, *de Spiritu*, *de Moribus*, *de Cælo*, Euripides, and Plato, were brought forward, translated, and left to speak for themselves. He then proceeded to investigate in a similar manner the meaning of the Hebrew word corresponding to *αιων* and *αιωνιος*, in the Septuagint. This investigation is published in a third and fourth letter, in Vols. XIII. and XIV. of the *Examiner*. The last was not issued till after the decease of the writer.

the Scriptures. *Christian Examiner*, Vols. V., IX., X., XII, XIII., XIV.

A Sermon on the Secrecy of the Soul in Communion with God. *Liberal Preacher*, Vol. III., No. 9.

An Address before the Barnstable Peace Society, Dec. 25, 1830.

Ancient and Modern Orthodoxy. *Unitarian Advocate*, for December, 1831.

Alice Bradford, or a Birth-day Present.

Some Scriptural Readings compared with some Unscriptural Sayings. Tracts of the American Unitarian Association, No. 66, 1st series.

The Shipwrecked Coaster. Token for 1833.

A LETTER FROM COL. GEORGE MORGAN TO GEN. WASHINGTON, INCLOSING THE LORD'S PRAYER IN SHAWANESE.

*New York, Sept. 1st, 1789.*

Sir,

Having been engaged here some days in the examination of the late Mr. Hutchins's papers, I have found amongst them a letter to your Excellency from the Marquis de la Fayette, accompanied by one from you, requesting Mr. Hutchins's attention to the forming a vocabulary of the Indian languages, for the Empress of Russia, who has ordered a universal dictionary to be made of all languages.

If your Excellency hath not received satisfactory returns from Mr. Hutchins, or others to whom you may have applied, it will afford me particular pleasure to contribute so essential a service to the republic of letters, by giving your Excellency a Vocabulary and Grammar of the Shawanese tongue, together with our Lord's prayer; all composed at my request, by my friend Alexander McKee, Esq. to whom the best speakers of the nation recur for instruction in all doubtful words and expressions in their own language.

Mr. McKee being a good scholar, and writing a very fair

hand, adds to the certainty and value of these performances ; and the more so, as I have reason to believe that he neither made nor kept another copy. I find, too, from my former travels and late tour, that the Shawanese tongue is the root of many others of the more western tribes.

A Vocabulary and Grammar of the Delaware language is made by the Rev. Mr. Zeisberger, which, if your Excellency hath not obtained, I will procure and send to you. They are all at present in my son's possession, except our Lord's prayer, as I gave them to him when he entered a cadet in the first United States' regiment ; but I will write to him immediately for them, if your Excellency wishes to have them. I do myself the honor to inclose our Lord's prayer, as I brought it here with intention to publish it, to prevent its being lost. When your Excellency has had a copy taken, be pleased to direct the original to be forwarded, inclosed in my letter, to Mr. Carey.

I have the honor to be, with perfect respect, your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

GEORGE MORGAN.

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THE LORD'S PRAYER IN SHAWANESE.

Coe-thin-a, Spim-i-key Yea-taw-yan-œ, O-wes-sa-yey Yea-sey-tho-yan, œ : Day-pale-i-tum-any Pay-itch-tha key, Yeu-issi-tay-kay-yon-œ Issi-nock-i-key, Yoe-ma-assis-key-kie pi-sey Spim-i-key. Me-li-na-key œ noo-ki Cos-si-kie, Ta-wa-it thin-œ-yea-wap-a-ki Trick-whan-a, Puck-i-tum-i-wacoo Kne-wan-ot-i-they-way Yea-se-puck-i-tum-a Ma-chil-i-tow-e-ta Thick-i-ma-chaw-ki Tus-sy-neigh-puck-sin-a Wapun-si coo waugh po Won-at-i-they ya Key-la Tay-pale-it-tum-any Way-wis-sa-kie Was-si-cut-i-we-way They-pay-we-way.



*General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston, from January 1, 1833, to January 1, 1834, agreeably to the Records kept at the Health Office.\**

1833.	Under 1 year.				1 to 2		2 to 5		5 to 10.		10 to 20		20 to 30		30 to 40		40 to 50		50 to 60		60 to 70		70 to 80		80 to 90		90 to 100		Un- known.	Stillborn.	TOTAL.
	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.			
Jan.	9	14	2	9	6	7	0	2	2	3	6	9	9	5	10	1	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	117
Feb.	11	8	3	7	11	3	1	0	2	3	4	13	10	8	2	3	5	6	2	5	3	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	118
March	10	12	1	3	1	3	0	2	3	2	9	6	8	11	2	5	3	0	1	4	1	4	0	1	0	0	0	2	11	105	
April	11	12	5	5	4	5	1	2	3	3	6	13	3	7	4	2	3	5	1	3	3	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	12	118	
May	7	5	1	6	8	3	1	1	3	1	6	11	6	3	2	2	2	3	1	4	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	11	93	
June	9	5	2	5	7	2	3	2	1	1	6	9	6	5	5	1	6	3	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	6	89	
July	9	11	4	7	7	4	3	3	1	2	4	5	6	6	5	1	1	3	2	5	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	7	102	
Aug.	14	21	10	11	11	6	3	0	1	0	6	11	9	11	5	2	4	1	5	5	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	14	156	
Sept.	21	26	13	21	5	4	6	4	4	6	9	13	11	2	10	4	1	4	2	3	1	4	1	1	0	1	0	0	9	186	
Oct.	17	12	7	4	6	6	3	0	1	5	13	7	7	14	5	2	2	1	2	3	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	6	128	
Nov.	7	12	7	2	6	5	2	1	5	6	16	8	8	3	10	6	3	0	4	2	3	4	1	0	1	0	0	1	6	129	
Dec.	12	10	2	11	10	7	0	1	2	4	12	11	9	5	5	6	5	2	3	5	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	10	135	
	137	148	57	91	32	55	23	18	28	36	97	116	92	80	65	35	38	39	26	41	23	28	7	12	3	1	1	4	102	1476	

*The following are the diseases, as far as they have been reported to the Health Office, which have occasioned the deaths in the City during the past year.*

Apoplexy, - - -	19	Epilepsy, - - -	1	Mortification, - - -	4
Accidental, - - -	18	Fevers unknown, - - -	11	Old age, - - -	57
Abscess, - - -	4	Fever Nervous, - - -	4	Pleurisy, - - -	8
Asthma, - - -	3	“ Lung, - - -	59	Palsy, - - -	12
Brain, diseases of	4	“ Slow, - - -	4	Quinsy, - - -	2
Bleeding of the Lungs,	3	“ Typhus, - - -	62	Rheumatism, - - -	1
Bowels, diseases of,	4	“ Brain, - - -	7	Rickets, - - -	1
Burns, - - -	10	“ Scarlet, - - -	61	Still-born, - - -	102
Bursting blood-vessel,	3	“ Bilious, - - -	5	Salt-rheum, - - -	1
Child-bed diseases, -	17	“ Rheumatic, - - -	3	Scald, - - -	1
Cholera-infantum, -	14	“ Worm, - - -	3	Serofula, - - -	4
Cholera-morbus, - -	5	Fracture, - - -	2	Scirrhus, - - -	1
Convulsions, - - -	36	Gout, - - -	1	Sudden, - - -	5
Consumption, - - -	240	Hooping Cough, - - -	28	Spasms, - - -	3
Croup, - - -	43	Heart, diseases of -	13	Spine, - - -	4
Canker, - - -	13	Hip, disense of - -	1	Suicide, - - -	14
Canker in the bowels,	11	Inflammation of the		Suffocation, - - -	2
Canker-rash, - - -	3	bowels, - - -	23	Stomach, disense of,	2
Cancer, - - -	11	“ of the Lungs, - -	18	Throat Distemper, -	23
Colic, - - -	1	“ of the Stomach, -	1	Throat putrid sore -	3
Colic, Bilious, - - -	3	“ of the Brain, - -	11	Teething, - - -	30
Debility, - - -	12	Influenza, - - -	1	Tumor, - - -	2
Dropsy, - - -	24	Infantile disenses, -	100	White Swelling, - -	4
Dropsy of the brain,	52	Intemperance, - - -	40	Worms, - - -	4
Dropsy of the chest,	7	Introsusception, - -	1	Wounds, - - -	1
Diarrhœa, - - -	3	Jaundice, - - -	5		
Dysentery, - - -	38	Kidney, disense of -	1		
Drowned, - - -	10	Liver complaint, - -	12		
Diseases unknown, -	85	Leprosy, - - -	1		
Delirium Tremens, -	3	Marasmus, - - -	2		
Erysipelas, - - -	3	Measles, - - -	2		
	702		483	Total,	1476

\* For previous years see Vol. IV. p. 323, Third Series.

General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston, from January 1, 1834, to January 1, 1835.

1834.	Under 1 year.		1 to 2		2 to 5		5 to 10		10 to 20		20 to 30		30 to 40		40 to 50		50 to 60		60 to 70		70 to 80		80 to 90		90 to 100		Un- known.	Stillborn.	TOTAL.		
	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.				
Jan.	19	14	4	4	8	10	1	2	1	4	10	5	9	6	5	6	3	3	3	5	3	4	1	3	1	0	1	0	10	145	
Feb.	16	14	5	5	1	4	2	1	4	4	7	6	10	12	1	4	5	1	3	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	7	118	
March	17	7	3	4	4	3	6	2	4	4	7	10	9	6	5	6	2	1	3	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	7	115	
April	9	5	7	8	5	5	2	0	0	4	5	7	9	9	3	4	8	2	1	3	1	5	0	1	0	0	3	0	10	116	
May	9	6	4	4	4	5	0	3	2	5	5	8	8	7	4	0	5	3	2	2	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	15	106	
June	10	7	5	3	5	4	1	1	2	3	14	6	8	7	5	2	4	2	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	102	
July	11	9	6	5	5	5	0	0	5	2	10	8	7	2	7	3	3	5	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	112	
Aug.	19	12	12	10	3	4	2	3	1	4	7	8	7	11	7	3	4	4	2	4	1	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	13	146	
Sept.	32	14	13	14	4	8	1	5	2	7	14	7	6	6	4	3	3	2	2	4	1	1	1	0	0	1	2	1	11	169	
Oct.	15	9	8	10	3	4	1	2	0	8	12	10	10	8	11	6	2	2	1	2	1	3	1	3	0	1	1	0	6	140	
Nov.	22	14	6	2	3	1	2	4	6	6	10	11	7	13	7	3	3	5	4	1	2	5	1	1	0	0	3	0	10	142	
Dec.	16	10	5	4	10	0	2	6	4	7	7	8	12	8	4	6	5	6	1	2	3	3	3	2	0	2	2	0	5	143	
	195	111	78	73	55	35	20	29	31	58	108	94	102	95	63	46	47	36	39	26	39	16	32	9	13	1	4	14	2	114	1554

The following are the diseases, as far as they have been reported to the Health Office, which occasioned the deaths in the City, during the past year.

Accidental, - - -	22	Disease of the spine,	2	Jaundice, - - -	2
Abscess, - - -	4	“ of the brain,	8	Liver complaint,	7
Apoplexy, - - -	9	Dropsy in the chest,	3	Lock Jaw, - - -	1
Asthma, - - -	4	Disease of the lungs,	1	Marasmus, - - -	4
Burn, - - -	5	Delirium Tremens,	1	Measles, - - -	1
Bursting blood vessel,	3	Drinking cold water,	1	Mortification, - - -	7
Bowel complaint,	8	Epilepsy, - - -	1	Malignant sore throat,	1
Bleeding at the lungs,	1	Erysipelas, - - -	12	Murdered, - - -	1
Croup, - - -	43	Frozen, - - -	1	Old age, - - -	54
Consumption, - - -	246	Fever, - - -	4	Palsy, - - -	13
Cancer, - - -	15	“ Scarlet, - - -	28	Poison, - - -	3
Canker, - - -	10	“ Brain, - - -	9	Quinsy, - - -	3
Canker in the bowels,	10	“ Bilious, - - -	2	Rupture of the gall blad-	
Convulsions, - - -	47	“ Inflammatory,	3	der, - - -	1
Child-bed diseases,	14	“ Lung, - - -	63	Rash, - - -	1
Cholera-morbus, - - -	9	“ Pleurisy, - - -	11	Rickets, - - -	1
Cholera-infantum, - - -	21	“ Putrid, - - -	1	Still-born, - - -	114
Cramp in the Stomach,	1	“ Rheumatic, - - -	5	Sudden, - - -	4
Colic, - - -	1	“ Slow, - - -	2	Suicide, - - -	11
Catarrh, - - -	1	“ Typhus, - - -	54	Small Pox, - - -	4
Chronic inflammation,	1	“ Nervous, - - -	3	Spasms, - - -	2
Diseases unknown,	105	Gangrene, - - -	2	Scrofula, - - -	7
Diabetes, - - -	1	Gravel, - - -	1	Stricture of the œsophagus,	1
Disease of the bones,	1	Gout, - - -	1	Strangulated, - - -	1
“ of the heart,	20	Hooping Cough,	38	Syphilis, - - -	3
“ of the kidney,	1	Hip disease, - - -	1	Scurvy, - - -	1
Diarrhœa, - - -	8	Influenza, - - -	4	Teething, - - -	36
Dropsy, - - -	27	Infantile diseases,	95	Throat distemper,	10
“ of the brain,	53	Intemperance, - - -	39	Tumor, - - -	2
“ of the heart,	2	Insane, - - -	1	Ulcer, - - -	1
Decline, - - -	6	Inflammation of the		Worms, - - -	5
Drowned, - - -	25	Lungs,	27		
Debility, - - -	13	“ of the Bowels,	38		
Dysentery, - - -	40	“ of the Brain,	10		
Dyspepsia, - - -	2	“ of the Bladder,	1		
	779		473	Total,	1554

*General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston, from January 1, 1835, to January 1, 1836.*

1835.	Under 1 year.		1 to 2		2 to 5		5 to 10		10 to 20		20 to 30		30 to 40		40 to 50		50 to 60		60 to 70		70 to 80		80 to 90		90 to 100		Un-known.		Stillborn.		TOTAL.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Jan.	17	7	8	5	1	3	3	2	0	5	3	6	9	6	4	5	1	6	2	3	1	4	3	4	1	0	0	0	0	8	117
Feb.	12	10	8	6	9	3	1	0	3	5	4	9	11	7	7	0	5	1	0	1	2	4	3	2	0	0	1	0	6	120	
March	10	11	6	5	2	3	3	2	0	5	10	4	13	6	3	3	5	5	5	3	2	0	2	0	0	2	0	6	124		
April	16	8	5	5	9	7	1	2	3	2	7	4	6	0	8	4	5	6	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	112		
May	11	2	4	3	5	1	0	1	2	3	5	9	5	9	7	4	9	2	5	1	3	1	6	0	0	0	0	6	111		
June	9	3	4	6	2	5	1	2	0	5	14	3	9	6	5	4	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	3	0	0	0	0	8	103	
July	11	7	4	3	8	4	4	1	4	6	5	10	10	3	9	2	10	3	0	5	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	6	122	
Aug.	25	27	15	19	19	9	4	2	6	6	15	10	14	2	7	4	5	3	6	3	2	2	1	6	1	0	2	2	13	224	
Sept.	24	22	23	24	12	15	3	0	5	2	17	6	8	8	5	7	5	3	4	3	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	10	225	
Oct.	23	14	21	21	21	17	7	5	5	2	15	11	13	5	6	8	5	4	3	3	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	9	222	
Nov.	19	22	25	22	24	26	9	5	3	5	10	15	13	13	2	9	1	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	9	246	
Dec.	22	11	15	12	18	15	9	4	6	1	7	9	8	8	2	6	6	5	3	4	2	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	10	188	
	199	144	140	131	131	108	45	26	37	53	112	96	119	73	71	54	59	49	36	37	20	36	14	21	3	2	6	4	95	1914	

*The following are the diseases, as far as they have been reported to the Health Office, which occasioned the deaths in the City during the past year.*

Accidental, - - -	25	Erysipelas, - - -	9	Measles, - - - -	188
Apoplexy, - - -	19	Epilepsy, - - - -	2	Old age, - - - -	72
Burns, - - - -	9	Fevers unknown, -	5	Pleurisy, - - - -	13
Bowels, diseases of,	32	“ Intermittent, -	4	Poison, - - - -	1
Bursting blood-vessel,	8	“ Bilious, - - - -	18	Palsy, - - - -	19
Consumption, - - -	208	“ Brain, - - - -	23	Quinsy, - - - -	6
Cancer, - - - -	9	“ Scarlet, - - - -	46	Rheumatism, - - -	4
Canker, - - - -	11	“ Typhus, - - - -	73	Rickets, - - - -	1
Croup, - - - -	32	“ Inflammatory, -	2	Ringworm, - - - -	3
Child-bed diseases,	29	“ Lung, - - - -	141	Still-born, - - - -	95
Cholera-morbus, - -	9	“ Nervous, - - - -	3	Scurvy, - - - -	2
Cholera-infantum, -	21	Gravel, - - - -	1	Suicide, - - - -	9
Convulsions, - - -	45	Hooping Cough, - -	44	Scrofula, - - - -	12
Chicken pox, - - -	1	Hip, disease of, - -	3	Sudden, - - - -	12
Diseases unknown, -	88	Hanged, - - - -	7	Spasms, - - - -	6
Diseases of the brain,	7	Insanity, - - - -	10	Syphilis, - - - -	2
Diseases of the heart,	6	Infantile diseases, -	111	Scald, - - - -	2
Drinking cold water,	1	Influenza, - - - -	2	Small Pox, - - - -	6
Dropsy, - - - -	38	Inflammation general,	2	Throat distemper,	25
“ of the brain, - -	48	“ of the Bowels, - -	30	Tumor, - - - -	7
“ of the chest, - -	1	“ of the Bladder, - -	2	Teething, - - - -	24
Dysentery, - - - -	45	Intemperance, - - -	37	Ulcers, - - - -	9
Drowned, - - - -	16	Jaundice, - - - -	1	Ulcerated sore throat,	2
Debility, - - - -	29	Liver, diseases of, -	23	Worms, - - - -	6
Delirium-tremens, -	4	Lethargy, - - - -	1		
Dyspepsia, - - - -	3	Lock Jaw, - - - -	1		
Disease of the glands,	1	Marasmus, - - - -	31		
Disease of the spino,	1	Mortification, - - -	10		
	746		642	Total,	1914



ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF DONATIONS.

The thanks of the Massachusetts Historical Society are presented for the following donations.

CHARLES LOWELL, *Corresponding Secretary.*

*May*, 1834.—Observations relative to the execution of Maj. Andre.

*Presented by Dr. James Thacher.*

Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal.

*C. C. Baldwin, Esq.*

Grammatica della lingua Maltese ; Motti, Aforizmi e Proverbi Maltesi ; Ktyb. yl. gari.

*Silas P. Holbrook, Esq.*

*June*, 1834.—Catalogue of Yale College, 1833, (triennial) ; Case of William Vans, (Report of Committee, 1833) ; Sullivan's Discourse before Boston Mercantile Association, 1832 ; Caleb Cushing's Oration, July 4, 1832 ; Charge to Grand Jury by Chief Justice Shaw ; Report of friends of American Colonization Society, 1831.

*J. Willard.*

Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 4, New Series, Parts 2 and 3 ; Laws and Regulations of same Society, revised 1833.

*The Society.*

Map of Sudbury, Mass.

*Dr. Thomas Stearns.*

Portrait of Jeremiah Dummer, deposited.

Report of Majority of Bank Committee, in Congress, May 22, 1834 ; Governor Lincoln's Message to Senate, March, 1833, on proposed Militia Law ; Spirit of Man Sanctified.

*James Savage, Esq.*

Wadsworth's Chart of Narraganset Bay, 1832.

*Hon. Daniel Webster.*

Secretary of Navy's Letter to House of Representatives, relating to Gun Boats, 1809 ; Secretary of Treasury's Letter to House of Representatives, on Public Credit, 1809 ; Secretary of Treasury's Annual Report, 1809 ; Receipts and Expenditures of the United States, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1796, 1800, 1801.

*Hon. John Pickering.*

A collection of Manuscripts, Pamphlets and Books.

*Heirs of Rev. Dr. Belknap.*

*July*.—Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. I.

*The Author.*

Weston's History of Eastport and vicinity, 1834.

*Eastport Lyceum.*

Executive Documents, First Session, Twenty-Second Congress, relative to Manufactures, 2 vols.

*Congress.*

Biographical Sketches of the Thacher Family. By James Thacher, M. D.

*The Author.*



- August.*—History of Berkshire, Mass., 1829.  
*Rev. David D. Field.*  
 New Hampshire Register, 1830, 1833, two copies of 1834.  
*Mr. Gardner P. Lyon.*  
 American Quarterly Register, Vol. VII. No. I.  
*B. B. Edwards.*  
 Southern Literary Messenger, Vol. I. No. 1. *T. W. White.*  
 Manuscript Account of Captivity of Hugh Mason among the Delaware Indians, 1756 to 1759. *Rev. Timothy Alden.*  
 Rev. Thomas Prince's Ordination Sermon, October 1, 1718, a manuscript in the handwriting of Prince. *Luther S. Cushing, Esq.*  
*September.*—Engraved likeness of Governor Hancock.  
*Rev. R. M. Hodges.*  
 Files of Columbian Centinel and of Boston Daily Advertiser for several years.  
*Hon. Thomas L. Winthrop.*  
 First No. of a periodical work published in China; also a Chinese clearance of a vessel and a Letter of Protection.  
*Bryant P. Tilden, Esq.*  
*October.*—Fifty books and pamphlets, political, ecclesiastical, &c.  
*Rev. R. M. Hodges.*  
 Felt's History of Ipswich, Essex, and Hamilton, 1834.  
*The Author.*  
 Manuscript list of births and burials in Cambridge, from 1632 to 1644.  
*Dr. Gamaliel Bradford.*  
 First and Second Annual Report of Fellenberg Academy.  
*Dr. Jacob Porter.*  
 American Quarterly Register, two Nos.; Sixteenth Annual Report of the American Education Society, 1832. *B. B. Edwards.*  
 E. Everett's Eulogy on La Fayette. *The Author.*  
 Felt's Annals of Salem. *The Author.*  
 History of England, by John Milton, Sir Thomas More, Lord Bacon and others; Lombard's Archaionomia.  
*Rev. Robert F. Walcutt, from Thomas Walcutt, Esq.*  
*December.*—The Library of Thomas Walcutt, Esq. containing several hundred valuable volumes.  
*Thomas Walcutt, Esq. and Rev. Robert F. Walcutt.*  
 Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, 2 volumes, and Parts I. and II. of vol. 3.  
*John Dunlop, Esq. of Scotland.*  
 Portrait of the late Governor Wolcott, painted by Mr. Osgood.  
*Samuel Osgood.*  
 Portrait of Col. Pollard, former Sheriff of Suffolk. Also, Portrait of Madam Pollard.  
*Isaac Winslow, Esq.*  
 Box made from the Old Charter Oak in Hartford.  
*Dr. J. Smyth Rogers, of Hartford*  
 Rev. Dr. Codman's Sermons. *The Author.*  
*January, 1835.*—Portrait of Charles Carroll of Carrolton, painted by Mr. Harding, deposited.  
*Chester Harding.*

Sir Thomas Palgrave's Rise and Progress of English Commonwealth, Anglo Saxon period ; Sir Thomas Palgrave's History of Anglo Saxons.

*The Author.*

Mornie's Historie of the Papacie. *Dr. Gamaliel Bradford.*

*February.*—Mr. O. Rich's Catalogue of old and new Books in English, Spanish, Italian, French, &c. &c. *O. Rich.*

List of Subscribers to the loan made to Government during Shay's insurrection, with the respective amounts, &c., manuscript kept by Edward Payne and presented by his grandson,

*William E. Payne, Esq.*

Catalogue of Harvard College Library, Vol. 3, containing Maps and Charts.

*President Quincy.*

*March.*—O. Rich's Bibliotheca Americana Nova, of books relating to America, printed since A. D. 1700, collected by O. Rich.

*O. Rich, Esq.*

*April.*—Arm Chair and large Family Table, made of oak, that belonged to Governor Edward Winslow, of Plymouth.

*Heirs of late Dr. John Winslow, of Marshfield.*

Mr. Attorney General's Reports to the Legislature, in 1835 ; also his Exposition of the Rights of the Commonwealth to the Ferries in Boston Harbor.

*Mr. Attorney General Austin.*

Annual Report of Board of Public Improvements of North Carolina, to General Assembly, 1821, and Mr. Fulton's Report to the Board, 1821.

*Dr. James Mease.*

*May 28, 1835.*—Documents of Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts, January Session, 1835 ; Rev. Dr. Wainwright's Election Sermon, 1835 ; Report of Commissioners, on the revision of the General Statutes of the Commonwealth, Parts 2d, 3d and 4th, 1834.

*The Legislature.*

Ferdinando Gorges, Instructions to the Commissioners.

*Dr. John Mason of Bangor.*

National Intelligencer for 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834, and four months of 1835.

*Hon. Edward Everett.*

Speech of John T. Brown in Virginia House of Delegates, Jan. 29, 1835, on the election of a Senator to Congress.

*Thomas W. White, of Richmond.*

Rev. Dr. Burrough's Discourse delivered in the Chapel of the New Almshouse, Portsmouth, N. H. December, 1834, on its being first opened for religious services.

*The Author.*

A Medal struck in memory of Robert Fulton.

*Matthew Carey, Esq.*

Address of Daniel P. King, at the celebration of Lexington Battle, in Danvers, 1835, with remarks by General Foster and a Portrait.

*The Author, D. P. King, Esq.*

*June 25.*—The Alphabet of the primitive language of Spain.

*Hon. G. W. Erving.*

William Brigham's Address to the Inhabitants of Grafton, on the First Centennial Anniversary of that Town.

*The Author.*

Histoire de la Republique des Provinces Unis, 4 vols ; Recueil de divers Traités de Paix, de Confederation d'Alliance, de Commerce, &c. 2 vols ; Nouveau Recueil de Traités d'Alliance, de Treve, de Paix, de Garantie, et de Commerce, jusques a l'annee 1709. Par le Sieur J. Dumont, 2 vols.

*Dr. A. Holmes.*

Alexander Moultrie's Oration, 4th July, 1822, Charleston ; Alexander Gurden's Eulogy on General Pinckney, 1825 ; Dr. Charles L. Edwards' Oration, 4th July, 1827 ; John Gadsden's Eulogy on K. L. Simons, 1819.

*Rev. J. Adams, D. D. Charleston, S. C.*

First Part Report of Commissioners on Revised Statutes of Massachusetts.

*The Legislature.*

July 30.—Rushworth's Collections from 1615 to 1629.

*Hon. John Welles.*

Hon Edward Everett's Address at Lexington, 1835.

*The Author.*

Parts 2d and 3d of Vol. III. of Trans. of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, April, 1833 and April, 1835.

*The Society.*

History of California, 2 vols.

*N. Mitchell.*

Aug. 25.—First Annual Report of the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society, June 4, 1835.

*John Farmer, Esq.*

The Soliloque, or Dying Words of Pious Liberty Tree, and an Inscription on Mr. Clagget ; *Manuscript Statistics of Lowell Manufactures.*

*J. Willard, Esq.*

American Quarterly Register, August, 1835 ; Annual Report of American Education Society.

*B. B. Edwards.*

Dr. Burrough's Discourse on Pauperism.

*The Author.*

Sept. 24.—2 copies History of Nantucket, by Obed Macy.

*The Author.*

Catalogue of Members of Linonian Society at Yale College ; Catalogue of their Books ; Catalogue of Graduates at Yale College, 1834.

*Dr. Jacob Porter.*

Senate Documents of United States, for 1833-4, from 1 to 10 vols. inclusive—1st Session, 23d Congress ; Senate Journal of 1st Session, 23d Congress, 1 vol. ; Statistical Tables, 1st Session, 23d Congress, 1 vol.

*Congress.*

Oct. 29.—Boston Gazette 1781, by Benj. Edes ; Boston Chronicle 1767 and 1768, by Mein and Fleming ; Cobbett's Weekly Political Register, 1816, written in England ; Rev. East Athrop's Sermon at Christ Church, Cambridge, 1764 ; 7 Discourses, &c. by an eminent minister of the Gospel among the Quakers in the Island of Tortola, Phila. 1783 ; Considerations on the present War, by a Graduate of Cambridge, 1794 ; A Voyage from United States to South America, 1821-22-23 ; Observations on Dispute between United States and France, by Robert Goodloe Harper, 1797 ; A Journal of Sufferings of Americans in France, by Stephen Chubb, 1809 ; Address to People of New England by Algernon Sidney, 1808 ; Report on Farmers Exchange Bank, R. I. 1809 ; Robert Smith's Address to the People, 1811 ; Narrative of the Robbery of Nantucket Bank, 1816 ; Letters



from London to an inhabitant of America, respecting troubles at Geneva, 1794 ; Letters on Free Masonry, by a Lady of Boston, 1815 ; An Enquiry into Orders in Council, by Alexander Baring, 1808 ; a Portrait of Mr. Faneuil.

*Mr. and Miss Jones, heirs of Edward Jones.*

Catalogue of Books of Linonian Society, Yale College, 1829 ; Catalogue of Yale College, 1829 ; Method of using Chloride of Soda, by A. G. Labaraque, translated by Jacob Porter ; Serious Examination, translated from Spanish, by Jacob Porter ; The Well-Spent Sou, or Bibles for poor Negroes, translated from the French, by Jacob Porter.

*Dr. Jacob Porter.*

Collections of Rhode Island Historical Society, 2d vol. 1835.

*Thomas H. Webb, their Secretary.*

Report of Cases decided in Supreme Court, South Carolina.

*J. Adams, D. D.*

History of Concord, by Lemuel Shattuck.

*The Author.*

The doings and papers of the Royal Society at Copenhagen, for 1834 and 1835.

*The Society.*

Nov. 26.—Dr. James Freeman's Sermons.

*Joseph Coolidge, Esq.*

American Quarterly Register, No. 34, November, 1835.

*B. B. Edwards.*

Ancient Account Book, kept at Morlaix in France, from 1636 to 1645, *Manuscript.*

*Mr. and Miss Jones.*

Four Military Orderly Books during the Revolution, in *Manuscript*, for 1780, deposited by

*Thomas B. Curtis, Esq.*

Rev. J. Adams' Eulogy on Elias Horry, Esq. ; Rev. J. Adams' Oration before Graduates at Charleston ; Rev. J. Adams' Convention Sermon, South Carolina ; Rev. J. Adams' Address before the Euphradian Society ; Rev. J. Adams' Sermon on Advent Sunday, 1834.

*The Author.*

Catalogue of Yale College, 1835 ; Catalogue of the Books of Linonian Society at Yale College, 1834 ; Catalogue of the members of said Society, 1832.

*Dr. Jacob Porter.*

Notices of the character of Mrs. Sarah Parkman, 1835.

*F. Parkman, D. D.*

The Jurisprudent from July 10, 1830, to July 23, 1831, inclusive. Published by Gray & Bowen, Boston.

*Jos. Willard, Esq.*

Attorney General's Report in the case of Middleton, Dorchester, Belchertown, Cambridge, Danvers, Deerfield, and Warren Bridge, 1835.

*James T. Austin, Esq. Attorney General.*

Portraits of Columbus and Washington. *Israel Thorndike, Esq.*

Plan of the City of New York, as it was in 1728.

*J. Smyth Rogers, Esq.*

Dec. 31.—*Manuscript* Sermons, 1655, 2 vols. ; Ancient *Manuscript*, imperfect ; another old *Manuscript*, deposited.

*G. W. Head, Esq.*

Map of Middleborough.

*Abner Bourne, Esq.*

Forty Maps of Towns in Massachusetts, &c. *Wm. Pendleton.*



Discourse before Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, 1835 ; Form of Covenant of Old South Church ; Catalogue of Books relating to America, in the collection of Col. Aspinwall ; Collections of New Hampshire, Vol. I. No. 3 ; part of Mr. Prince's 2d vol. of Annals.

*Hon. James Savage.*

Charge to Grand Jury of Suffolk, by P. O. Thacher, Esq.

*The Author.*

Journals and Documents of Congress for 1833 and 1834.

*Congress.*

Life of Governor Gerry, 2 vols. by Hon. J. T. Austin.

*The Author.*

Jan. 28, 1836.—Collections of Rhode Island Historical Society, Vol. 3d.

*The Society.*

Address before the American Antiquarian Society, by William Lincoln, Esq.

*The Author.*

Letter to Hon. H. G. Otis, P. Sprague and R. Fletcher, on the subject of Slavery.

*A Friend.*

American Monthly Magazine, 1836.

*John Stark.*

New Hampshire Annual Register, and United States Calendar, by J. Farmer. No. 15.

*The Publishers.*

Feb. 25.—American Quarterly Register, February, 1836.

*The Editor.*

Historia de la Conquista de Mexico, by Don Antonio de Solis, 3 vols. 1791 ; Proceedings of Temperance Convention, 1836 ; Ordination Sermon, by Wm. Lunt, 1835.

*Rev. A. Young.*

Centennial Address at Acton, by Josiah Adams, Esq. 1835.

*The Author.*

The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the year 1836.

*Jos. E. Worcester.*

*Manuscript* List of Ordained Ministers in Massachusetts, in the beginning of 1762, by Hon. Paine Wingate.

*The Author.*

History of the Northmen, by Henry Wheaton.

*Hon. T. L. Winthrop.*

National Intelligencer, for the last eight months of 1835.

*Gov. Everett.*

Four Maps, viz. of Bridgewater, East Bridgewater, West Bridgewater and Halifax.

*N. Mitchell, Esq.*

History of North Carolina, by John Lawson, 1709.

*S. P. Gardner, Esq.*

Valedictory at Dartmouth College, by Benj. Hale, 1835, and Remarks on a Pamphlet entitled Professor Hale and Dartmouth College.

March 31.—Catalogue of Harvard University, 1833, 2 copies ; Catalogue of the Library of Harvard University 1st Supplement, 1834 ; Sermon on death of Hon. William Phillips, by Rev. B. B. Wisner, 1827, 2 copies ; Sermon on death of Mrs. Miriam Phillips, by Rev. B. B. Wisner, 1823.

*President Quincy.*

Description of Plainfield, by Jacob Porter, 1834.

*The Author.*

Dedication Address of Dane Law College, by President Quincy,

1832; Proceedings of Harvard University relating to disturbances there, 1834.

*President Quincy.*

Constitution and By-Laws of Massachusetts Horticultural Society, 1836; Discourse at Seventh Anniversary of Horticultural Society, 1835, by John L. Russell.

*The Society.*

Vita B. Aug. Hermanni Franchi, &c. edited by Samuel Mather, 1733; A Brief Inquiry into the Ancient Constitution of England, by James Tyrrell, Esq. London, 1695.

*N. Mitchell, Esq.*

Letters against immediate abolition of Slavery, by William Sullivan, L. L. D.; Fourth Annual Report of Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, 1836; Twelfth Report of the French and Foreign Bible Society, (in French) 1835; Tenth Annual Report of Prison Discipline Society, 1835; Letter to the friends of Temperance in Massachusetts, 1836, by Rev. Justin Edwards, D. D.; Address before Massachusetts State Temperance Society, 1835, by Rev. Samuel K. Lathrop; Eighth Report of American Temperance Society, 1835; Convention Sermon, by Rev. John S. Stone, 1835; Discourse before Fraternity of Churches, by Dr. Channing, 1835; Speech of Hon. Samuel Hoar, on the subject of Slavery, 1836; Annual Report of Harvard University, 1834-5.

*Rev. A. Young.*

Dr. Bancroft's Discourse at the end of 50 years of his ministry at Worcester, 1836.

*I. P. Davis, Esq.*

Twenty-fourth Report of New Hampshire Bible Society, 1835.

*J. Farmer, Esq.*

Discourse at Washington before the American Historical Society, 1836, by the Hon. Lewis Cass, President.

*Hon. Mr. Webster.*

Election Sermon, 1836, by Rev. A. Bigelow.

*The Author.*

Annual Report of General Hospital, 1835.

*Dr. G. Bradford.*

A Portrait, (unknown) deposited by

*Charles R. Lowell, Esq.*

April 28.—Dr. John Lothrop's Discourse at a public lecture, 1797; Dr. John Lothrop's Discourse at commencement of 19th century; Boston Directory, for 1800; 30 Registers of various kinds.

*Melvin Lord.*

Centennial Discourse, by S. M. Worcester, at Salem, 1835.

*The Author.*

Annals of Portsmouth, by Nathaniel Adams, to 1835.

*Rev. J. B. Felt.*

Hon. Lewis Cass' Discourse before American Historical Society, 1836; Nineteenth Report of the American Asylum, 1835.

*Gov. Everett.*

Rev. Mr. Francis' History of Watertown, 1830; Proceedings of Convention of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts, 1795; Rev. Mr. Rand's Ordination Sermon (of C. Turner) Duxbury, 1755; Rev. Elijah Brown's Ordination Sermon (of Z. Sanger) Duxbury, 1776.

*Rev. Mr. Francis.*

The New Olive Branch, with other small Pamphlets.

*Matthew Carey, Esq.*

Annual Report of Institution for the Blind; Speeches by Mr. Har-

din, Mr. Wise, Mr. Reed, Mr. Evans, Mr. Clayton, Mr. Webster, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Robbins, on the Fortification Bill, 1836.

*Gov. Everett.*

Oration on the capture of Lord Cornwallis, at Brookfield, 1781, by Nathan Fiske, A. M.; Speech of Mr. Lawrence, in Senate of Massachusetts, 1836; Act of Incorporation and By-Laws of Lying in Hospital; Annual Report of Boston Academy of Music, 1834; John Q. Adams' Oration on death of General La Fayette; *Manuscript* by I. Mather, or Directions for Prayer and other religious subjects; *Manuscript* Answers by General B. Lincoln respecting his Flour Mills.

*The Corresponding Secretary.*

*Manuscript* of Philip Henry's.

*Dr. Channing.*

Fac Similes—Specimens of the first printed Bible; Survey of Routes for Rail Road between Portsmouth and Newburyport.

*Wm. Pendleton.*

Lithographic Map of Stowe.

*Mr. Leonard Bliss.*

Rail Road Plan from Chelsea to Beverly.

*W. H. Gardiner, Esq.*

The Old Indian Chronicle, by S. G. Drake.

*The Author.*

Mather's Magnalia, from Dr. Thomas Newell, England.

*Col. T. H. Perkins.*

A case of Dr. B. Franklin's matrices for printing types (from W. J. Duane, Esq.)

*I. P. Davis, Esq.*

May.—A Centennial Address, delivered at Hingham, Sept. 8, 1835, by Solomon Lincoln, Esq.

*The Author.*

A Discourse before the American Historical Society at Washington, Jan. 30, 1836, by Hon. Lewis Cass; Letter of the Secretary of the Treasury on the Cultivation of Cotton, &c.

*Hon. James Savage.*

Account of Sweden, 1694; Rev. Samuel Cook's Election Sermon, 1770; Rev. John Hancock's do. 1772.

*Mr. Seth Chandler.*

Rev. Wm. P. Lunt's Sermon at the Installation of Rev. George Whitney, Feb. 10, 1836.

*Rev. George Whitney.*

A Discourse before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on the Private Life and Domestic Habits of William Penn, April 9, 1836, by J. Francis Fisher; Annual Discourse before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on Indian Population, by B. H. Coates, 1834; Memoir of Thomas C. James, M. D. read to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, by Job R. Tyson.

*John Vaughan, Esq.*

June.—Memorias da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa; 11 vols. 1780—1831.

*The Academy.*

Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 1st and 2d parts of volume 5th.

*The Society.*

Speech of John Q. Adams in Congress on the subject of distributing rations, &c.

*Abbott Lawrence, Esq.*

Memorial of Francis Lieber to Congress, April, 1836.

*Hon. John Davis, of Worcester.*

The Revised Statutes of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

*The Legislature.*

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE LIVING RESIDENT MEMBERS  
OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.\*

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>When elected.</i>
John Q. Adams,	Quincy,	April 27, 1802.
Nathan Appleton,	Boston,	June 26, 1834.
James T. Austin,	"	May 5, 1831.
George Bancroft,	Northampton,	June 26, 1834.
Gamaliel Bradford,	Boston,	April 23, 1825.
Rufus Choate,	"	June 25, 1835.
John Codman,	Dorchester,	July 25, 1833.
Joseph Coolidge,	Boston,	April 25, 1811.
John Davis,	"	Oct. 24, 1791.
Isaac P. Davis,	"	Aug. 24, 1830.
Alexander H. Everett,	Newton,	" " "
Edward Everett,	Charlestown,	April 27, 1820.
Joseph B. Felt,	Boston,	Aug. 24, 1830.
Convers Francis,	Watertown,	May 5, 1831.
Samuel P. Gardner,	Boston,	Aug. 24, 1824.
Francis C. Gray,	"	Jan. 29, 1818.
Francis W. P. Greenwood,	"	April 23, 1825.
Nathan Hale,	"	Jan. 27, 1820.
Thaddeus M. Harris,	Dorchester,	Aug. 13, 1792.
Abiel Holmes,	Cambridge,	April 24, 1798.
Jonathan Homer,	Newton,	April 30, 1799.
Charles Jackson,	Boston,	Aug. 29, 1815.
William Jenks,	"	Aug. 27, 1821.
John Glen King,	Salem,	June 25, 1835.
Alonzo Lewis,	Lynn,	Aug. 24, 1830.
William Lincoln,	Worcester,	Jan. 26, 1832.
Charles Lowell,	Boston,	Aug. 29, 1815.
John Lowell,	Roxbury,	Jan. 30, 1823.
Benjamin Merrill,	Salem,	Aug. 29, 1826.
James C. Merrill,	Boston,	April 27, 1820.
Nahum Mitchell,	Boston,	Aug. 25, 1818.
Benjamin R. Nichols,	"	Jan. 28, 1819.
John G. Palfrey,	Cambridge,	April 23, 1825.
John Pickering,	Boston,	{ June 25, 1835. re-elected.
John Pierce,	Brookline,	Jan. 31, 1809.
Josiah Quincy,	Cambridge,	July 26, 1796.
Samuel Ripley,	Waltham,	Jan. 27, 1820.
Leverett Saltonstall,	Salem,	Aug. 27, 1816.
James Savage,	Boston,	Jan. 28, 1813.
Samuel Sewall,	Burlington,	Jan. 28, 1836.

\* A list of the Resident Members from the foundation of the Society in 1791, is contained in Vol. I. p. 287, and Vol. III. p. 408, of the third series of the Collections.



<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>When elected.</i>
Lemuel Shattuck,	Boston,	Aug. 24, 1830.
Lemuel Shaw,	"	May 5, 1831.
Nathaniel G. Snelling,	"	Jan. 29, 1818.
Jared Sparks,	Cambridge,	Aug. 29, 1826.
Joseph Story,	"	April 25, 1816.
William Sullivan,	Boston,	April 29, 1800.
George Ticknor,	"	July 25, 1833.
Ichabod Tucker,	Salem,	Aug. 26, 1817.
Charles W. Upham,	"	Jan. 26, 1832.
Thomas Walcutt,	Boston,	An original member.
Henry Ware, Jun.	Cambridge,	Jan. 31, 1822.
Daniel Webster,	Boston,	Aug. 27, 1821.
John Welles,	"	Jan. 26, 1832.
Daniel A. White,	Salem,	May 26, 1836.
Joseph Willard,	Boston,	Feb. 19, 1829.
Thomas L. Winthrop,	"	Oct. 28, 1800.
Joseph E. Worcester,	Cambridge,	April 26, 1827.
Alexander Young,	Boston,	June, 25, 1835.

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CORRESPONDING MEMBERS ELECTED SINCE 1832.\*

Thomas Aspinwall, Esq.	London,	July 25, 1833.
Sir Francis Palgrave,	"	" " "
Hon. Lewis Cass,	Washington,	" " "
Rev. Jasper Adams, D. D.	Charleston, S. C.	Aug. 27, "
Hon. Roberts Vaux,	Philadelphia,	Oct. 31, "
Theodore Dwight, Esq.	New York,	March 27, 1834.
Theodore Dwight, Jr. Esq.	"	" " "
James Mease, M. D.	Philadelphia,	June 26, "
Hon. William Jay,	Bedford, N. Y.	" " "
Chief Justice Jona. Sewall,	Quebec,	Feb. 26, 1835.
Sir John Caldwell,	"	" " "
Sharon Turner, Esq.	England,	June 25, "
Francis B. Winthrop, Esq.	N. Haven, Conn.	Oct. 29, "
Duke de Montmorency,	Paris,	Dec. 31, "
M César Moreau,	"	" " "
J. Smyth Rogers,	Hartford, Conn.	" " "
Erastus Smith, Esq.	N. Haven, Conn.	" " "
William Schlegel,	Copenhagen,	" " "
Finn Magnusson,	"	" " "
Col. Juan Galindo,	Central America,	Jan. 28, 1836.
Judge Henry A. Bullard,	Louisiana,	May 26, "
Richard Biddle, Esq.	Pittsburg, Pa.	" " "
J. K. Paulding, Esq.	New York,	June 30, "

\* A complete list of the Corresponding Members is contained in Vol. I. p. 289, and Vol. III. p. 408, of the third series of the Collections.













