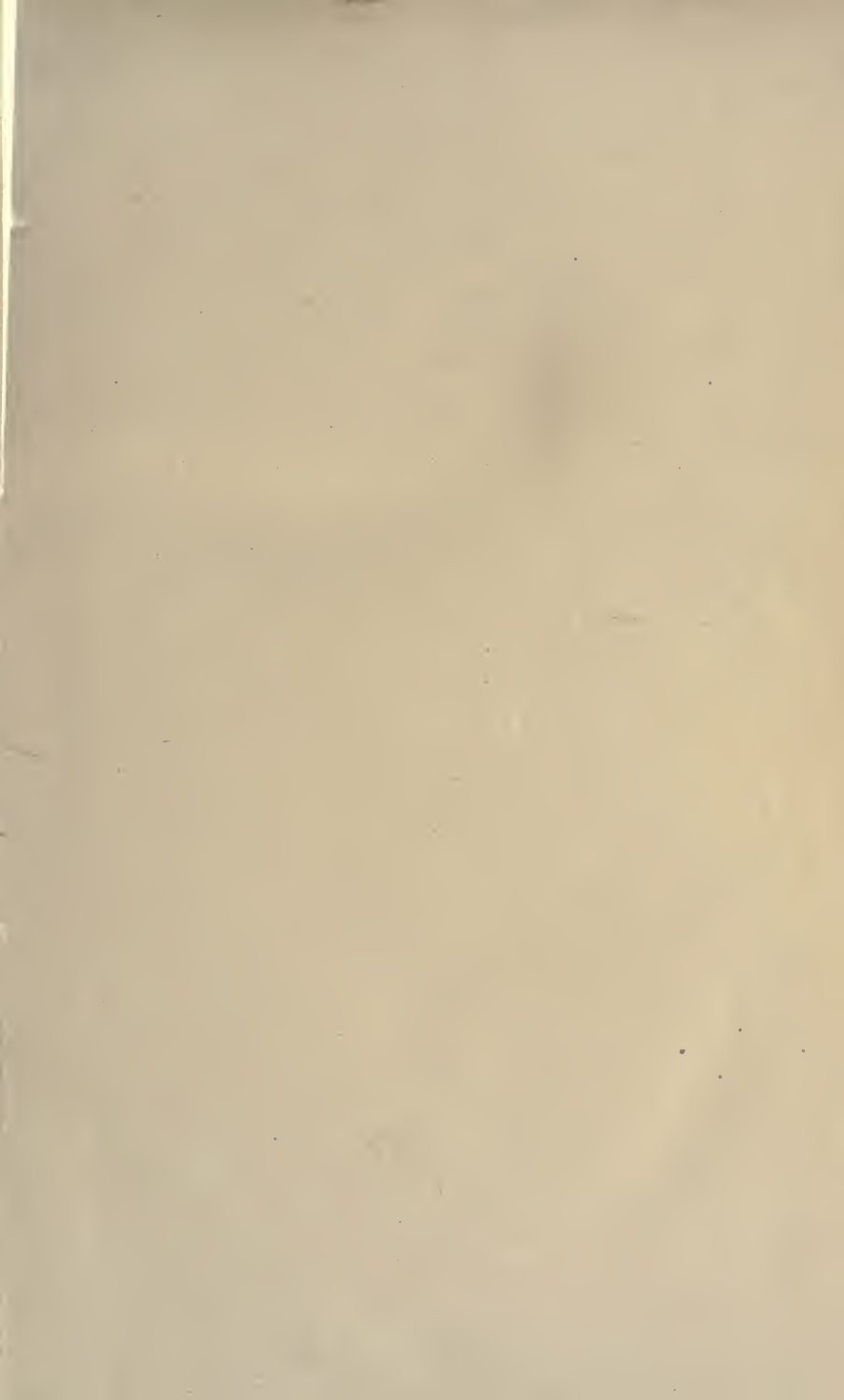
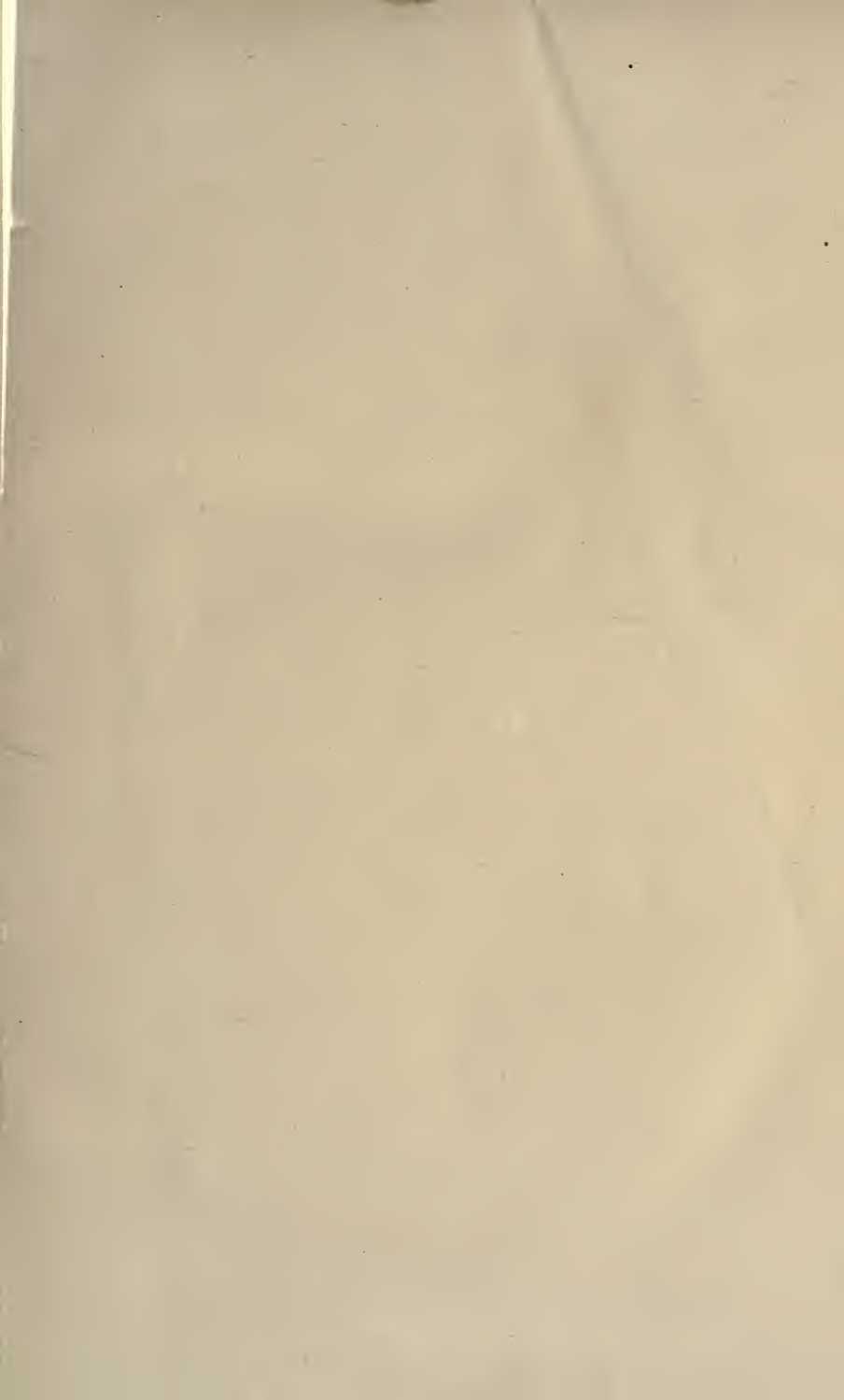
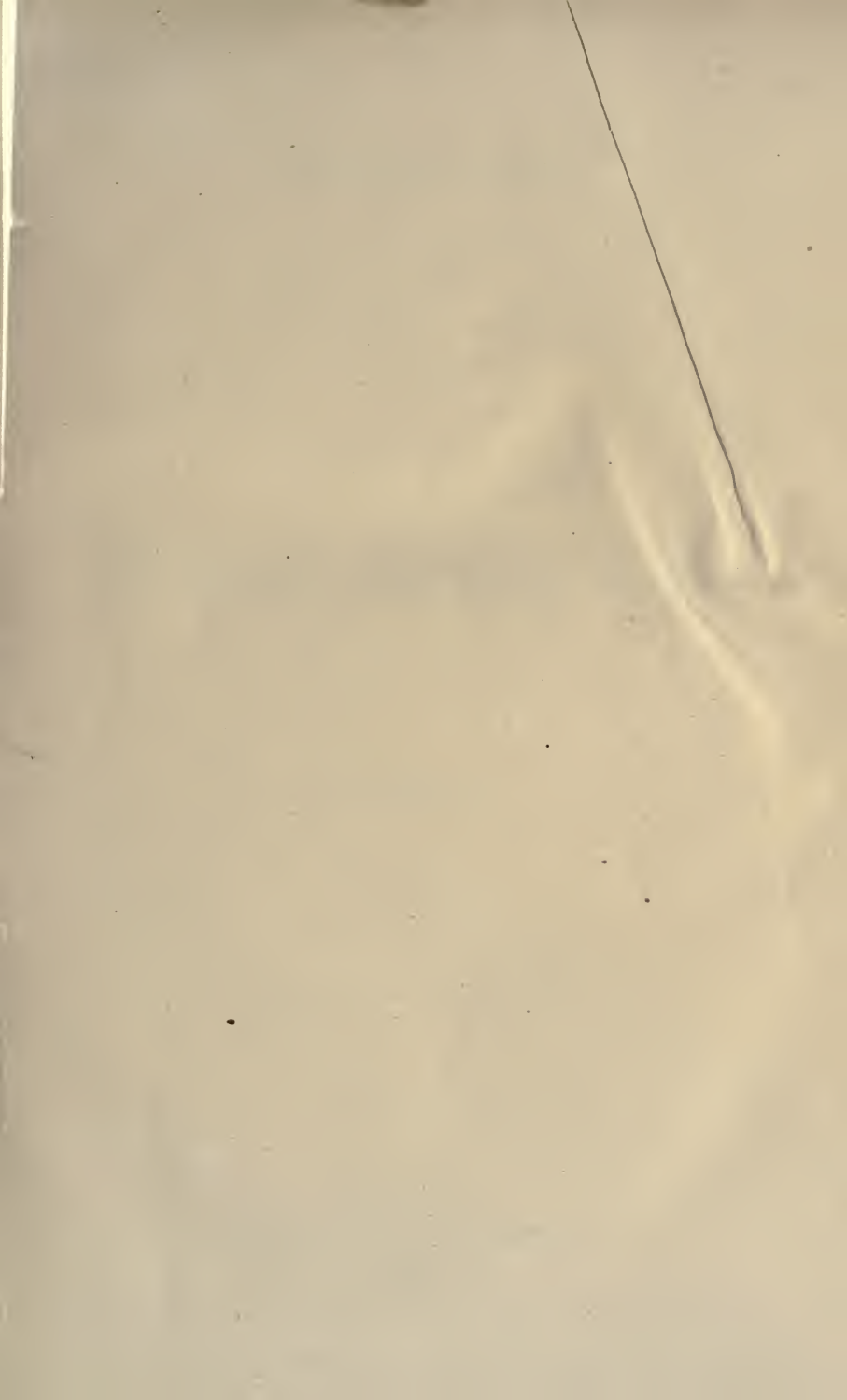




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CONTENTS.

	Page.
I. ON THE COMPOSITION OF ALGONKIN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES: BY J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL,.....	1
II. PAPERS RELATING TO THE CONTROVERSY IN THE CHURCH IN HART- FORD, 1656-59,	51
III. CORRESPONDENCE OF SILAS DEANE, DELEGATE TO THE CONGRESS AT PHILADELPHIA, 1774-76,.....	126

THE COMPOSITION OF
INDIAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES,

ILLUSTRATED FROM THE

ALGONKIN LANGUAGES.

BY J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

PRESS OF
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Hartford, Conn.

ON THE COMPOSITION OF
INDIAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.

A PROPER NAME has been defined to be “a mere mark put upon an individual, and of which it is the characteristic property *to be destitute of meaning.*”^{*} If we accept this definition, it follows that there are no proper names in the aboriginal languages of America. Every Indian synthesis—names of persons and places not excepted—must “preserve the consciousness of its roots,” and must not only have a meaning but be so framed as to convey that meaning with precision, to all who speak the language to which it belongs. Whenever, by phonetic corruption or by change of circumstance, it loses its self-interpreting or self-defining power, it must be discarded from the language. “It requires tradition, society, and literature to maintain forms which can no longer be analyzed at once.”[†] In our own language, such forms may hold their places by prescriptive right or force of custom, and names absolutely unmeaning, or applied without regard to their original meaning, are accepted by common consent as the distinguishing marks of persons and places. We call a man William or Charles, Jones or Brown,—or a town, New Lebanon, Cincinnati, Baton Rouge, or Big Bethel—just as we put a number on a policeman’s badge or on a post-office box, or a trademark on an article of merchandise ; and the number and the mark are as truly and in nearly the same sense proper names as the others are.

^{*} Mill’s Logic, B. I. ch. viii.

[†] Max Müller, Science of Language, (1st Series,) p. 292.

Not that personal or proper names, in any language, were *originally* mere arbitrary sounds, devoid of meaning. The first James or the first Brown could, doubtless, have given as good a reason for his name as the first Abraham. But changes of language and lapse of time made the names independent of the reasons, and took from them all their significance. Patrick is not now, *eo nomine*, a 'patrician;' Bridget is not necessarily 'strong' or 'bright;' and in the name of Mary, hallowed by its associations, only the etymologist can detect the primitive 'bitterness.' Boston is no longer 'St. Botolph's Town;' there is no 'Castle of the inhabitants of Hwiccia' (*Hwic-wara-ceaster*) to be seen at Worcester; and Hartford is neither 'the ford of harts,' (which the city seal has made it,) nor 'the red ford,' which its name once indicated.

In the same way, many Indian geographical names, after their adoption by Anglo-American colonists, became unmeaning sounds. Their original character was lost by their transfer to a foreign tongue. Nearly all have suffered some mutilation or change of form. In many instances, hardly a trace of the original can be detected in the modern name. Some have been separated from the localities to which they belonged, and assigned to others to which they are etymologically inappropriate. A mountain receives the name of a river; a bay, that of a cape or a peninsula; a tract of land, that of a rock or a waterfall. And so 'Massachusetts' and 'Connecticut' and 'Narragansett' have come to be *proper names*, as truly as 'Boston' and 'Hartford' are in their cis-Atlantic appropriation.

The Indian languages tolerated no such 'mere marks.' Every name *described* the locality to which it was affixed. The description was sometimes *topographical*; sometimes *historical*, preserving the memory of a battle, a feast, the dwelling-place of a great sachem, or the like; sometimes it indicated one of the *natural products* of the place, or the *animals* which resorted to it; occasionally, its *position* or *direction* from a place previously known, or from the territory of the

nation by which the name was given,—as for example, ‘the land on the other side of the river,’ ‘behind the mountain,’ ‘the east land,’ ‘the half-way place,’ &c. The same name might be, in fact it very often was, given to more places than one; but these must not be so near together that mistakes or doubts could be occasioned by the repetition. With this precaution, there was no reason why there might not be as many ‘Great Rivers,’ ‘Bends,’ ‘Forks,’ and ‘Water-fall places’ as there are Washingtons, Franklins, Unions, and Fairplays in the list of American post-offices.

With few exceptions, the structure of these names is simple. Nearly all may be referred to one of three classes:

I. Those formed by the union of two elements, which we will call *adjectival* and *substantival*;* with or without a locative suffix or post-position meaning ‘at,’ ‘in,’ ‘by,’ ‘near,’ &c.

II. Those which have a single element, the *substantival* or ‘ground-word,’ with its locative suffix.

III. Those formed from verbs, as participials or verbal nouns, denoting a *place where* the action of the verb is performed. To this class belong, for example, such names as *Mushawomuk* (Boston), ‘where there is going-by-boat,’ *i. e.*, a ferry, or canoe-crossing. Most of these names, however, may be shown by rigid analysis to belong to one of the two preceding classes, which comprise at least nine-tenths of all Algonkin local names which have been preserved.

The examples I shall give of these three classes, will be taken from Algonkin languages; chiefly from the Massachu-

* These terms, though not strictly appropriate to Indian synthesis, are sufficiently explicit for the purposes of this paper. They are borrowed from the author of “Words and Places” (the Rev. Isaac Taylor), who has employed them (2d ed., p. 460) as equivalents of Förstemann’s “Bestimmungswort” and “Grundwort,” (*Die deutschen Ortsnamen*. Nordhausen, 1863, pp. 26—107, 109—174). In Indian names, the “Bestimmungswort” sometimes corresponds to the English adjective—sometimes to a noun substantive—but is more generally an *adverb*.

setts or Natick (which was substantially the same as that spoken by the Narragansetts and Connecticut Indians), the Abnaki, the Lenni-Lenâpe or Delaware, the Chippewa or Ojibway, and the Knisteno or Cree.*

Of names of the *first* class, in central and southern New England, some of the more common substantival components or 'ground-words' are those which denote *Land* or *Country*, *River*, *Water*, *Lake* or *Pond*, *Fishing-place*, *Rock*, *Mountain*, *Inclosure*, and *Island*.

1. The Massachusetts OHKE (Narr. *aûke*; Delaware, *hacki*; Chip. *ahke*; Abnaki, 'ki;) signifies LAND, and in local names, PLACE OR COUNTRY. The final vowel is sometimes lost in composition. With the locative suffix, it becomes *ohkit* (Del. *hacking*; Chip. *ahkiⁿ*; Abn. *kik*;) *at* or *in* a place or country.

To the Narragansetts proper, the country east of Narragansett Bay and Providence River was *waⁿpan-auke*, 'east land;' and its people were called by the Dutch explorers, *Wapenokis*, and by the English, *Wampanoags*. The tribes of the upper St. Lawrence taught the French, and tribes south of the Pis-

* It has not been thought advisable to attempt the reduction of words or names taken from different languages to a uniform orthography. When no authorities are named, it may be understood that the Massachusetts words are taken from Eliot's translation of the Bible, or from his Indian Grammar; the Narragansett, from Roger Williams's Indian Key, and his published letters; the Abnaki, from the Dictionary of Râle (Rasles), edited by Dr. Pickering; the Delaware, from Zeisberger's Vocabulary and his Grammar; the Chippewa, from Schoolcraft (Sch.), Baraga's Dictionary and Grammar (B.), and the Spelling Books published by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions; and the Cree, from Howse's Grammar of that language.

The character *o* (*oo* in 'food;' *w* in 'Wabash,' 'Wisconsin'), used by Eliot, has been substituted in Abnaki words for the Greek *o* of Râle and the Jesuit missionaries, and for the *ō* of Campanius. A small ⁿ placed above the line, shows that the vowel which it follows is *nasal*,—and replaces the *ñ* employed for the same purpose by Râle, and the short line or dash placed under a vowel, in Pickering's alphabet.

In Eliot's notation, *oh* usually represents the sound of *o* in *order* and in *form*,—that of broad *a*; but sometimes it stands for short *o*, as in *not*.

cataqua taught the English, to give the name of East-landers—*Abenakis*, or *Abinakis*—to the Indians of Maine. The country of the Delawares was ‘east land,’ *Wapanachki*, to Algonkin nations of the west.

The ‘*Chawwonock*,’ or ‘*Chawonocke*,’ of Capt. John Smith,—on what is now known as Chowan River, in Virginia and North Carolina,—was, to the Powhattans and other Virginian tribes, the ‘south country,’ or *sowan-ohke*, as Eliot wrote it, in Gen. xxiv. 62.

With the adjectival *sucki*, ‘dark-colored,’ ‘blackish,’ we have the aboriginal name of the South Meadow in Hartford,—*sucki-ohke*, (written *Sicaiook*, *Suckiaug*, &c.), ‘black earth.’

Wuskowhanan-auk-it, ‘at the pigeon country,’ was the name (as given by Roger Williams) of a “place where these fowl breed abundantly,”—in the northern part of the Nipmuck country (now in Worcester county, Mass.).

‘*Kiskatamenakook*,’ the name of a brook (but originally, of some locality near the brook) in Catskill, N. Y.,* is *kiskataminak-auke*, ‘place of thin-shelled nuts’ (or shag-bark hickory nuts).

2. RIVER. *Seip* or *sepu* (Del. *sipo*; Chip. *sēpē*; Abn. *sipō*;) the Algonkin word for ‘river’ is derived from a root that means ‘stretched out,’ ‘extended,’ ‘become long,’ and corresponds nearly to the English ‘stream.’ This word rarely, if ever, enters into the composition of local names, and, so far as I know, it does not make a part of the name of any river in New England. *Mississippi* is *missi-sipu*, ‘great river;’ *Kitchi-sipi*, ‘chief river’ or ‘greatest river,’ was the Montagnais name of the St. Lawrence; † and *Miste-shipu* is their modern name for the Moise or ‘Great River’ which flows from the lakes of the Labrador peninsula into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. ‡

* Doc. Hist. of New York (4to), vol. iii. p. 656.

† Jesuit Relations, 1633, 1636, 1640.

‡ Hind’s Exploration of Labrador, i. 9, 32.

Near the Atlantic seaboard, the most common substantial components of river names are (1) *-tuk* and (2) *-hanne*, *-han*, or *-huan*. Neither of these is an independent word. They are inseparable nouns-generic, or generic affixes.

-TUK (Abn. *-tegwé*; Del. *-ittuk*;) denotes a river whose waters are driven *in waves*, by tides or wind. It is found in names of tidal rivers and estuaries; less frequently, in names of *broad and deep* streams, not affected by tides. With the adjectival *missi*, 'great,' it forms *missi-tuk*,—now written *Mystic*,—the name of 'the great river' of Boston bay, and of another wide-mouthed tidal river in the Pequot country, which now divides the towns of Stonington and Groton.

Near the eastern boundary of the Pequot country, was the river which the Narragansetts called *Paquat-tuk*, sometimes written *Paquetoek*, now *Pawcatuck*, 'Pequot river,'—the present eastern boundary of Connecticut. Another adjectival prefix, *pohki* or *pahke*, 'pure,' 'clear,' found in the name of several tidal streams, is hardly distinguishable from the former, in the modern forms of *Pacatoek*, *Paucatuok*, &c.

Quinni-tuk is the 'long tidal-river.' With the locative affix, *Quinni-tuk-ut*, 'on long river,'—now *Connecticut*,—was the name of the valley, or lands both sides of the river. In one early deed (1636), I find the name written *Quinetucquet*; in another, of the same year, *Quenticutt*. Roger Williams (1643) has *Qunnihticut*, and calls the Indians of this region *Quintik-sock*, i. e. 'the long river people.' The *e* in the second syllable of the modern name has no business there, and it is difficult to find a reason for its intrusion.

'*Lenapewihittuck*' was the Delaware name of 'the river of the Lenape,' and '*Mohicannittuck*,' of 'the river of the Mohicans' (Hudson River).*

Of *Pawtucket* and *Pawtuxet*, the composition is less obvious; but we have reliable Indian testimony that these names mean, respectively, 'at the falls' and 'at the little falls.'

* Heckewilder's Historical account, &c., p. 33. He was mistaken in translating "the word *hituck*;" by "a rapid stream."

Pequot and Narragansett interpreters, in 1679, declared that Blackstone's River, was "called in Indian *Pautuck* (which signifies, a Fall), because there the fresh water falls into the salt water."* So, the upper falls of the Quinebaug river (at Danielsonville, Conn.) were called "*Powntuck*, which is a general name for all Falls," as Indians of that region testified.† There was another Pautucket, 'at the falls' of the Merrimac (now Lowell); and another on Westfield River, Mass. *Pawtuxet*, i. e. *pau't-tuk-es-it*, is the regularly formed diminutive of *paut-tuk-it*. The village of Pawtuxet, four miles south of Providence, R. I., is "at the little falls" of the river to which their name has been transferred. The first settlers of Plymouth were informed by Samoset, that the place which they had chosen for their plantation was called '*Pawtuxet*,'—probably because of some 'little falls' on Town Brook.‡ There was another '*Pautuxet*,' or '*Powtuxet*,' on the Quinebaug, at the lower falls; and a river '*Patuxet*' (*Patuxent*), in Maryland. The same name is ingeniously disguised by Campanius, as '*Poæetquessing*,' which he mentions as one of the principal towns of the Indians on the Delaware, just below the lower falls of that river at Trenton; and '*Poutaxat*' was understood by the Swedes to be the Indian name both of the river and bay.§ The adjectival *pawt-* or *pauat-* seems to be derived from a root meaning 'to make a loud noise.' It is found in many, perhaps in all Algonkin languages. '*Pawating*,' as Schoolcraft wrote it, was the Chippewa name of the Sault Ste. Marie, or Falls of St. Mary's River,—pronounced *poú-at-ing'*, or *pau-at-uⁿ*, the last syllable representing the locative affix,—“at the Falls.”

* Col. Records of Connecticut, 1677—89, p. 275.

† Chandler's Survey of the Mohegan country, 1705.

‡ See Mourt's Relation, Dexter's edition, pp. 84, 91, 99. Misled by a form of this name, *Patackosi*, given in the Appendix to Savage's Winthrop (ii. 478) and elsewhere, I suggested to Dr. Dexter another derivation. See his note 297, to Mourt, p. 84.

§ Descrip. of New Sweden, b. ii. ch. 1, 2; Proud's Hist. of Pennsylvania, ii. 252.

The same name is found in Virginia, under a disguise which has hitherto prevented its recognition. Capt. John Smith informs us that the "place of which their great Emperor taketh his name" of *Powhatan*, or *Pawatan*, was near "the Falls" of James River,* where is now the city of Richmond. 'Powatan' is *pauat-hanne*, or 'falls on a rapid stream.'

Acáwmé or *Ogkomé* (Chip. *agami*; Abn. *agaⁿmi*; Del. *achga-meu*;) means 'on the other side,' 'over against,' 'beyond.' As an adjectival, it is found in *Acawm-auké*, the modern 'Accomac,' a peninsula east of Chesapeake Bay, which was 'other-side land' to the Powhatans of Virginia. The site of Plymouth, Mass. was called 'Accomack' by Capt. John Smith,—a name given not by the Indians who occupied it but by those, probably, who lived farther north, 'on the other side' of Plymouth Bay. The countries of Europe were called 'other-side lands,'—Narr. *acawmen-óaki*; Abn. *agaⁿmen-óki*. With *-tuk*; it forms *acawmen-tuk* (Abn. *agaⁿmen-tego*), 'other-side river,' or, its diminutive, *acawmen-tuk-es* (Abn. *agaⁿmen-tegoéssó*), 'the small other-side river,'—a name first given (as *Agamenticus* or *Accomenticus*) to York, Me., from the 'small tidal-river beyond' the Piscataqua, on which that town was planted.

Peske-tuk (Abn. *peské-tegoé*) denotes a 'divided river,' or a river which another *cleaves*. It is not generally (if ever) applied to one of the 'forks' which unite to form the main stream, but to some considerable tributary received by the main stream, or to the division of the stream by some obstacle, near its mouth, which makes of it a 'double river.' The primary meaning of the (adjectival) root is 'to divide in two,' and the secondary, 'to split,' 'to divide *forcibly*, or *abruptly*.' These shades of meaning are not likely to be detected under the disguises in which river-names come down

* "True Relation of Virginia," &c. (Deane's edition, Boston, 1866), p. 7. On Smith's map, 1606, the 'King's house,' at '*Powhatan*,' is marked just below "The Fales" on '*Powhatan flu.*' or James River.

to our time. Râle translates *ne-peské*, "je vas dans le chemin qui en coupe un autre;" *peskahakon*, "branche."

Piscataqua, Pascataqua, &c., represent the Abn. *peské-tegoé*, 'divided tidal-river.' The word for 'place' (*ohke*, Abn. 'ki,) being added, gives the form *Piscataquak* or *-quog*. There is another *Piscataway*, in New Jersey,—not far below the junction of the north and south branches of the Raritan,—and a *Piscataway* river in Maryland, which empties into the Potomac; a *Piscataquog* river, tributary to the Merrimac, in New Hampshire; a *Piscataquis* (diminutive) in Maine, which empties into the Penobscot. *Pasquotank*, the name of an arm of Albemarle Sound and of a small river which flows into it, in North Carolina, has probably the same origin.

The adjectival *peské*, or *piské*, is found in many other compound names besides those which are formed with *-tuk* or *-hane*: as in *Pascoag*, for *peské-awké*, in Burrilville, R. I., 'the dividing place' of two branches of Blackstone's River; and *Pesquamscot*, in South Kingston, R. I., which (if the name is rightly given) is "at the divided (or cleft) rock,"—*peské-ompsk-ut*,—perhaps some ancient land-mark, on or near the margin of Worden's Pond.

Nôeu-tuk (*Nóahtuk*, Eliot), 'in the middle of the river,' may be, as Mr. Judd* and others have supposed, the name which has been variously corrupted to Norwotock, Nonotuck, Noatucke, Nawottok, &c. If so, it probably belonged, originally to one of the necks or peninsulas of meadow, near Northampton,—such as that at Hockanum, which, by a change in the course of the river at that point, has now become an island.

Teliquet or *Titicut*, which passes for the Indian name of Taunton, and of a fishing place on Taunton River in the north-west part of Middleborough, Mass., shows how effectually such names may be disguised by phonetic corruption and mutilation. *Kehte-tuk-ut* (or as Eliot wrote it in Genesis xv. 18, *Kehteitukqut*) means 'on the great river.' In the

* History of Hadley, pp. 121, 122.

Plymouth Colony Records we find the forms ‘*Cauteelicutt*’ and ‘*Coteticutt*,’ and elsewhere, *Kehtehcut*,—the latter, in 1698, as the name of a place on the great river, “between Taunton and Bridgewater.” Hence, ‘*Teghtacutt*,’ ‘*Teightaquid*,’ ‘*Tetiquet*, &c.*

(2). The other substantival component of river-names, -HANNE or -HAN (Abn. *-tsowaⁿn* or *-taⁿn*; Mass. *-tchuan*;) denotes ‘a rapid stream’ or ‘current;’ primarily, ‘flowing water.’ In the Massachusetts and Abnaki, it occurs in such compounds as *anu-tchuan* (Abn. *ari^ttsowaⁿn*), ‘it over-flows;’ *kussi-tchuan* (Abn. *kési^ttsowaⁿn*), ‘it swift flows,’ &c.

In Pennsylvania and Virginia, where the streams which rise in the highlands flow down rapidly descending slopes, -hanné is more common than -tuk or *sepu* in river names. *Keht-hanné* (*kittan*, Zeisb.; *kithanne*, Hkw.) was a name given to the Delaware River as ‘the principal or greatest stream’ of that region; and by the western Delawares, to the Ohio.† With the locative termination, *Kittanning* (Penn.) is a place ‘on the greatest stream.’ The Schuylkill was *Ganshow-hanné*, ‘noisy stream;’ the Lackawanna, *Lechauhanné*, ‘forked stream’ or ‘stream that forks:’‡ with affix, *Lechauhannak* or *Lechawwahannak*, ‘at the river-fork,’—for which Hendrick Aupamut, a Muhhekan, wrote (with dialectic exchange of *n* for Delaware *l*) ‘*Naukhuwuhnauk*,’ ‘The Forks’ of the Miami.§ The same name is found in New England, disguised as Newichawanock, Nuchawanack, &c., as near Berwick, Me., ‘at the fork’ or confluence of Coheco and Salmon Fall rivers,—the ‘*Neghechewanck*’ of Wood’s Map (1634). *Powhatan*, for *Pawat-hanne*, ‘at the Falls on a rapid stream,’ has been previously noticed.

Alleghany, or as some prefer to write it, *Allegheny*,—the Algonkin name of the Ohio River, but now restricted to one

* See Hist. Magazine, vol. iii. p. 48.

† Heckewelder, on Indian names, in Trans. Am. Phil. Soc. vol. iv.

‡ Ibid.

§ Narrative, &c., in Mem. Hist. Society of Pennsylvania, vol. ii. p. 97.

of its branches,—is probably (Delaware) *welhik-hanné* or *wlik-hanné*, ‘the best (or, the fairest) river.’ *Welhik* (as Zeisberger wrote it)* is the inanimate form of the adjectival, meaning ‘best,’ ‘most beautiful.’ In his Vocabulary, Zeisberger gave this synthesis, with slight change of orthography, as “*Wulach’neü*” [or *wlakhanneo*, as Eliot would have written it,] with the free translation, “*a fine River, without Falls.*” The name was indeed more likely to belong to rivers ‘without falls’ or other obstruction to the passage of canoes, but its literal meaning is, as its composition shows, “best rapid-stream,” or “finest rapid-stream;” “*La Belle Riviere*” of the French, and the *Oue-yo’* or *O hee’ yo Gä-hun’-dä*, “good river” or “the beautiful river;” of the Senecas.† For this translation of the name we have very respectable authority,—that of Christian Frederick Post, a Moravian of Pennsylvania, who lived seventeen years with the Muhhekan Indians and was twice married among them, and whose knowledge of the Indian languages enabled him to render important services to the colony, as a negotiator with the Delawares and Shawanese of the Ohio, in the French war. In his “*Journal from Philadelphia to the Ohio*” in 1758,‡ after mention of the ‘Alleghenny’ river, he says: “The *Ohio*, as it is called by the Sennecas. *Alleghenny* is the name of the same river in the Delaware language. *Both words signify the fine or fair river.*” La Metairie, the notary of La Salle’s expedition, “calls the Ohio, the *Olighinsipou*, or *Aleghin*; evidently an Algonkin name,”—as Dr. Shea remarks.§ Hecke-

* Grammar of the Lenni-Lenape, transl. by Duponceau, p. 43. “*Wulit*, good.” “*Welsit* (masc. and fem.), the best.” “Inanimate, *Welhik*, best.”

† Morgan’s League of the Iroquois, p. 436.

‡ Published in London, 1759, and re-printed in Appendix to Proud’s Hist. of Penn., vol. ii. pp. 65—132.

§ Shea’s Early Voyages on the Mississippi, p. 75.

La Metairie’s ‘*Olighinsipou*’ suggests another possible derivation which may be worth mention. The Indian name of the Alleghanies has been said,—I do not now remember on whose authority,—to mean ‘Endless Mountains.’ ‘Endless’ cannot be more exactly expressed in any Algon-

welder says that the Delawares "still call the Allegany (Ohio) river, *Alligéwi Sîpu*,"—"the river of the *Alligewi*" as he chooses to translate it. In one form, we have *wulik-hannésîpu*, 'best rapid-stream long-river;' in the other, *wuliké-sîpu*, 'best long-river. Heckewelder's derivation of the name, on the authority of a Delaware legend, from the mythic 'Alligewi' or 'Talligewi,'—"a race of Indians said to have once inhabited that country," who, after great battles fought in pre-historic times, were driven from it by the all-conquering Delawares,*—is of no value, unless supported by other testimony. The identification of *Alleghany* with the Seneca "*De ó na gü no*, cold water" [or, cold spring,†] proposed by a writer in the *Historical Magazine* (vol. iv. p. 184), though not apparent at first sight, might deserve consideration if there were any reason for believing the name of the river to be of Iroquois origin,—if it were probable that an Iroquois name would have been adopted by Algonkin nations,—or, if the word for 'water' or 'spring' could be made, in any American language, the substantival component of a *river* name.

From the river, the name appears to have been transferred by the English to a range of the "Endless Mountains."

3. NIPPE, NIPi (=n'pi; Narr. *nip*; Muhh. *nup*; Abn. and Chip. *nebi*; Del. *m'bi*;) and its diminutives, *nippisse* and *nips*, were employed in compound names to denote WATER, generally, without characterizing it as 'swift flowing,' 'wave moved,' 'tidal,' or 'standing:' as, for example, in the name of a part of a river, where the stream widening with diminished current becomes lake-like, or of a stretch

kin language than by 'very long' or 'longest,'—in the Delaware, *Eluwi-guneu*. "The very long or longest river" would be *Eluwi-guneu sîpu*, or, if the words were compounded in one, *Eluwi-gunesîpu*.

* Paper on Indian names, *ut supra*, p. 367; Historical Account, &c., pp. 29—32.

† Morgan's League of the Iroquois, pp. 466, 468.

of tide-water inland, forming a bay or cove at a river's mouth. By the northern Algonkins, it appears to have been used for 'lake,' as in the name of *Missi-nippi* or *Missinabe* lake ('great water'), and in that of Lake *Nippissing*, which has the locative affix, *nippis-ing*, 'at the small lake' north-east of the greater Lake Huron, which gave a name to the nation of 'Nipissings,' or as the French called them, '*Nipissiriniens*,'—according to Charlevoix, the true Algonkins.

Quinnipiac, regarded as the Indian name of New Haven,—also written *Quinnypiock*, *Quinopiocke*, *Quillipiack*, &c., and by President Stiles* (on the authority of an Indian of East Haven) *Quinnepyoooghq*,—is, probably, 'long water place,' *quinni-nippe-ohke*, or *quin-nipi-ohke*. *Kennebec* would seem to be another form of the same name, from the Abnaki, *koné-be-ki*, were it not that Râle wrote,† as the name of the river, '*Aghenibékki*'—suggesting a different adjectival. But Biard, in the *Relation de la Nouvelle-France* of 1611, has '*Kini-bequi*,' Champlain, *Quinebequy*, and Vimont, in 1640, '*Quini-bequi*,' so that we are justified in regarding the name as the probable equivalent of *Quinni-pi-ohke*.

Win-nippe-sauki (Winnipiseogee) will be noticed hereafter.

4. -PAUG, -POG, -BOG, (Abn. *-béga* or *-bégat*; Del. *-pécat*;) an inseparable generic, denoting 'WATER AT REST,' 'standing water,' is the substantival component of names of small lakes and ponds, throughout New England.‡ Some of the most common of these names are,—

Massa-paug, 'great pond,'—which appears in a great variety of modern forms, as *Mashapaug*, *Mashpaug*, *Massapogue*,

* Ms. Itinerary. He was careful to preserve the Indian pronunciation of local names, and the form in which he gives this name convinces me that it is not, as I formerly supposed, the *quinnupphke* (or *quinnuppe-ohke*) of Eliot,—meaning 'the surrounding country' or the 'land all about' the site of New Haven.

† Dictionary, s. v. 'Noms.'

‡ *Paug* is regularly formed from *pe* (Abn. *bi*), the base of *nippe*, and may be translated more exactly by 'where water is' or 'place of water.'

Massapog, &c. A pond in Cranston, near Providence, R. I.; another in Warwick, in the same State; 'Alexander's Lake,' in Killingly; 'Gardiner's Lake,' in Salem, Bozrah and Montville; 'Tyler Pond,' in Goshen; ponds in Sharon, Groton, and Lunenburg, Mass., were each of them the 'Massapog' or 'great pond' of its vicinity.

Quinni-paug, 'long pond.' One in Killingly, gave a name to *Quinebaug* River and the 'Quinebaug country.' Endicott, in 1651, wrote this name 'Qunnubbágge' (3 Mass. Hist. Coll., iv. 191). "Quinepoxet," the name of a pond and small river in Princeton, Mass., appears to be a corruption of the diminutive with the locative affix; *Quinni-paug-es-it*, 'at the little long pond.'

Wongun-paug, 'crooked (or bent) pond.' There is one of the name in Coventry, Conn. Written, 'Wangunbog,' 'Wungumbaog,' &c.

Petuhkqui-paug, 'round pond,' now called 'Dumpling Pond,' in Greenwich, Conn., gave a name to a plain and brook in that town, and, occasionally, to the plantation settled there, sometimes written 'Petuckquapock.'

Nunni-paug, 'fresh pond.' One in Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard, gave a name (Nunnepoag) to an Indian village near it. Eliot wrote *nunnipog*, for 'fresh water,' in James iii. 12.

Sonki-paug or *soⁿki-paug*, 'cool pond.' (*Sonkipog*, 'cold water,' Eliot.) Egunk-sonkipaug, or 'the cool pond (spring) of Egunk' hill in Sterling, Conn., is named in Chandler's Survey of the Mohegan country, as one of the east bounds.

Pahke-paug, 'clear pond' or 'pure water pond.' This name occurs in various forms, as 'Pahcupog,' a pond near Westerly, R. I. ;* 'Pauquepaug,' transferred from a pond to a brook in Kent and New Milford; 'Paquabaug,' near Shepaug River, in Roxbury, &c. 'Pequabuck' river, in Bristol and Farmington, appears to derive its name from some 'clear pond,'—perhaps the one between Bristol and Plymouth.

* A bound of Human Garret's land, one mile north-easterly from Nini-gret's old Fort. See *Conn. Col. Records*, ii. 314.

Another noun-generic that denotes 'lake' or 'fresh water at rest,' is found in many Abnaki, northern Algonkin and Chippewa names, but not, perhaps, in Massachusetts or Connecticut. This is the Algonkin *-gāmi*, *-gōmi*, or *-gummee*. *Kitchi-gami* or '*Kehegummee*,' the Chippewa name of Lake Superior, is 'the greatest, or chief lake.' *Caucomgomoc*, in Maine, is the Abn. *kaäkou-gami-k*, 'at Big-Gull lake.' *Temigami*, 'deep lake,' discharges its waters into Ottawa River, in Canada; *Kinou-gami*, now Kenocami, 'long lake,' into the Saguenay, at Chicoutimi.

There is a *Mitchi-gami* or (as sometimes written) *machigummi*, 'large lake,' in northern Wisconsin, and the river which flows from it has received the same name, with the locative suffix, '*Machigāmig*' (for *mitchi-gaming*). A branch of this river is now called 'Fence River' from a *mitchihikan* or *mitchikan*, a 'wooden fence' constructed near its banks, by the Indians, for catching deer.* Father Allouez describes, in the 'Relation' for 1670 (p. 96), a sort of 'fence' or weir which the Indians had built across Fox River, for taking sturgeon &c., and which they called '*Mitihikan*;' and shortly after, he mentions the destruction, by the Iroquois, of a village of Outagamis (Fox Indians) near his mission station, called *Machihigan-ing*, ['at the *mitchihikan*, or weir?'] on the 'Lake of the Illinois,' now *Michigan*. Father Dablon, in the next year's Relation, calls this lake '*Mitchiganons*.' Perhaps there was some confusion between the names of the 'weir' and the 'great lake,' and 'Michigan' appears to have been adopted as a kind of compromise between the two. If so, this modern form of the name is corrupt in more senses than one.†

* Foster and Whitney's Report on the Geology of Lake Superior, &c., Pt. II, p. 400.

† Râle gives Abn. *mûsegan*, 'fianté.' Thoreau, fishing in a river in Maine, caught several sucker-like fishes, which his Abnaki guide threw away, saying they were '*Michegan fish*, i.e., soft and stinking fish, good for nothing.'—*Maine Woods*, p. 210.

5. -AMAUG, denoting 'A FISHING PLACE' (Abn. *aⁿmaⁿgan*, 'on pêche là,') is derived from the root *âm* or *âma*, signifying 'to take by the mouth;' whence, *âm-aiü*, 'he fishes with hook and line,' and Del. *âman*, a fish-hook. *Wonkemaug* for *wongun-amaug*, 'crooked fishing-place,' between Warren and New Preston, in Litchfield county, is now 'Raumaug Lake.' *Ouschank-amaug*, in East Windsor, was perhaps the 'eel fishing-place.' The lake in Worcester, *Quansigamaug*, *Quansig-amug*, &c., and now *Quinsigamond*, was 'the pickerel fishing-place,' *gunnoeuog-amaug*.

6. ROCK. In composition, -PISK or -PSK (Abn. *pesko*; Cree, *-pisk*; Chip. *-bik*;) denotes *hard* or *flint-like* rock;* -OMPSK or oⁿBSK, and, by phonetic corruption, -MSK, (from *ompaé*, 'upright,' and *-pisk*,) a 'standing rock.' As a substantival component of local names, *-ompsk* and, with the locative affix, *-ompskut*, are found in such names as—

Petukqu-ompskut, corrupted to *Pettiquamscut*, 'at the round rock.' Such a rock, on the east side of Narrow River, north-east from Tower Hill Church in South Kingston, R. I., was one of the bound marks of, and gave a name to, the "Pettiquamscut purchase" in the Narragansett country.

Wanashqui-ompskut (*wanashquompskut*, Ezekiel xxvi. 14), 'at the top of the rock,' or at 'the point of rock.' *Wonnexquam*, *Annis Squam*, and *Squam*, near Cape Ann, are perhaps corrupt forms of the name of some 'rock summit' or 'point of rock' thereabouts. *Winnesquamsaukit* (for *wanashqui-ompsk-ohk-it*?) near Exeter Falls, N. H., has been transformed to *Swampscoate* and *Squamscot*. The name of *Swamscot* or *Swampscot*, formerly part of Lynn, Mass., has a different meaning. It is from *m'squi-ompsk*, 'Red Rock' (the modern name), near the north end of Long Beach, which

* Primarily, that which 'breaks,' 'cleaves,' 'splits:' distinguishing the *harder* rocks—such as were used for making spear and arrow heads, axes, chisels, corn-mortars, &c., and for striking fire,—from the *softer*, such as *steatite* (soap-stone) from which pots and other vessels, pipe-bowls, &c., were fashioned.

was perhaps "The clifte" mentioned as one of the bounds of Mr. Humfrey's Swampscot farm, laid out in 1638.* *M'squompskut* means 'at the red rock.' The sound of the initial *m* was easily lost to English ears.†

Penobscoot, a corruption of the Abnaki *paⁿna^wbskek*, was originally the name of a locality on the river so called by the English. Mr. Moses Greenleaf, in a letter to Dr. Morse in 1823, wrote '*Pe noom' ske ook*' as the Indian name of Old Town Falls, "whence the English name of the River, which would have been better, *Penobscook*." He gave, as the meaning of this name, "Rocky Falls." The St. Francis Indians told Thoreau, that it means "Rocky River."‡ 'At the fall of the rock' or 'at the descending rock' is a more nearly exact translation. The first syllable, *pen-* (Abn. *paⁿna*) represents a root meaning 'to fall from a height,'—as in *paⁿnetkwo*, 'fall of a river' or 'rapids;' *penaⁿ-ki*, 'fall of land,' the descent or downward slope of a mountain, &c.

Keht-ompskut, or 'Ketumpscut' as it was formerly written,§—'at the greatest rock,'—is corrupted to *Catumb*, the name of a reef off the west end of Fisher's Island.

Tomheganomset||—corrupted finally to 'Higganum,' the name of a brook and parish in the north-east part of Had-dam,—appears to have been, originally, the designation of a locality from which the Indians procured stone suitable for making axes,—*tomhegun-ompsk-ut*, 'at the tomahawk rock.' In '*Higganompos*,' as the name was sometimes written, without the locative affix, we have less difficulty in recognizing the substantival *-ompsk*.

QUSSUK, another word for 'rock' or 'stone,' used by Eliot and Roger Williams, is not often—perhaps never found in local names. *Hassun* or *Assun* (Chip. *assin'*; Del. *achsin*;)

* Mass. Records, i. 147, 226.

† *Squantam*, the supposed name of an Algonkin deity, is only a corrupt form of the verb *m'squantam*, = *musqui-antam*, 'he is angry,' literally, 'he is red (bloody-) minded.'

‡ Maine Woods, pp. 145, 324.

§ Pres. Stiles's Itinerary, 1761.

|| Conn. Col. Records, i. 434.

appears in New England names only as an adjectival (*assuné*, *assini*, 'stony'), but farther north, it occasionally occurs as the substantival component of such names as *Mistassinni*, 'the Great Stone,' which gives its name to a lake in British America, to a tribe of Indians, and to a river that flows into St. John's Lake.*

7. WADCHU (in composition, -ADCHU) means, always, 'mountain' or 'hill.' In *Wachuset*, we have it, with the locative affix *-set*, 'near' or 'in the vicinity of the mountain,'—a name which has been transferred to the mountain itself. With the adjectival *massa*, 'great,' is formed *mass-adchu-set*, 'near the great mountain,' or 'great hill country,'—now, *Massachusetts*.

'*Kunckquachu*' and '*Quunkwattchu*,' mentioned in the deeds of Hadley purchase, in 1658,† are forms of *qunuⁿkqu-adchu*, 'high mountain,'—afterwards belittled as 'Mount Toby.'

'*Kearsarge*,' the modern name of two well-known mountains in New Hampshire, disguises *kowass-adchu*, 'pine mountain.' On Holland's Map, published in 1784, the southern Kearsarge (in Merrimack county) is marked "Kyarsarga Mountain; by the Indians, *Cowisewaschook*."‡ In this form,—which the termination *ok* (for *ohke*, *auke*, 'land,') shows to belong to the *region*, not exclusively to the mountain itself,—the analysis becomes more easy. The meaning of the adjectival is perhaps not quite certain. *Kowa* (Abn. *koé*) 'a pine tree,' with its diminutive, *kowasse*, is a derivative,—from a root which means 'sharp,' 'pointed.' It is *possible*, that in this synthesis, the root preserves its primary signification, and that 'Kearsarge' is the 'pointed' or 'peaked mountain.'

Mauch Chunk (Penn.) is from Del. *machk*, 'bear' and *wachtschunk*, 'at, or on, the mountain,'—according to Hecke-welder, who writes '*Machkschúnk*,' or the Delaware name of 'the bear's mountain.'

* Hind's Exploration of Labrador, vol. ii. pp. 147, 148.

† History of Hadley, 21, 22, 114.

‡ W. F. Goodwin, in Historical Magazine, ix. 28.

In the Abnaki and some other Algonkin dialects, the substantial component of mountain names is *-ádené*,—an inseparable noun-generic. *Katahdin* (pronounced *Ktaadn* by the Indians of Maine), Abn. *Ket-ádené*, ‘the greatest (or chief) mountain,’ is the equivalent of ‘*Kittatinny*,’ the name of a ridge of the Alleghanies, in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

8. -KOMUK OR KOMAKO (Del. *-kamik*, *-kamiké*; Abn. *-kamighe*; Cree, *-gómnik*; Powhatan, *-comaco*;) cannot be exactly translated by any one English word. It denotes ‘place,’ in the sense of *enclosed*, *limited* or *appropriated* space. As a component of local names, it means, generally, ‘an enclosure,’ natural or artificial; such as a house or other building, a village, a planted field, a thicket or place surrounded by trees, &c. The place of residence of the Sachem, which (says Roger Williams) was “far different from other houses [wigwams], both in capacity, and in the fineness and quality of their mats,” was called *sachimá-komuk*, or, as Edward Winslow wrote it, ‘*sachimo comaco*,’—the Sachem-house. *Werowocomoco*, *Weramocomoco*, &c. in Virginia, was the ‘Werowance’s house,’ and the name appears on Smith’s map, at a place “upon the river Pamaunke [now York River], where the great King [Powhatan] was resident.”

Kuppi-komuk, ‘closed place,’ ‘secure enclosure,’ was the name of a Pequot fastness in a swamp, in Groton, Conn. Roger Williams wrote this name “Cuppacommock,” and understood its meaning to be “a refuge, or hiding place.” Eliot has *kuppóhkomuk* for a planted ‘grove,’ in Deut. xvi. 21, and for a landing-place or safe harbor, Acts xxvii. 40.

Nashaue-komuk, ‘half-way house,’ was at what is now Chilmark, on Martha’s Vineyard, where there was a village of praying Indians* in 1698, and earlier.

The Abnaki *keta-kamigó* means, according to Râle, ‘the

* About half-way from Tisbury to Gay Head.

main land,'—literally, 'greatest place;' *teteba-kamighé*, 'level place,' a plain; *pépam-kamighek*, 'the all land,' 'l'univers.'

Néssawa-kamighé, meaning 'double place' or 'second place,' was the name of the Abnaki village of St. Francis de Sales, on the St. Lawrence,*—to which the mission was removed about 1700, from its *first* station established near the Falls of the Chaudière in 1683.†

9. Of two words meaning *Island*, MUNNOHAN or, rejecting the formative, MUNNOH (Abn. *menahan*; Del. *menatey*; Chip. *minis*, a diminutive,) is the more common, but is rarely, if ever, found in composition. The 'Grand *Menan*,' opposite Passammaquoddy Bay, retains the Abnaki name. Long Island was *Menatey* or *Manati*, 'the Island,'—to the Delawares, Minsi and other neighboring tribes. Any smaller island was *menatan* (Mass. *munnohhan*), the *indefinite* form, or *menates* (Mass. *munnisses*, *manisses*), the *diminutive*. Campanius mentions one '*Manathaan*,' Coopers' Island (now Cherry Island) near Fort Christina, in the Delaware,‡ and "*Manataanung* or *Manaates*, a place settled by the Dutch, who built there a clever little town, which went on increasing every day,"—now called New York. (The termination in *-ung* is the locative affix.) New York Island was sometimes spoken of as '*the island*'—'*Manaté*,' '*Manhatte*;' sometimes as '*an island*'—*Manathan*, *Menatan*, '*Manhatan*;' more accurately, as '*the small island*'—*Manhaates*, *Manattes*, and '*the Manados*' of the Dutch. The Island Indians collectively, were called *Manhattans*; those of the small island, '*Manhatesen*.' "They deeply mistake," as Gov. Stuyvesant's agents declared, in 1659,§ "*who interpret the general name of Manhattans, unto the particular town built upon a little Island; because it signified the whole country and province.*"

Manisses or *Monasses*, as Block Island was called, is an

* Râle, s. v. VILLAGE.

† Shea's Hist. of Catholic Missions, 142, 145.

‡ Description of New Sweden, b. ii. c. 8. (Duponceau's translation.)

§ N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, iii. 375.

other form of the diminutive,—from *munnoh* ; and *Manhasset*, otherwise written, *Munhansick*, a name of Shelter Island, is the same diminutive with the locative affix, *munna-es-et*. So is ‘Manusses’ or ‘Mennewies,’ an island near Rye, N. Y.,—now written (with the southern form of the locative,) *Manussing*.

Montauk Point, formerly *Montauket*, *Montacut*, and by Roger Williams, *Munnawtawkit*, is probably from *manati*, *auke*, and *-it* locative ; ‘in the Island country,’ or ‘country of the Islanders.’

The other name of ‘Island,’ in Algonkin languages, is *ahquedne* or *ocquidne* ; with the locative, *ahquednet*, as in Acts xxvii. 16. (Compare, Cree, *akootin*, “it suspends, is sit-uate, e.g. an island in the water,” from *akoo*, a verbal root “expressive of a state of rest.” Howse’s Grammar, p. 152. Micmac, *agwilk*, “it is in the water ;” whence, *Ep-agwit*, “it lies [sits ?] in the water,”* the Indian name of Prince Edward’s Island.) This appears to have been restricted in its application, to islands lying near the main land or spoken of *with reference* to the main land. Roger Williams learned from the Narragansetts to call Rhode Island, *Aquiday*, *Aquednet*, &c., ‘the Island’ or ‘at the Island,’ and a “little island in the mouth of the Bay,” was *Aquedenesick*,† or *Aquidneset*, i.e. ‘at the small island.’

Chippaquiddick, the modern name of an island divided by a narrow strait from Martha’s Vineyard, is from *cheppi-aquidne*, ‘separated island.’

Abnaki names ending in *-kaⁿtti*, or *-kontee* (Mass. *-kontu* ; Etchemin or Maliseet, *-kodiah*, *-quoddy* ; Micmac, *-kaⁿdi*, or *-aikadee* ;) may be placed with those of the first class, though this termination, representing a substantival component, is really only the locative affix of nouns in the *indefinite plural*. Exact location was denoted by affixing, to inanimate nouns-

* Dawson’s Acadian Geology, App. p. 673.

† 4th Mass. Hist. Collections, vi. 267.

singular, *-et*, *-it* or *-ut*; proximity, or something *less* than exact location, by *-set*, (interposing *s*, the characteristic of diminutives and derogatives) between the noun and affix. *Plural* nouns, representing a *definite number* of individuals, or a number which might be regarded *as* definite, received *-ettu*, *-ittu*, or *-uttu*, in the locative: but if the number was *indefinite*, or many individuals were spoken of collectively, the affix was *-kontu*, denoting 'where many are,' or 'place of abundance.' For example, *wadchu*, mountain; *wadchu-ut*, to, on, or at the mountain; *wadchu-set*, near the mountain; *wadchuuuttu* (or *-ehtu*), in or among *certain mountains*, known or indicated (as in Eliot's version of Numbers xxxiii. 47, 48); *wadchue-kontu*, among mountains, where there are a great many mountains, for 'in the hill country,' Joshua xiii. 6. So, *nippe-kontu*, 'in the waters,' i. e. in *many* waters, or 'where there is much water,' Deut. iv. 18; v. 8. In Deuteronomy xi. 11, the conversion to a verb of a noun which had previously received this affix, shows that the idea of *abundance* or of *multitude* is associated with it: "*ohke wadchuuhkontuw*," i. e. *wadchue-kontu-w*, "the land is a land of hills," that is, where are *many* hills, or where hills are *plenty*.

This form of verb was rarely used by Eliot and is not alluded to in his Grammar. It appears to have been less common in the Massachusetts than in most of the other Algonkin languages. In the Chippewa, an 'abundance verb,' as Baraga* calls it, may be formed from any noun, by adding *-ka* or *-ika* for the indicative present: in the Cree, by adding *-skow* or *-ooskow*. In the Abnaki, *-ka* or *-ko*, or *-ikw*, forms similar verbs, and verbals. the final *'tti* of *ka'tti*, represents the impersonal *a'tté*, *eto*, 'there belongs to it,' 'there is there,' *il y a*. (Abn. *meskikwi'ka'tti*, 'where there is abundance of grass,' is the equivalent of the Micmac "*m'skeegoo-aicadee*, a meadow."†)

* Otchipwe Grammar, pp. 87, 412.

† Mr. Rand's Micmac Vocabulary, in Schoolcraft's Collections, vol. v. p. 579.

Among Abnaki place-names having this form, the following deserve notice:—

Aⁿmesook-kaⁿt^ti, ‘where there is plenty of alewives or herrings;’ from Abn. *aⁿmswak* (Narr. *aumsâog*; Mass. *ômmissuog*, cotton;) literally, ‘small fishes,’ but appropriated to fish of the herring tribe, including alewives and menhaden or bony-fish. Râle gives this as the name of one of the Abnaki villages on or near the river ‘Aghenibekki.’ It is the same, probably, as the ‘Meesee Contee’ or ‘Meesucontee,’ at Farmington Falls, on Sandy River, Me.* With the suffix of ‘place’ or ‘land,’ it has been written *Amessagunticook* and *Amasaquanteg*.

‘*Amoscoggin*,’ ‘*Ammarescoggen*,’ &c., and the ‘*Aumough-cawgen*’ of Capt. John Smith, names given to the Kennebec or its main western branch, the Androscoggin,†—appear to have belonged, originally, to ‘fishing places’ on the river, from Abn. *aⁿm’swa-khîge*, or *aⁿm’swa-kaⁿgan*. ‘Amoskeag,’ at the falls of the Merrimack, has the same meaning, probably; *aⁿm’swa-khîge* (Mass. *ômmissakkeag*), a ‘fishing-place for alewives.’ It certainly does *not* mean ‘beavers,’ or ‘pond or marsh’ of beavers,—as Mr. Schoolcraft supposed it to mean.‡

Madamiscontis or *Mattammiscontis*, the name of a tributary of the Penobscot and of a town in Lincoln county, Me., was translated by Mr. Greenleaf, in 1823, “Young Alewife stream;” but it appears to represent *met-aⁿmswak-kaⁿt^ti*, ‘a place where there *has been* (but is not now) plenty of alewives,’ or to which they no longer resort. Compare Râle’s

* Coll. Me. Hist. Society, iv. 31, 105.

† The statement that the Androscoggin received its present name in compliment to Edmond Andros, about 1684, is erroneous. This form of the name appears as early as 1639, in the release by Thomas Purchase to the Governor of Massachusetts,—correctly printed (from the original draft in the handwriting of Thomas Lechford) in Mass. Records, vol. i. p. 272.

‡ Information respecting the Indian Tribes, &c., vol. iii. p. 526.

met-a^mwoak, “les poissons ont faites leurs œufs; ils s’en sont allés; il n’y en a plus.”

Cobbosseecontee river, in the south part of Kennebec county, is named from a place near “the mouth of the stream, where it adjoineth itself to Kennebec river,”* and ‘where there was plenty of sturgeons,’—*kabassak-kaⁿtti*.

‘*Peskadamioukkanti*’ is given by Charlevoix, as the Indian name of “the river of the Etchemins,” that is, the St. Croix,—a name which is now corrupted to *Passamaquoddy*; but this latter form of the name is probably derived from the *Etchemin*, while Charlevoix wrote the *Abnaki* form. The Rev. Elijah Kellogg, in 1828,† gave, as the meaning of ‘Passamaquoddy,’ ‘pollock fish,’ and the Rev. Mr. Rand translates ‘Pestumoo-kwoddy’ by ‘pollock ground.’‡ Cotton’s vocabulary gives ‘*pâkonnôtam*’ for ‘haddock.’ Perhaps *peskadamiwoak*, like *a^mwoak*, belonged to more than one species of fish.

Of Etchemin and Micmac words having a similar termination, we find among others,—

Shubenacadie (*Chebenacardie* on Charlevoix’ map, and *Shebenacadia* on Jeffry’s map of 1775). One of the principal rivers of Nova Scotia, was so named because ‘*sipen-ak* were plenty there.’ Professor Dawson was informed by an “ancient Micmac patriarch,” that “*Shuben* or *Sgabun* means ground-nuts or Indian potatoes,” and by the Rev. Mr. Rand, of Hantsport, N. S., that “*segubbun* is a ground-nut, and *Segubbuna-kaddy* is the place or region of ground-nuts,” &c.§ It is not quite certain that *shuben* and *segubbun* denote the same esculent root. The Abnaki name of the wild potato or ground-nut was *pen*, pl. *penak* (Chip. *opin-ig*; Del. *obben-ak*); ‘*sipen*,’ which is obviously the equivalent of *sheben*, Râle describes as “blanches, plus grosses que des *penak* :” and *sheep’n-ak* is the modern Abnaki (Penobscot) name for the bulbous roots

* Depositions in Coll. Me. Histor. Society, iv. 113.

† 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., iii. 181.

‡ Dawson’s Acadian Geology, 2d ed., (London, 1868), pp. 3, 8.

§ Acadian Geology, pp. 1, 3.

of the Yellow Lily (*Lilium Canadense*). Thoreau's Indian guide in the 'Maine Woods' told him that these bulbs "were good for soup, that is to cook with meat to thicken it,"—and taught him how to prepare them.* Josselyn mentions such "a water-lily, with yellow flowers," of which "the Indians eat the roots" boiled.†

"*Segoonuma-kaddy*, place of *gaspereaux*; Gaspereau or Alewife River," "*Boonamoo-kwoddy*, Tom Cod ground," and "*Kata-kaddy*, eel-ground,"—are given by Professor Dawson, on Mr. Rand's authority. *Segoonumak* is the equivalent of Mass. and Narr. *sequanamâuquock*, 'spring (or early summer) fish,' by R. Williams translated 'bream.' And *boonamoo*,—the *ponamo* of Charlevoix (i. 127), who confounded it with some 'species of dog-fish (chien de mer),'—is the *aponaⁿ-mesow* of Rasles and *papônaumsu*, 'winter fish,' of Roger Williams, 'which some call frost-fish,'—*Morrhua pruinosa*.

The frequent occurrence of this termination in Micmac, Etchemin and Abnaki local names gives probability to the conjecture, that it came to be regarded as a general name for the region which these tribes inhabited,—'I'arcadia,' 'l'Acadie,' and 'la Cadie,' of early geographers and voyagers. Dr. Kohl has not found this name on any earlier map than that published by Girolamo Ruscelli in 1561.‡ That it is of Indian origin there is hardly room for doubt, and of two or three possible derivations, that from the terminal *-kâdi*, *-kodiak*, or *-kaⁿtti*, is on the whole preferable. But this termination, in the sense of 'place of abundance' or in that of 'ground, land, or place,' cannot be used *separately*, as an independent word, in any one of the languages which have been mentioned; and it is singular that, in two or three instances, only this termination should have been preserved

* Maine Woods, pp. 194, 284, 326.

† Voyages, p. 44.

‡ See Coll. Me. Hist. Society, 2d Ser., vol. i. p. 234.

after the first and more important component of the name was lost.

There are two Abnaki words which are not unlike *-kaⁿtti* in sound, one or both of which may perhaps be found in some local names: (1) *kaodi*, 'where he sleeps,' a *lodging place* of men or animals; and (2) *akodaïwi*, in composition or as a prefix, *akodé*, 'against the current,' up-stream; as in *ned-akoté'hémen*, 'I go up stream,' and *oderakodaⁿnaⁿ*, 'the fish go up stream.' Some such synthesis may have given names to fishing-places on tidal rivers, and I am more inclined to regard the name of 'Tracadie' or 'Tracody' as a corruption of *oderakodaⁿ*, than to derive it (with Professor Dawson* and the Rev. Mr. Rand) from "*Tulluk-kaddy*; probably, place of residence; dwelling place,"—or rather (for the termination requires this), where residences or dwellings are *plenty*,—where there is *abundance* of dwelling place. There is a Tracadie in Nova Scotia, another (*Tregaté*, of Champlain) on the coast of New Brunswick, a Tracody or Tracady Bay in Prince Edward's Island, and a Tracadigash Point in Chaleur Bay.

Thevet, in *La Cosmographie universelle*,† gives an account of his visit in 1556, to "one of the finest rivers in the whole world which we call *Norumbegue*, and the aborigines *Agony*,"—now Penobscot Bay. In 'Agony' we have, I conjecture, another form of the Abnaki *-kaⁿtti*, and an equivalent of 'Acadie.'

II. Names formed from a single ground-word or substantial,—with or without a locative or other suffix.

To this class belong some names already noticed in connection with compound names to which they are related; such as, *Wachu-set*, 'near the mountain;' *Menahan* (*Menan*), *Manati*, *Manathan*, 'island;' *Manataan-ung*, *Aquedn-et*, 'on the island,' &c. Of the many which might be added to these, the limits of this paper permit me to mention only a few.

* *Acadian Geology*, l. c.

† Cited by Dr. Kohl. in *Coll. Me. Hist. Society*, N. S., i. 416.

1. Nâïag, 'a corner, angle, or point.' This is a verbal, formed from *nâ-i*, 'it is angular,' 'it corners.' Eliot wrote "*yaue naiyag wetu*" for the "four corners of a house," Job i. 19. Sometimes, *nâi* receives, instead of the formative *-ag*, the locative affix (*nâi-it* or *nâi-ut*); sometimes it is used as an adjectival prefixed to *auke*, 'land.' One or another of these forms serves as the name of a great number of river and sea-coast 'points.' In Connecticut, we find a '*Nayaug*' at the southern extremity of Mason's Island in Mystic Bay, and '*Noank*' (formerly written, *Naweag*, *Naiwayonk*, *Noiank*, &c.) at the west point of Mystic River's mouth, in Groton; *Noag* or *Noyaug*, in Glastenbury, &c. In Rhode Island, *Nayatt* or *Nayot* point in Barrington, on Providence Bay, and *Nahiganset* or Narragansett, 'the country about the Point.'* On Long Island, *Nyack* on Peconick Bay, Southampton,† and another at the west end of the Island, opposite Coney Island. There is also a *Nyack* on the west side of the Tappan Sea, in New Jersey.

2. WONKUN, 'bended,' 'a bend,' was sometimes used without affix. The Abnaki equivalent is *waⁿghighen*, 'courbe,' 'croché' (Râle). There was a *Wongun*, on the Connecticut, between Glastenbury and Wethersfield, and another, more considerable, a few miles below, in Middletown. *Wonki* is found in compound names, as an adjectival; as in *Wonki-tuk*, 'bent river,' on the Quinebaug, between Plainfield and Canterbury,—written by early recorders, 'Wongattuck,' 'Wanungatuck,' &c., and at last transferred from its proper place to a *hill* and *brook* west of the river, where it is disguised as *Nunkertunk*. The Great Bend between Hadley and Hatfield, Mass., was called *Kuppo-wonkun-ohk*, 'close bend place,' or 'place shut-in by a bend.' A tract of meadow west of this bend was called, in 1660, 'Cappowonganick,' and 'Capa-

* See *Narragansett Club Publications*, vol. i. p. 22 (note 6).

† On Block's Map, 1616, the "Nahicans" are marked on the easternmost point of Long Island.

wonk,' and still retains, I believe, the latter name.* *Wnog-quetookoke*, the Indian name of Stockbridge, Mass., as written by Dr. Edwards in the Muhhecan dialect, describes "a bend-of-the-river place."

Another Abnaki word meaning 'curved,' 'crooked,'—*pik-anⁿghén*—occurs in the name *Pikaⁿghenahik*, now 'Crooked Island,' in Penobscot River.†

3. HÓCQUAUN (UHQUÔN, Eliot), 'hook-shaped,' 'a hook,'—is the base of *Hoccanum*, the name of a tract of land and the stream which bounds it, in East Hartford, and of other Hoccanums, in Hadley and in Yarmouth, Mass. Heckewelder ‡ wrote "*Okhúquan*, *Woákhúquoan*, or (short) *Húquan*," for the modern 'Occoquan,' the name of a river in Virginia, and remarked: "All these names signify a hook." Campanius has '*hóckung*' for 'a hook.'

Hackensack may have had its name from the *húquan-sauk*, 'hook mouth,' by which the waters of Newark Bay find their way, around Bergen Point, by the Kill van Cul, to New York Bay.

3. SÓHK or SAUK, a root that denotes 'pouring out,' is the base of many local names for 'the outlet' or 'discharge' of a river or lake. The Abnaki forms, *saⁿgok*, 'sortie de la rivière (seu) la source,' and *saⁿghede'tegoóé* [=Mass. *saukituk*,] gave names to *Saco* in Maine, to the river which has its outflow at that place, and to *Sagadahock* (*saⁿghede'aki*), 'land at the mouth' of Kennebeck river.

Saucon, the name of a creek and township in Northampton county, Penn., "denotes (says Heckewelder §) the outlet of a smaller stream into a larger one,"—which restricts the denotation too narrowly. The name means "the outlet,"—and nothing more. Another *Soh'coon*, or (with the locative)

* Judd's History of Hadley, 115, 116, 117.

† Mr. Moses Greenleaf, in 1823, wrote this name, *Bakungunahik*.

‡ On Indian names, in Trans. Am. Phil. Society, N. S., vol. iv., p. 377.

§ Ibid. p. 357.

Saukunk, "at the mouth" of the Big Beaver, on the Ohio,—now in the township of Beaver, Penn.,—was a well known rendezvous of Indian war parties.*

Saganaum, *Sagana*, now *Saginaw* † Bay, on Lake Huron, received its name from the mouth of the river which flows through it to the lake.

The *Mississagas* were people of the *missi-sauk*, *missi-sague*, or (with locative) *missi-sak-ing*, ‡ that is 'great outlet.' In the last half of the seventeenth century they were seated on the banks of a river which is described as flowing into Lake Huron some twenty or thirty leagues south of the Sault Ste. Marie (the same river probably that is now known as the Mississauga, emptying into Manitou Bay,) and nearly opposite the Straits of Mississauga on the South side of the Bay, between Manitoulin and Cockburn Islands. So little is known however of the history and migrations of this people, that it is perhaps impossible now to identify the 'great outlet' from which they first had their name.

The *Saguenay* (Sagnay, Sagné, Saghuny, etc.), the great tributary of the St. Lawrence, was so called either from the well-known trading-place at its mouth, the annual resort of the Montagnars and all the eastern tribes, § or more probably from the 'Grand Discharge' || of its main stream from Lake St. John and its strong current to and past the rapids at Chicoutimi, and thence on to the St. Lawrence. ¶ Near Lake

* Paper on Indian Names, ut supra, p. 366; and 3 Mass. Historical Collections, vi. 145. [Compare, the Iroquois *Swa-deh* and *Oswa-go* (modern *Oswego*), which has the same meaning as Alg. *sauki*,—"flowing out."—*Morgan's League of the Iroquois*.]

† *Saguinam*, Charlevoix, i. 501; iii. 279.

‡ *Relations des Jésuites*, 1658, p. 22; 1648, p. 62; 1671, pp. 25, 31.

§ Charlevoix, *Nouv. France*, iii. 65; Gallatin's *Synopsis*, p. 24.

|| This name is still retained.

¶ When first discovered the Saguenay was not regarded as a river, but as a strait or passage by which the waters of some northern sea flowed to the St. Lawrence. But on a French map of 1543, the 'R. de Sagnay' and the country of 'Sagnay' are laid down. See *Maine Hist. Soc. Col-*

St. John and the Grand Discharge was another rendezvous of the scattered tribes. The missionary Saint-Simon in 1671 described this place as one at which "all the nations inhabiting the country between the two seas (towards the east and north) assembled to barter their furs." Hind's Exploration of Labrador, ii. 23.

In composition with *-tuk*, 'river' or 'tidal stream,' *sauki* (adjectival) gave names to 'Soakatusuk,' now Saugatuck, the mouth of a river in Fairfield county, Conn.; to 'Sawahquatock,' or 'Sawkatuck-et,' at the outlet of Long Pond or mouth of Herring River, in Harwich, Mass.; and perhaps to *Mas-saugatucket*, (*missi-saukituk-ut?*), in Marshfield, Mass., and in South Kingston, R. I.,—a name which, in both places, has been shortened to Saquatucket.

'Winnipiseogee' (pronounced *Win' ni pe sauk' e*.) is compounded of *winni*, *nippe*, and *sauki*, 'good-water discharge,' and the name must have belonged originally to the *outlet* by which the waters of the lake pass to the Merrimack, rather than to the lake itself. Winnepesauke, Wenepesioco and (with the locative) Winnepesiockett, are among the early forms of the name. The translation of this synthesis by 'the Smile of the Great Spirit' is sheer nonsense. Another, first proposed by the late Judge Potter of New Hampshire, in his History of Manchester (p. 27),*—'the beautiful water of the high place,'—is demonstrably wrong. It assumes that *is* or *es* represents *kees*, meaning 'high;' to which assumption there are two objections: first, that there is no evidence that such a word as *kees*, meaning 'high,' is found in any Algonkin language, and secondly, that if there be such a word, it must retain its significant root, in any synthesis of which it makes part,—in other words, that *kees* could not drop its initial *k* and preserve its meaning. I was at first inclined to accept the more probable translation proposed by

lections, 2d Series, vol. i., pp. 331, 354. Charlevoix gives *Pûchitaouichetz*, as the Indian name of the River.

* And in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. i. p. 246.

‘S. F. S.’ [S. F. Streeter?] in the Historical Magazine for August, 1857,*—“the land of the placid or beautiful lake;” but, in the dialects of New England, *nippisse* or *nips*, a diminutive of *nippe*, ‘water,’ is never used for *paug*, ‘lake’ or ‘standing water;’ † and if it were sometimes so used, the extent of Lake Winnepiseogee forbids it to be classed with the ‘small lakes’ or ‘ponds,’ to which, only, the *diminutive* is appropriate.

4. NASHAUE’ (Chip. *nássawaiï* and *ashawiwi*), ‘mid-way,’ or ‘between,’ and with *ohke* or *auk* added, ‘the land between’ or ‘the half-way place,’—was the name of several localities. The tract on which Lancaster, in Worcester county (Mass.) was settled, was ‘between’ the branches of the river, and so it was called ‘*Nashaway*’ or ‘*Nashawake*’ (*nashaué-ohke*); and this name was afterwards transferred from the territory to the river itself. There was another *Nashaway* in Connecticut, between Quinnebaug and Five-Mile Rivers in Windham county, and here, too, the mutilated name of the *nashaue-ohke* was transferred, as *Ashawog* or *Assawog*, to the Five-Mile River. *Natchaug* in the same county, the name of the eastern branch of Shetucket river, belonged originally to the tract ‘between’ the eastern and western branches; and the Shetucket itself borrows a name (*nashaue-tuk-ut*) from its place ‘between’ Yantic and Quinebaug rivers. A neck of land (now in Griswold, Conn.) “between Pachaug River and a brook that comes into it from the south,” one of the Muhhekan east boundaries, was called sometimes, *Shawwunk*, ‘at the place between,’—sometimes *Shawwámug* (*nashaué-amaug*), ‘the fishing-place between’ the rivers, or the ‘half-way fishing-place.’ ‡

* Vol. i. p. 246.

† See pp. 14, 15.

‡ Chandler’s Survey and Map of the Mohegan country, 1705. Compare the Chip. *ashawiwi-sitagon*, “a place from which water runs two ways,” a dividing ridge or portage *between* river courses. Owen’s Geological Survey of Wisconsin, etc., p. 312.

5. ASHIM, is once used by Eliot (Cant. iv. 12) for 'fountain.' It denoted a *spring* or brook from which water was obtained for drinking. In the Abnaki, *asiem nebi*, 'il puise de l'eau;' and *ned-a'sihibe*, 'je puise de l'eau, *fonti vel fluvio.*' (Rasles.)

Winne-ashim-ut, 'at the good spring,' near Romney Marsh, is now Chelsea, Mass. The name appears in deeds and records as Winnisimmet, Winisemit, Winnet Semet, etc. The author of the 'New English Canaan' informs us (book 2, ch. 8), that "At *Weenasemute* is a water, the virtue whereof is, "to cure barrenness. The place taketh his name of that "fountaine, which signifieth *quick spring*, or *quickning spring.*" "Probatum."

Ashimuit or *Shumuit*, an Indian village near the line between Sandwich and Falmouth, Mass.,—*Shaume*, a neck and river in Sandwich (the *Chawum* of Capt. John Smith?),—*Shimmoah*, an Indian village on Nantucket,—may all have derived their names from springs resorted to by the natives, as was suggested by the Rev. Samuel Deane in a paper in *Mass. Hist. Collections*, 2d Series, vol. x. pp. 173, 174.

6. MATTAPPAN, a participle of *mattappu* (Chip. *namátabi*), 'he sits down,' denotes a 'sitting-down place,' or, as generally employed in local names, *the end of a portage* between two rivers or from one arm of the sea to another,—where the canoe was launched again and its bearers re-embarked. Râle translates the Abnaki equivalent, *mataⁿbe*, by 'il va au bord de l'eau,—a la grève pour s'embarquer,' and *metaⁿbéniganik*, by 'au bout de delà du portage.'

Mattapan-ock, afterwards shortened to *Mattapan*, that part of Dorchester Neck (South Boston) where "the west country people were set down" in 1630,* may have been so called because it was the end of a carrying place from South Bay to Dorchester Bay, across the narrowest part of the peninsula, or—as seems highly probable—because it was the temporary

* Blake's Annals of Dorchester, p. 9; Winthrop's Journal, vol. i. p. 28.

'sitting-down place' of the new comers. Elsewhere, we find the name evidently associated with *portage*.

On Smith's Map of Virginia, one '*Mattapanient*' appears as the name of the northern fork (now the *Mattápony*) of Pamaunk (York) River; another (*Mattpanient*) near the head waters of the Pawtuxunt; and a third on the 'Chickahamania' not far above its confluence with Powhatan (James) River.

Mattapoiset, on an inlet of Buzzard's Bay, in Rochester, Mass.,—another Mattapoiset or 'Mattapuyst,' now Gardner's Neck, in Swanzea,—and 'Mattapeaset' or 'Mattabesic,' on the great bend of the Connecticut (now Middletown), derived their names from the same word, probably.

On a map of Lake Superior, made by Jesuit missionaries and published in Paris in 1672, the stream which is marked on modern maps as 'Rivière aux Traines' or 'Train River,' is named 'R. *Mataban*.' The small lake from which it flows is the 'end of portage' between the waters of Lake Michigan and those of Lake Superior.

7. CHABENUK, 'a bound mark;' literally, 'that which separates or divides.' A hill in Griswold, Conn., which was anciently one of the Muhhekan east bound-marks, was called *Chabinuⁿk*, 'Atchaubennuck,' and 'Chabunnuck.' The village of praying Indians in Dudley (now Webster?) Mass., was named *Chabanakongkomuk* (Eliot, 1668,) or *-ongkomum*, and the Great Pond still retains, it is said, the name of Chau-benagungamaug (*chabenukong-amaug?*), "the boundary fishing-place." This pond was a bound mark between the Nipmucks and the Muhhekans, and was resorted to by Indians of both nations.

III. Participials and verbals employed as place-names may generally, as was before remarked, be referred to one or the other of the two preceding classes. The distinction between noun and verb is less clearly marked in Indian grammar than in English. The name *Mushawwomuk* (corrupted to *Shaw-*

mut) may be regarded as a participle from the verb *mush-auom* (Narr. *mishoonhom*) 'he goes by boat,'—or as a noun, meaning 'a ferry,'—or as a name of the first class, compounded of the adjectival *musho-n*, 'boat or canoe,' and *womō-uk*, habitual or customary *going*, i.e., 'where there is going-by-boat.'

The analysis of names of this class is not easy. In most cases, its results must be regarded as merely provisional. Without some clue supplied by history or tradition and without accurate knowledge of the locality to which the name belongs, or *is supposed* to belong, one can never be certain of having found the right key to the synthesis, however well it may seem to fit the lock. Experience Mayhew writing from Chilmark on Martha's Vineyard, in 1722, gives the Indian name of the place where he was living as *Nimpanickhickanuh*. If he had not added the information that the name "signifies in English, *The place of thunder clefts*," and that it was so called "because there was once a tree there split in pieces by the thunder," it is not likely that any one in this generation would have discovered its precise meaning,—though it might have been conjectured that *neimpau*, or *nimbau*, 'thunder,' made a part of it.

Quilátámende was (Heckewelder tells us*) the Delaware name of a place on the Susquehanna, in Pennsylvania, where, as the Indians say, "in their wars with the Five Nations, they fell by surprise upon their enemies. The word or name of this place is therefore, *Where we came unawares upon them, &c.*" Without the tradition, the meaning of the name would not have been guessed,—or, if guessed, would not have been confidently accepted.

The difficulty of analyzing such names is greatly increased by the fact that they come to us in corrupt forms. The same name may be found, in early records, written in a dozen different ways, and some three or four of these may admit of as many different translations. Indian grammatical

* On Indian Names, in *Trans. Am. Philos. Society*, N. S. iv. 361.

synthesis was *exact*. Every consonant and every vowel had its office and its place. Not one could be dropped or transposed, nor could one be added, without *change of meaning*. Now most of the Indian local names were first written by men who cared nothing for their meaning and knew nothing of the languages to which they belonged. Of the few who had learned to speak one or more of these languages, no two adopted the same way of writing them, and no one—John Eliot excepted—appears to have been at all careful to write the same word twice alike. In the seventeenth century men took considerable liberties with the spelling of their own surnames and very large liberty with English polysyllables—especially with local names. Scribes who contrived to find five or six ways of writing ‘Hartford’ or ‘Wethersfield,’ were not likely to preserve uniformity in their dealings with Indian names. A few letters more or less were of no great consequence, but, generally, the writers tried to keep on the safe side, by putting in as many as they could find room for; prefixing a *c* to every *k*, doubling every *w* and *g*, and tacking on a superfluous final *e*, for good measure.

In some instances, what is supposed to be an Indian place-name is in fact a *personal* name, borrowed from some sachem or chief who lived on or claimed to own the territory. Names of this class are likely to give trouble to translators. I was puzzled for a long time by ‘*Mianus*,’ the name of a stream between Stamford and Greenwich,—till I remembered that *Mayano*, an Indian warrior (who was killed by Capt. Patrick in 1643) had lived hereabouts; and on searching the Greenwich records, I found the stream was first mentioned as *Moyannoës* and *Mehanno’s* creek, and that it bounded ‘Moyannoë’s neck’ of land. *Moosup* river, which flows westerly through Plainfield into the Quinebaug and which has given names to a post-office and factory village, was formerly *Moosup’s* river,—*Moosup* or *Maussup* being one of the aliases of a Narragansett sachem who is better known, in the history of Philip’s war, as Pessacus. Heckewelder* restores ‘Pyma-

* On Indian Names (*ut supra*) p. 365.

tuning,' the name of a place in Pennsylvania, to the Del. '*Pihmtónink*,' meaning, "the dwelling place of the man with the crooked mouth, or the crooked man's dwelling place," and adds, that he "knew the man perfectly well," who gave this name to the locality.

Some of the examples which have been given,—such as *Higganum*, *Nunkertunk*, *Shawmut*, *Swamscot* and *Titicut*,—show how the difficulties of analysis have been increased by phonetic corruption, sometimes to such a degree as hardly to leave a trace of the original. Another and not less striking example is presented by *Snipsic*, the modern name of a pond between Ellington and Tolland. If we had not access to Chandler's Survey of the Mohegan Country, made in 1705, who would suppose that '*Snipsic*' was the surviving representative of *Moshenupsuck*, 'great-pond brook' or (literally) 'great-pond outlet,' at the south end of *Moshenups* or *Mashenips* 'great pond?' The territories of three nations, the Muhhekans, Nipmucks and River Indians, ran together at this point.

'*Nameroake*,' '*Namareck*' or '*Namelake*,' in East Windsor, was transformed to *May-luck*, giving to a brook a name which 'tradition' derives from the 'luck' of a party of emigrants who came in 'May' to the Connecticut.* The original name appears to have been the equivalent of 'Nameaug' or 'Nameoake' (New London), and to mean 'the fishing place,—*n'amaug* or *nama-ohke*.

But none of these names exhibits a more curious transformation than that of '*Bagadoose*' or '*Bigaduce*,' a peninsula on the east side of Penobscot Bay, now Castine, Me. William-son's History of Maine (ii. 572) states on the authority of Col. J. Wardwell of Penobscot, in 1820, that this point bore the name of a former resident, a Frenchman, one 'Major Bigyduce.' Afterwards, the historian was informed that '*Marche bagyduce*' was an Indian word meaning 'no good

* Stiles's History of Ancient Windsor, p. 111.

cove.' Mr. Joseph Williamson, in a paper in the Maine Historical Society's Collections (vol. vi. p. 107) identifies this name with the *Matchebiguatus* of Edward Winslow's quitclaim to Massachusetts in 1644,* and correctly translates the prefix *matche* by 'bad,' but adds: "What *Biguatus* means, I do not know." Purchas mentions '*Chebagnadose*,' as an Indian town on the 'Apananawapeske' or Penobscot.† Râle gives, as the name of the place on "the river where M. de Gastin [Castine] is," *Matsibigwadosse*, and on his authority we may accept this form as nearly representing the original. The analysis now becomes more easy. *Matsi-aⁿbagawat-ek*, means 'at the bad-shelter place,—bad covert or cove;' and *matsi-aⁿbagawat^{os}-ek* is the diminutive, 'at the small bad-shelter place.' About two miles and a half above the mouth of the Kenebec was a place called by the Indians '*Abagadusset*' or '*Abequaduset*'—the same name without the prefix—meaning 'at the cove, or place of shelter.'

The adjectivals employed in the composition of Algonkin names are very numerous, and hardly admit of classification. Noun, adjective, adverb or even an active verb may, with slight change of form, serve as a prefix. But, as was before remarked, every prefix, strictly considered, is an adverb or must be construed as an adverb,—the synthesis which serves as a name having generally the verb form. Some of the most common of these prefixes have been mentioned on preceding pages. A few others, whose meanings are less obvious and have been sometimes mistaken by translators, may deserve more particular notice.

1. ПОНQUI, ПОНQUÆ'; Narr. *pâuqui*; Abn. *pa'kwie*; 'open,' 'clear' (primarily, 'broken'). In composition with *ohke*, 'land,' or formed as a verbal in *-aug*, it denotes 'cleared land' or 'an open place:' as in the names variously written 'Pahquioque,' 'Paquiaug;' 'Pyquaag;' 'Poquaig,' 'Payquaoge,' &c., in Danbury and Wethersfield, and in Athol, Mass.

* Printed in note to Savage's Winthrop's Journal, ii. 180.

† See Thornton's Ancient Pemaquid, in Maine Hist. Collections, v. 156.

2. PAHKE (Abn. *paⁿgwi*;) 'clear,' 'pure'. Found with *paug*, 'standing water' or 'pond,' in such names as 'Pahcu-pog,' 'Paquabaug,' &c. See page 16.

3. PÂGUAN-AÛ, 'he destroys,' 'he slaughters' (Narr. *paú-quana*, 'there is a slaughter') in composition with *ohke* denotes 'place of slaughter' or 'of destruction,' and commemorates some sanguinary victory or disastrous defeat. This is *probably* the meaning of nearly all the names written 'Po-quannoc,' 'Pequannoc,' 'Pauganuck,' &c., of places in Bridgeport (Stratfield), Windsor and Groton, Conn., and of a town in New Jersey. Some of these, however, may possibly be derived from *paukenni* and *ohke*, 'dark place.'

4. PEMI (Abn. *pemai-wi*; Del. *pimé-u*; Cree, *peemé*;) denotes deviation from a straight line; 'sloping,' 'aslant,' 'twisted.' PUMMEECHE (Cree, *pimich*; Chip. *pemiji*; Abn. *pemetsi*;) 'crosswise; traverse.' Eliot wrote '*pummeche may*' for 'cross-way,' Obad. 14; and *pumetshin* (literally, 'it crosses') for 'a cross,' as in *up-pumetshin-eum*, 'his cross,' Luke xiv. 27. *Pemiji-gome* or *Pemiji-guma*, 'cross water,' is the Chippewa name for a lake whose longest diameter crosses the general course of the river which flows through it,—which stretches *across*, not *with* the stream. There is such a lake in Minnesota, near the sources of the Mississippi, just below the junction of the two primary forks of that river; another ('*Pemijigome*') in the chain of small lakes which are the northern sources of the Manidowish (and Chippewa) River in Wisconsin, and still another near the Lacs des Flambeaux, the source of Flambeau River, an affluent of the Manidowish.

The same prefix or its equivalent occurs in the name of a lake in Maine, near the source of the Alligash branch of St. John's River. Mr. Greenleaf, in a list of Indian names made in 1823,* gave this as 'BAAM'CHENun'gamo or Ahp'MOO-JEE'negmook.'" Thoreau† was informed by his Penobscot

* Report of American Society for Promoting Civilization of the Indian Tribes, p. 52.

† Maine Woods, 232.

guide, that the name "means 'Lake that is crossed;' because the usual course lies across, not along it." There is another "Cross Lake," in Aroostook county, near the head of Fish River. We seem to recognize, and with less difficulty, the same prefix in *Pemigewasset*, but the full composition of that name is not clear.

PEMI- denotes, not a *crossing of* but *deviation from* a straight line, whether vertical or horizontal. In place-names it may generally be translated by 'sloping' or 'aslant;' sometimes by 'awry' or 'tortuous.' *Pemadené*, which Râle gives as the Abnaki word for 'mountain,' denotes a *sloping* mountain-side (*pemi-adené*), in distinction from one that is steep or precipitous. '*Pemetiq*,' the Indian name of Mount Desert Island, as written by Father Biard in 1611, is the Abnaki *pemé'teki*, 'sloping land.' *Pemaquid* appears to be another form of the word which Râle wrote '*Pemaak^{re}kke*,' meaning (with the locative suffix) 'at the place where the land slopes;' where "le terre penche; est en talus."‡ *Pymatuning*, in Pennsylvania, is explained by Heckewelder, as "the dwelling place of the man with the crooked mouth; *Pihmtónink*" (from *pimeu* and 'ton).

WANASHQUE, ANASQUI, 'at the extremity of,' 'at the end;' Abn. *wanaskwówi*, 'au bout;' Cree, *wánnuskwotch*; Chip. *ishkuè*, *eshqua*. See (pp. 18, 19,) *Wanashqu-ompsk-ut*, *Wonesquam*,‡ *Winnescquamsaukit*, *Squamscot*. *Wonasquatucket*, a small river which divides North Providence and Johnston, R.I., retains the name which belonged to the point at which it enters an arm of Narragansett Bay (or Providence River), 'at the end of the tidal-river.' A stream in Rochester, Mass., which empties into the head of an inlet from Buzzard's Bay, received the same name. *Ishquagoma*, on the upper Embarras

* Abnaki Dictionary, s. v. PENCHER. Compare, p. 545, "*bimkwé*, il penche naturellement la tête sur un côté."

† *Wonesquam* (as should have been mentioned on the page referred to) may possibly represent the Abnaki *wanaskwá^amiwi* or *-mek*, 'at the end of the peninsula' ('au bout de la presqu'île.' Râle).

River, Minnesota, is the 'end lake,' the extreme point to which canoes go up that stream.

Names of *fishes* supply the adjectival components of many place-names on the sea-coast of New England, on the lakes, and along river-courses. The difficulty of analyzing such names is the greater because the same species of fish was known by different names to different tribes. The more common substantivals are *-amaug*, 'fishing place; *-tuk* or *sipu*, 'river;' *ohke*, 'place;' Abn. *-ka'tti*, 'place of abundance;' and *-keag*, *-keke*, Abn. *-khigé*, which appears to denote a peculiar *mode of fishing*,—perhaps, by a *weir*;* possibly, a *spearing-place*.

From the generic *namaus* (*namohs*, El.; Abn. *namés*; Del. *namees*;) 'a fish'—but probably, one of the *smaller* sort, for the form is a diminutive,—come such names as *Nameoke* or *Nameaug* (New London), for *namau-ohke*, 'fish country;' *Namasket* or *Namasseket* (on Taunton River, in Middleborough, Mass.) 'at the fish place,' a favorite resort of the Indians of that region; *Namaskeak*, now Amoskeag, on the Merrimack, and *Nam'skeket* or *Skeeket*, in Wellfleet, Mass.

M'squammaug (Abn. *meskwamékw*), 'red fish,' i.e. salmon, gave names to several localities. *Misquamacuck* or *Squamicut*, now Westerly, R.I., was 'a salmon place' of the Narragansetts. The initial *m* often disappears; and sometimes, so much of the rest of the name goes with it, that we can only guess at the original synthesis. 'Gonic,' a post office and railroad station, near Dover, N.H., on the Cocheco river, was once '*Squammagonic*,'—and probably, a salmon-fishing place.

Kaúposh (Abn. *kabassé*, plu. *kabassak*), 'sturgeon,' is a component of the name *Cobbosseecontee*, in Maine (page 26, ante), 'where sturgeons are plenty;' and *Cobscook*, an arm of Passamaquoddy Bay, Pembroke, Me., perhaps stands for *kabassakhigé*, 'sturgeon-catching place.'

* Schoolcraft derives the name of the *Namakagun* fork of the St. Croix river, Wisc., from Chip. "*namai*, sturgeon, and *kagun*, a yoke or weir."

Aum-suog or *Ommissuog* (Abn. *aⁿmswak*), 'small fish,'—especially alewives and herrings,—is a component of the name of the Abnaki village on the Kennebec, *Aⁿmesak-kaⁿtⁱ*; of *Mattamiscotis*, a tributary of the Kennebec (see p. 25, ante), and probably, of *Amoscoggin* and *Amoskeag*.

Qunnôsu (pl. *-suog*; Abn. *konosé*; Old Alg. *kinoⁿjé*; Chip. *keno'zha*;) is found in the name of *Kenosha*, a town and county in Wisconsin; perhaps, in *Kenjua* or *Kenzua* creek and township, in Warren county, Pa. *Quinshepaug* or *Quonshapauge*, in Mendon, Mass., seems to denote a 'pickerel pond' (*qunnosu-paug*). *Maskinongé*, i.e. *massa-kinoⁿjé*, 'great pike' or maskelunge, names a river and lake in Canada.

Pescatum, said to mean 'pollock,' occurs as an adjectival in *Peskadamioukkaⁿtⁱ*, the modern *Passamaquoddy* (p. 26).

Nahaⁿmô, the Abnaki name of the 'eel,' is found in "*Nehumkeag*, the English of which is *Eel Land*, . . . a stream or brook that empties itself into 'Kennebec River,'" not far from Cobbisseecontee.* This brook was sometimes called by the English, *Nehumkee*. The Indian name of Salem, Mass., was *Nehumkeke* or *Naiumkeag*, and a place on the Merrimac, near the mouth of Concord River (now in Lowell, I believe,) had the same name,—written, *Naamkeak*.

In view of the illustrations which have been given, we repeat what was stated in the beginning of this paper, that Indian place-names are not *proper names*, that is unmeaning marks, but significant *appellatives*, each conveying a *description* of the locality to which it belongs. In those parts of the country where Indian languages are still spoken, the analysis of such names is comparatively easy. Chippewa, Cree, or (in another family) Sioux-Dakota geographical names may generally be translated with as little difficulty as other words or syntheses in the same languages. In New England, and especially in our part of New England, the case is different.

* Col. William Lithgow's deposition, 1767,—in *New England Historical and General Register*, xxiv. 24.

We can hardly expect to ascertain the meaning of all the names which have come down to us from dead languages of aboriginal tribes. Some of the obstacles to accurate analysis have been pointed out. Nearly every geographical name has been mutilated or has suffered change. It would indeed be strange if Indian polysyntheses, with their frequent gutturals and nasals, adopted from unwritten languages and by those who were ignorant of their meanings, had been exempted from the phonetic change to which all language is subject, as a result of the universal disposition "to put more facile in the stead of more difficult sounds or combination of sounds, and to get rid altogether of what is unnecessary in the words we use."* What Professor Haldeman calls *otosis*, 'that error of the ear by which words are perverted to a more familiar form,'† has effected some curious transformations. *Swatara*,‡ the name of a stream in Pennsylvania, becomes 'Sweet Arrow;' the *Potopaco* of John Smith's map (*potuppâg*, a bay or cove; Eliot,) on a bend of the Potomac, is naturalized as 'Port Tobacco.' *Nama'auke*, 'the place of fish' in East Windsor, passes through *Namerack* and *Namalake* to the modern 'May Luck.' *Moskitu-auke*, 'grass land,' in Scituate, R.I., gives the name of 'Mosquito Hawk' to the brook which crosses it.§

* Whitney's *Language and the Study of Language*, p. 69.—"Ein natürliches Volksgefühl, oft auch der Volkswitz, den nicht mehr verstandenen Namen neu umprägte und mit anderen lebenden Wörtern in Verbindung setzte." Dr. J. Bender, *Die deutschen Ortsnamen* (2te Ausg.) p. 2.

† Haldeman's *Analytic Orthography*, §279, and "Etymology as a means of Education," in *Pennsylvania School Journal* for October, 1868.

‡ "Swatawro," on Sayer and Bennett's Map, 1775.

§ "Whiskey Jack," the name by which the Canada Jay (*Perisoreus Canadensis*) is best known to the lumbermen and hunters of Maine and Canada, is the Montagnais *Ouishcatcha*" (Cree, *Ouiskshauneesh*), which has passed perhaps through the transitional forms of 'Ouiske Jean' and 'Whiskey Johnny.' The Shagbark Hickory nuts, in the dialect of the Abnakis called *s'kowskada'mennar*, literally, 'nuts to be cracked with the teeth,' are the 'Kuskatominiés' and 'Kisky Thomas' nuts of descendants of the Dutch colonists of New Jersey and New York. A contraction of the

In Connecticut and Rhode Island special causes operated to corrupt and transform almost beyond possibility of recognition, many of the Indian place names. Five different dialects at least were spoken between Narragansett Bay and the Housatonic River, at the time of the first coming of the English. In early deeds and conveyances in the colonial and in local records, we find the same river, lake, tract of land or bound-mark named sometimes in the Muhhekan, sometimes in the Narragansett, or Niantic, or Nipmuck, or Connecticut valley, or Quinnipiac (Quiripee) dialect. The adopted name is often *extra-limitary* to the tribe by which it was given. Often, it is a mixture of, or a sort of compromise between, two dialects; half Muhhekan, half Narragansett or Nipmuck. In the form in which it comes to us, we can only guess from what language or languages it has been corrupted.

The analysis of those names even whose composition appears to be most obvious must be accepted as *provisional* merely. The recovery of a lost syllable or of a lost guttural or nasal, the correction of a false accent even, may give to the synthesis another and hitherto unsuspected meaning. It would be surprising if some of the translations which have been hazarded in this paper do not prove to be wide of their

plural form of a Massachusetts noun-generic,—*asquash*, denoting ‘things which are eaten green, or without cooking,’ was adopted as the name of a garden vegetable,—with conscious reference, perhaps, to the old English word *squash*, meaning ‘something soft or immature.’ Sometimes etymology overreaches itself, by regarding an aboriginal name as the corrupt form of a foreign one. Thus the *maskalongé* or ‘great long-nose’ of the St. Lawrence (see p. 43) has been reputed of French extraction,—*masque elongé*: and *sagackomi*, the northern name of a plant used as a substitute for or to mix with tobacco,—especially, of the Bearberry, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*,—is resolved into *sac-à-commis*, “on account of the Hudson’s Bay officers carrying it in bags for smoking,” as Sir John Richardson believed (Arctic Searching Expedition, ii. 303). It was left for the ingenuity of a Westminster Reviewer to discover that *barbecue* (denoting, in the language of the Indians of Guiana, a wooden frame or grille on which all kinds of flesh and fish were dry-roasted, or cured in smoke,) might be a corruption of the French *barbe à queue*, i.e. ‘from snout to tail;’ a suggestion which appears to have found favor with lexicographers.

mark. Even English etymology is not reckoned among the exact sciences yet,—and in Algonkin, there is the additional disadvantage of having no Sanskrit verbs “to go,” to fall back on as a last resort.

Recent manifestations of an increasing interest in Indian onomatology, or at least of awakened curiosity to discover the meanings of Indian names, may perhaps justify the writer in offering, at the close of this paper, a few suggestions, as to the method of analysis which appears most likely to give correct results, and as to the tests by which to judge of the *probability* that a supposed translation of any name is the true one.

1. The earliest recorded form of the name should be sought for, and every variation from it should be noted. These should be taken so far as possible from original manuscripts, not from printed copies.

2. Where the difference of forms is considerable, knowledge of the character and opportunities of the writer may sometimes determine the preference of one form to others, as probably the most accurate. A Massachusetts or Connecticut name written by John Eliot or Experience Mayhew—or by the famous interpreter, Thomas Stanton—may safely be assumed to represent the original combination of sounds more exactly than the form given it by some town-recorder, ignorant of the Indian language and who perhaps did not always write or spell his own correctly.

3. The name should be considered with some reference to the topographical features of the region to which it belongs. These may sometimes determine the true meaning when the analysis is doubtful, or may suggest the meaning which would otherwise have been unsuspected under the modern form.

4. Remembering that every letter or sound had its value,—if, in the analysis of a name, it becomes necessary to get rid of a troublesome consonant or vowel by assuming it to have been introduced ‘for the sake of euphony,’—it is probable that the interpretation so arrived at is *not* the right one.

5. The components of every place-name—or to speak more generally, the elements of every Indian synthesis are

significant roots, not mere *fractions of words* arbitrarily selected for new combinations. There has been no more prolific source of error in dealings with the etymology and the grammatical structure of the American languages than that one-sided view of the truth which was given by Duponceau* in the statement that "one or more syllables of each simple word are generally chosen and combined together, in one compound locution, often leaving out the harsh consonants for the sake of euphony,"—and repeated by Heckewelder,† when he wrote, that "in the Delaware and other American languages, parts or parcels of different words, sometimes a single sound or letter, are compounded together in an artificial manner so as to avoid the meeting of harsh or disagreeable sounds," &c. The "single sound or letter" the "one or more syllables," were chosen not as "part or parcel" of a word but because of their *inherent significance*. The Delaware "*Pilape*, a youth," is *not*—as Heckewelder and Duponceau represented it to be ‡—"formed from *pilsit*, chaste, innocent, and *lenape*, a man," but from PIL- (Mass. *pen*-, Abn. *pir*-,) strange, novel, *unused* (and hence) pure,—and -A^NPE (Mass. *-omp*, Abn. *āⁿbé*,) a male, *vir*. It is true that the same roots are found in the two words PIL-*sit* (a participle of the verb-adjective *pil-esu*, 'he is pure,') and *len*-A^NPE, 'common man : ' but the statement that "one or more syllables" are *taken from* these words to form *Pilape* is inaccurate and misleading. It might with as much truth be said that the English word *boyhood* is formed from selected syllables of boy-ish and man-hood; or that *purity* 'compounds together in an artificial manner' fractions of *purify* and *quality*.

We meet with similar analyses in almost every published list of Indian names. Some examples have been given in

* Correspondence of Duponceau and Heckewelder, in Trans. Historical and Literary Committee of Am. Philos. Society, p. 403. †Ibid., p. 406.

‡ Preface to Duponceau's translation of Zeisberger's Grammar, p. 21. On Duponceau's authority, Dr. Pickering accepted this analysis and gave it currency by repeating it, in his admirable paper on "Indian Languages," in the Encyclopædia Americana, vol. vi.

the preceding pages of this paper,—as in the interpretation of ‘Winnipisiogee (p. 32) by ‘the beautiful water of the high place,’ *s* or *ēs* being regarded as the fractional representative of ‘*kees*, high.’ *Pemigewasset* has been translated by ‘crooked place of pines’ and ‘crooked mountain pine place,’—as if *kō-a*, ‘a pine,’ or its plural *kō-ash*, could dispense in composition with its significant base, *kō*, and appear by a grammatical formative only.

6. No interpretation of a place-name is correct which makes *bad grammar* of the original. The apparatus of Indian synthesis was cumbersome and perhaps inelegant, but it was nicely adjusted to its work. The grammatical relations of words were never lost sight of. The several components of a name had their established order, not dependent upon the will or skill of the composer. When we read modern advertisements of “cheap gentlemen’s traveling bags” or “steel-faced carpenters’ claw hammers,” we may construe such phrases with a latitude which was not permitted to the Algonkians. If ‘Connecticut’ means—as some have supposed it to mean—‘long deer place,’ it denotes a place where *long deer* abounded; if ‘Piscataqua’ was named ‘great deer river,’ it was because the deer found *in* that river were of remarkable size. “Coaquanock’ or, as Heckewelder wrote it, ‘Cuwequenaku,’ the site of Philadelphia, may mean ‘pine long-place’ but cannot mean ‘long pine-place’ or ‘grove of long pine trees.’ If ‘Pemigewasset’ is compounded of words signifying ‘crooked,’ ‘pines,’ and ‘place,’ it denotes ‘a place of crooked pines,’—not ‘crooked place of pines.’

Again—every Indian name is *complete within itself*. A mere adjectival or qualificative cannot serve independently, leaving the real ground-word to be supplied by the hearer. River names must contain some element which denotes ‘river;’ names of lakes or ponds something which stands for ‘lake’ or ‘pond.’ The Indians had not our fashion of speech which permits Hudson’s River to be called ‘the Hudson,’ drops the word ‘lake’ from ‘Champlain’ or Erie,’ and makes “the Alleghanies” a geographical name. This difference

must not be lost sight of, in analysis or translation. *Agawam* or *Auguan* (a name given to several localities in New England where there are low flat meadows or marshes,) cannot be the equivalent of the Abnaki *agwaⁿn*, which means ‘a smoke-dried fish,’*—though *agwaⁿna-ki* or something like it (if such a name should be found), might mean ‘smoked-fish place.’ *Chickahominy* does not stand for ‘great corn,’ nor *Pawcatuck* for ‘much or many deer;’† because neither ‘corn’ nor ‘deer’ designates *place* or implies fixed location, and therefore neither can be made the ground-word of a place-name. *Androscoggin* or *Amoscoggin* is not from the Abnaki ‘*amaskohegan*, fish-spearing,’* for a similar reason (and moreover, because the termination *-hēgan* denotes always an *instrument*, never an *action* or a *place*; it may belong to ‘a fish-spear,’ but not to ‘fish spearing’ nor to the locality ‘where fish are speared.’)

7. The locative post-position, *-et*, *-it* or *-ut*,§ means *in*, *at* or *on*,—not ‘land’ or ‘place.’ It locates, not the object to the name of which it is affixed, but *something else* as related to that object,—which must be of such a nature that location can be predicated of it. *Animate nouns*, that is, names of animate objects cannot receive this affix. ‘At the rock’ (*ompsk-ut*), ‘at the mountain’ (*wadchu-ut*), or ‘in the country’ (*ohk-it*, *auk-it*), is intelligible, in Indian or English; ‘at the deer,’ ‘at the bear,’ or ‘at the sturgeons,’ would be nonsense in any language. When animate nouns occur in place-

* It was so interpreted in the *Historical Magazine* for May, 1865 (p. 90).

† Ibid. To this interpretation of *Pawcatuck* there is the more obvious objection that a prefix signifying ‘much or many’ should be followed not by *ahtuk* or *attuk*, ‘a deer,’ but by the plural *ahtukquog*.

‡ Etymological Vocabulary of Geographical Names, appended to the last edition of Webster’s Dictionary (1864). It may be proper to remark in this connection, that the writer’s responsibility for the correctness of translations given in that vocabulary does not extend beyond his own contributions to it.

§ Abnaki and Cree, *-k* or *-g*,—Delaware and Chippewa, *-ng* or *-ⁿg*,—with a connecting vowel.

names, they receive the formative of verbals, or serve as adjectival prefixes to some localizing ground-word or noun-generic.

8. Finally,—in the analysis of geographical names, differences of *language* and *dialect* must not be disregarded. In determining the primary meaning of roots, great assistance may be had by the comparison of derivatives in nearly related languages of the same stock. But in American languages, the diversity of dialects is even more remarkable than the identity and constancy of roots. Every tribe, almost every village had its peculiarities of speech. Names etymologically identical might have widely different meanings in two languages, or even in two nations speaking substantially the same language. The eastern Algonkin generic name for 'fish' (*nâma-us*, Del. *namai-s*) is restricted by northern and western tribes to a single species, the sturgeon (Chip. *namai'*), as *the* fish, par excellence. *Attuk*, in Massachusetts was the common fallow-deer,—in Canada and the north-west the caribou or reindeer. The Abnaki Indian called his *dog* (*atié*) by a name which the Chippewa gives his *horse* (*oti-un*; *n'di*, my horse).* The most common noun-generic of river names in New England (*-tuk*, 'tidal river') occurs rarely in those of Pennsylvania and Virginia, where it is replaced by *-hanne* ('rapid stream'), and is unknown to western Algonkin tribes whose streams are undisturbed by tides. The analysis of a geographical name must be sought in the language spoken by the name-givers. The correct translation of a Connecticut or Narragansett name is not likely to be attained by searching for its several components in a Chippewa vocabulary; or of the name of a locality near Hudson's River, by deriving its prefix from an Abnaki adverb and its ground-word from a Chippewa participle,—as was actually done in a recently published list of Indian names.

* Both words have the same meaning,—that of 'a domestic animal,' or literally, 'animate property;' 'he who *belongs* to me.'

PAPERS RELATING TO
THE CONTROVERSY IN THE CHURCH
IN HARTFORD.
1656-59.

THE originals of all but three of the following papers are among the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum, and in the part of that collection known as "Burghley Papers," Vol. xciii., Nos. 75-93. Nearly ten years ago, the attention of a member of the publishing committee having been directed to these documents, by the Hon. John G. Palfrey who examined them when in London, accurate copies were procured for the Society, through the agency and under the supervision of Mr. Henry Stevens.

"The Sentence of the Council held at Boston," September 26, 1659, is among the Hutchinson Papers in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, by whose courtesy a copy has been furnished for this publication.

The questions involved in the controversy in the Hartford Church—its results, in the settlement of Hadley, Mass., in 1659, and, ten years later, in the establishment of a second church in Hartford—its disturbing influence on political affairs in the Colony—the innovations on the established order of the churches of New England, the extension of the privilege of suffrage, and the recognition of a limited right of dissent from the religion of the State, of which this controversy was the occasion, if not the proximate cause, impart to whatever illustrates its history, more than a local interest. "Its true original"—says the author of the *Magnalia*—"has been rendered almost as obscure as the rise of Connecticut River. But it proved in its unhappy consequences, too, like that river, in its great annual inundations; for it overspread the whole Colony of Connecticut. . . . The factions insinuated themselves into the smallest, as well as the greatest affairs of all the towns round about. From the *fire of the altar* there issued *thunderings and lightnings* and *earthquakes*, through the Colony."—*Magnalia*, b. iii., pt. 2, ch. xvi.

The publication of these papers is the more opportune because, while they are passing through the press, the Second Church in Hartford commemorates the second centennial anniversary of its organization, Feb. 12, 1669-70.

CONTROVERSY IN THE
CHURCH IN HARTFORD, 1656-59.

I.

NOTES OF WHAT PASSED BETWEEN CAPTAIN JOHN CULLICK
AND THE REV. MR. STONE.—WITHOUT DATE.

[Lansdowne Mss., xciii. 79.]

Cullick. If he had declared that we had not taken content in his tryall, the Church might have had no other consideration; but he not declaring any such, then it lieth on our part to hold forth something to him, that we either do like and approve of him or doe not.

Mr. Stone. I do not thinke it is necessarie for him to expresse any dislike. Mr Michall never expressed any dislike when he left the congreg: As we are not to express any dislike of him, that must be knowne first, whether he go to the Bay absolutelie resolved neu^r to return.

Cullick. That must be as we carry toward him: we have had a tryall; is it meet we, now the time is out, we should let him go away and never say what our further desires are of him?

[This conversation or discussion was had, probably, at some meeting of the congregation in Hartford when the question of calling a minister as the assistant or colleague of the Rev. Samuel Stone was under consideration. The pastorate had remained vacant since the death of the Rev. Thomas Hooker, July 7, 1647. In 1649, the church "being therein countenanced and encouraged by the Reverend Mr. Stone" (as Mather informs us), invited the Rev. Jonathan Mitchell to visit Hartford, "in expectation to make him the successor of their ever famous Hooker." Mr. Mitchell—a son of Matthew, of Wethersfield and Stamford—was at this time a tutor in the college at Cambridge, where he had graduated two years before. He accepted the invitation to Hartford and preached his first sermon there, June 24, 1649. The next day, the church, with apparent unanimity, gave him a call to settle among them as their pastor; but

he was restrained from accepting it by a promise previously exacted of him by the Rev. Thomas Shepard, and returning to Cambridge, he was shortly afterwards settled there as Mr. Shepard's successor. (Mather's *Magnalia*, b. iv. ch. 4, § 6; Hubbard, ch. lxx.) Some years afterwards, Michael Wigglesworth, son of Edward, of New Haven, and a graduate of Harvard College in 1651, preached at Hartford; probably, in 1652 or 1653. (He was settled at Malden in 1654, and began to preach there a year and a half earlier.) In 1655, John Davis, a class-mate of Michael Wigglesworth at Harvard and, like him, of New Haven parentage, was preaching and teaching a school in Hartford. The precise time of his coming or going is uncertain. The town allowed him £10 "for preaching and schooling" to the 7th of February, 1655-6, and payment of an unpaid balance due him was ordered by the town, May 28, 1656. A memorandum on the town records shows that sum stipulated to be paid to Mr. Davis for the year 1655, was contributed or advanced before Jan. 20, 1655-6, by six individuals—John Richards, John White, [Samuel] Fitch, James Steele, Francis Barnard, and the widow of Wm. Gibbons—all of the "South side" of Hartford, and three or four of whom were among the "withdrawers" from the first church in 1656, or became members of the second church in 1669-70. Mr. Davis sailed for England in Capt. Garrett's ship, in the autumn of 1656, and was lost at sea. Gookin speaks of him as "one of the best accomplished persons for learning, as ever was bred at Harvard College." See Gookin's *Hist. Collections*, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i. 202.—ED.]

II.

REPLY OF THE WITHDRAWERS, TO A COMMUNICATION
RECEIVED FROM THE CHURCH.

[Lansdowne Mss., xciii. 77.]

DEAR BRETHREN,—Wee have as seriously and sadly as the Lord hath helped vs Considered and weighed what hath bene presented to vs in the papers received from Mr Stone and severall brethren, and doe solemnly profess wee have laboured wth all o^r might according to o^r Abilities and Light, to receive satisfaction in those things wee have presented to you for help in, but cannott meete wth that in yo^r Answer^s w^{ch} wee hoped and looked for, and therefore doe declare o^rselues that o^r doubts and difficulties yet remaine wth vs, and in some of them they are rather increased than remoued, and therefore to the great greife of o^r hearts must say, that as the case now stands wth this Church wee cannott wthout sin till wee receive other Light joine wth you in any office acts put forth by Mr Stone, for hee hath as much as in him lyes laide downe

his place, hath acted since accordingly, and the church hath done that w^{ch} wee conceive holds forth their acceptance; neither has Mr Stone in his Answer to those questions that concernes the same held forth satisfying and convincing Light to vs to the contrary: Wee doe therefore humbly desire that you would forbear doing that w^{ch} will put vs vpon doing that w^{ch} you shall Judge offensiuē or otherwise expose vs to temptations to act wth you doubtingly, to the great offence of God and hazard (if not wounding) or inward peace, vntill wee can haue helpe from an Able and Indifferent Councell mutually chosen, w^{ch} wee desire may bee indeaoured and attended wth as much speed as may bee.

*[If you shall refuse to graunt vs or desire heerein then wee desire you would graunt vs or dismissal, the thoughts whereof in many respects is exceeding bitter to vs, but any condition is better to vs (though bitter) then that w^{ch} doth expose vs to sinn.]

Wee subscribe to all that is aboue written vncrost.

March 12th $\frac{5}{5}$ $\frac{5}{6}$.

George Steele,	John Webster,†
Ozias Goodwin,	John Cullick,
Will. Partrigg,	Nathanell Ward,
John Marsh,	Andrew Bacon,
Isack Graues,	Andrew Warner,
Beniamen Harbert,	John White,
Wm. Leawis,	John Crow,
Thomas Bunc,	Thomas Standly,
	John Barnard,
	Gregory Wolterton,
	John Arnold,
	Zachary Fild,
	Richard Church.

[In dorso:] June 11th (56.)
or declaration that their
Answers to or papers doe
not satisfie vs.

* This paragraph is crossed with black lines, in the original.

† John Webster, one of the first settlers of Hartford, was at this time deputy governor of the Colony, having been elected to that office, in May,

III.

FROM THE WITHDRAWERS TO THE CHURCH.

[Lansdowne Mss., xciii. 74.]

March 20th, $\frac{5}{5}$ $\frac{5}{6}$.

DEARE BRETHREN,—Yo^r paper of the 18th Instant, containing 4 perticulars or propositions, wee haue receiued and considered, vnto w^{ch} (according to yo^r desire) wee returne this speedy answer:

To yo^r preface, wee Answer, that in o^r last paper wee doe something more then desire a Councell, in the generall; for wee desire an Indifferent Councell mutually chosen, by w^{ch} wee declare o^rselves to meane, that if you please to nominate the Elders of 4 or 5 churches, wee shall nominate the Elders of 4 or 5 other churches, w^{ch} if you thinke good to accept wee shall readily Attend.

To the first perticular wee Answer, that we deny, that there hath beene as yet any Councell agreed vpon by the consent of the whole Church:

To the 2^d and 3^d perticulars wee answer, that wee doe not judge them or either of them alone to bee sutable or sufficient meanes, most according to God to heale and helpe vs in the state wee now stand:

To the 4th perticular wee Answer, that wee conceiue there are sufficient reasons and such as are to vs cogent, why wee desire as aboue another Councell then that w^{ch} you say is agreed vpon by the consent of the whole Church:

1655. He was one of the 'committee,' or deputies, of Hartford in the General Court, in 1637 and 1638; was chosen an assistant in April, 1639, at the first election under the constitution, and re-elected annually, until his promotion to the office of deputy. Two months after the date of this letter, May, 1656, he was made governor. Mr. Webster had a considerable estate. In the original distribution of lands in Hartford, in 1639, only five individuals had a larger proprietary interest, and all these five died or had removed from Hartford before 1655.

1. Because of the weight and difficulty of severall of the thinges in difference, w^{ch} euery godly and learned Councell may not bee able to helpe vs in.

2. Because we haue had none that haue gon before vs to give vs Light therein.

3. Because the more able the Councell is, the more satisfaction you and wee may haue in the Light they hold forth for Conviction.

4. Because o^r worke is much increased, since that Councell was in nomination.

And we further explaine o^rselues in these two perticulars following :

1. Concerning o^r desires of a Councell, that wee might both attend the due weight of the occassions to bee considered by them, and yet not ouerload the buisines wth numbers, wee desire that the members of the Councell might bee within the compass of these two neighbouring Colonies, viz: New Hauen and o^r owne, and that out of them, each party might haue the choice of the Elders of 4 or 5 Churches, and that you would name yo^rs first, and then wee shall add the other parte of the forenamed number ; or if you are not willing to nominate first, then if you desire it wee are ready to doe it ; not that wee would avoid any helpe of Elders from the Bay, but that wee are not willing to propound thinges that may be exceeding difficult to attaine ; this wee desire as speedily as may bee to bee attended, because wee cannott attend to all the ordinances of Christe for o^r soules nourishment with you, wth a good conscience ; nor see, in the present posture you are in, that wee can in a way of Christe haue the exercise of discipline for the redressing what is amiss on either side :

2. If you thinke not fitt to comply wth vs in this o^r motion and desires of such a select Councell, though wth grieffe of heart yet wee are constrained to desire o^r dismissions for o^rselves, o^r wiues and children, to some approued Church or Churches of Christe, w^{ch} wee will indeauo^r to attaine within two or three months, in some place or way w^{ch} the Lord shall shew to vs ; it being so that you are satisfied in the way you

goe, and wee cannott joine with you therein, wth faith and a good conscience; it hauing beene the portion of some of the most eminent giftes and graces, as Paull and Barnabas, to parte asunder, 15 Acts, 39, when they could not satisfie one another in their way together, w^{ch} the Lord wrought to his owne glorie and good of the Churches, and wee know not but it may bee so heere, that wee might mutually injoy peace and truth in the way that God is pleased to reveale to vs asunder, w^{ch} wee cannott come satisfyngly to injoy together, and to prevent or wthdrawing from you in any other way w^{ch} wee shall bee forced vnto, if neither of these two viz: the fore-mentioned Councell, or or dismissions, can be attained: so wee rest,

Yo^r loving Brethren.

[In dorso:] March 20: $\frac{5}{5} \frac{5}{6}$.

O^r last paper to them desiring
dismission in case &c.

IV.

MR. STONE'S RESIGNATION OF OFFICE IN THE CHURCH.

[Lansdowne Mss., xciii. 75.]

Mr St: express: wⁿ hee laid downe his place.

That he would lay downe his place and office power; That he should not improve that power, or act as an officer any more amongst them; That hee would not have the ch: thinke they were noth[ing] but great words, but hee would haue them Assure themselves hee did not onely say it, but hee would doe it; tooke his leave of the Congregation, thanking them for all their Loue and Respect to him, telling them that if any Bro: thought hee had receiued more then his Labo^rs deserued or answered, hee would restore it to y^m; professing also that hee did it not out of any disrespect to them, nor with respect to any place or employ^t of greater hono and advantage that was in his view, for hee professed hee knew not whether to goe, but if hee could doe any th: for the Ch: where euer hee came, in procuring them another in his roome,

hee would doe it; for another might doe good in this place though he could not; that hee clearly saw that his worke was done in this place, and that hee had the Advice of the Ablest Elders in the Bay for what hee did.

Vppon this, seuerall of the Ch: at the same time lamented their sad condition, that they should be Left as sheepe wthout a Shepheard, and what should they doe on the Saboath dayes, with seuerall other expressions to the same purpose.

Then he replied, that if the Brethren desired it, while hee tarried amongst them and as hee was able, hee would speake to them on the Saboath dayes, as a Brother; and vppon this the meeting broke vp.

Since this, hee hath refused to act as an officer; and before there was any Leader or moderato^r chosen hee tooke the voate of the ch: about acquitting him, and said he did put that voate not as an officer but as a brother. Lastly the mai^or p^t of the Brethren then mett haue (as we conceive disorderly) chosen (as they say) another to lead the ch: in his roome.

[In dorso:] June 11th, 56.*

Mr Stone's speech when hee laid downe his place.

V.

FROM MINISTERS IN MASSACHUSETTS, TO CAPT. JOHN CULLICK
AND ELDER WILLIAM GOODWIN,† OF HARTFORD.

[Lansdowne Mss., xciii. 75.]

HONOURED, REVEREND, AND RIGHT DEARLY BELOVED,—The hearts of the godly in these parts being filled wth grieffe by

* This paper, with those which precede it, probably constituted part of the case submitted by the withdrawers to the first Council held in June, 1656. The date is that of the filing or indorsement—not of Mr. Stone's resignation of office.

† Captain John Cullick did not come with the first settlers of Hartford, but was placed on the footing of an original proprietor by a vote of the town, July 28, 1640,—before he had become an inhabitant. His name first

reason of the report of your breach still continuing unhealed, notwithstanding the endeavour of the late reverend Council at Hartford;* some of vs upon speech wth Mr Stone (your Rev^d

occurs on the records in October, 1642, when he was foreman of a jury at the Court of Magistrates. He was one of the townsmen of Hartford, in 1644. In May, 1648, he was chosen an Assistant, and Secretary of the Colony; to which offices he was annually re-elected till May, 1658. He was appointed one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies in 1652, 1653, and 1655, and was called to the discharge of other important trusts, indicating the high esteem in which he was held by the magistrates and the freemen. In 1648, he married (his second wife, probably,) a sister of George Fenwick, Esq., of Saybrook. He appears to have been one of the leaders of the opposition to Mr. Stone and the majority in the church. In 1658, he removed to Boston.

William Goodwin was the ruling elder of the church at Hartford, as he had been at Newtown before the removal to Connecticut. He was, Winthrop testifies, "a very reverend and godly man,"—who yet, "in heat of argument," could so far forget himself as to "use some unreverend speech,"—for which he was ready "gravely and humbly to acknowledge his fault." Winthrop's Journal, i. 142. "Known to us, for many years," as Mr. Savage remarks, "only by this notice of his language, as a deputy" in the Massachusetts court of 1634,—we may look to it for some indication of character. After the death of Mr. Hooker, some "heat of argument" was likely to be engendered when there was a difference of opinion between Mr. Goodwin and one who was disposed, like Mr. Stone, to insist on unquestioning and unhesitating submission to official authority in the church. Of the origin of "the unhappy difference" between teacher and elder, which Mather regarded as the cause of division in the church and of all the troubles which followed, we know no more than he did: "They were both godly men; and the true original of the *misunderstanding* between men that were of so *good an understanding*, has been rendered almost as obscure as the rise of Connecticut river." *Magnalia*, b. iii. pt. 2, ch. 16.

* This Council was held in June, 1656. It was composed of ministers of Connecticut churches, with one or two perhaps from the colony of New Haven. The authority for convening it may have been derived from the vote of the General Court in May, desiring the Governor (Webster), Deputy Governor, Mr. Cullick, and Mr. Talcott, "to advise with the Elders of this Jurisdiction about those things that are presented to this Court as grievances to several persons amongst us," &c. Conn. Col. Records, i. 281. Mr. Stone and his party in the church did not accept the result of this Council, and afterwards declared it "cancelled and of no force." *Ibid.*,

teacher and our endeared brother) being (though to our further sorrow) confirmed in y^e truth thereof, wee on y^e one hand vnable wth longer silence to behold y^e wound of so famous a sister church and mother in Israel, still bleeding, if not vlcerating, to the causing of much sadder fears than before, and on the other hand besieged wth the manifold difficulties that attend such a case and so circumstanced,—in the multitude of our thoughts what course might be taken for the speedy and seasonable extinguishing of y^t fire, the source of whose flames perplexeth vs day and night though at such a distance ; having first addressed ourselves vnto y^e only Counsellour by prayer and mutuall consultation, at last concluded, and as we hope in His Name and Guidance, to write vnto yourselves :

Beseeching you (except there appear vnto your wisdomes some better means of your speedy peace) y^t it may not seem grievous to you to come both of you together, as soone as may be, vnto the Bay, or if that cañot conveniently be attained, then to let vs understand from you by the first, whether you conceive it might be of any vse, vnder God to that end, in case any brethren from these parts should resort vnto you. Upon your signification whereof, wth its acceptableness vnto yourselves, and the brethren wth you, wee doubt not of y^e readiness of some amongst vs to be preuayled wth to perform that service, for the obtayning of a conference betweene yourselves, Mr. Stone and them, in order to the finding out of some expedient for the timous composure of y^e differences of your church, if God so please.

GENTLEMEN,—Were the division of Hartford the sole object of this nature to be lamented amongst vs (though y^e division of one church were as y^e divisions of many, because y^e divisions of Hartford,) yet we should encourage ourselves y^t among so many sons of Abraham, that spirit would seasonably revive

pp. 291, 317. Dr. Trumbull (Hist. of Conn., i. 297) appears to have been wrong in believing that "a number of elders and churches *from Massachusetts* came to Hartford in 1656, and gave their opinion and advice," &c.

w sometime calling to mind the relation of brethren prævented y^e fire betweene him and Lott. The spirit of brethren indeed is more able to quench then y^e spirit of men is to kindle the flame. We hope y^t we sometimes heare y^e sounding of your christian bowels at the remembrance of your late pastor's voice, who being dead yet speakes alowde to Hartford at such a time. We are ready to say one vnto another, it canot be y^t your Congregation, hitherto a glory to these churches whilst you kept y^e vnity of the spirit in y^e bond of peace, should through the scandal of an incurable breach (w^{ch} God forbid) open y^e mouthes both of your and our aduersaries to the shame and vnspeakable grieffe of vs all, and y^e reproach of the Congregationall way. The greater the Name of your church hath bene, the greater will the wounde bee, given by your breach to y^e name of Jesus. You are not ignorant of Satan's devices: Suffer not Hartford's praise, through their default, to become an occasion of Christ's prejudice. Alas! Alas! so it is, besides this burning of yours, diverse congregations amongst vs in this jurisdiction are for y^e present as so many Meribahs and Taborahs, whose smoake we feare doth more than appeare in y^e sight of the Cananites; And wee can neither put out this wildfire, nor prevent the crie from being told in Gath and published in the streetes of Askelon. If God be not more merciful, the triumph of opposite bretheren, yea, of the Philistines is at hand, believe it. It is more bitter then death y^t miserable wee should survive the worthy late deceased and leaving the churches in peace wth vs, to see them perish by home-bred contention, both in our sight and vnder our charge. Were it cold or nakedness, we might still have wayted in sadd silence; but tis no other than y^e care of y^e churches y^t in such a conjuncture of distresses thus lieth vpon vs. If Esther could not refraine in a case of danger by hostile invasion, we cañot (especially vpon our craving thereof) but be secure as concerning your brotherly and loving reception of this our application of ourselves by writing vnto you, in case of this domestick danger. Better it had benee for us to fall by persecution then by division; by

y^e praelate's power, than by our own handes. We doubt not, but speech will then be excused, when to be speechlesse were inexcusable. Our bowels! our bowels! we are payned at the very hearts, we cañot hold our penn.

Lett this be accepted as the sincere apologie of your wholly disengaged brethren, to this day vncertain of the particulars of your dissent, and vnpræoccupied as to any partie, only endeavouring as you see, by a general proposal free from grievance unto any, the præservacion of the whole. Wee comfort ourselves in your answer whether by personne or penne; the one of w^{ch} we desire may be wthout delay, as above mentioned. Mr Stone will stay here till we heare from you. Our service presented to the honoured Governor, and affectionate salutations to all the brethren. Your prayers we begge; ours (such poor ones as they bee) you have and shall have in Christ Jesus. We are (honoured and beloved)

yours ever, to love and serve you,

John Wilson,
Richard Mather,
Samuel Whiting,
John Sherman,
John Norton.

Boston 6 die 4
1656

[Addressed:] For our honored and much endeared friends Capt. Cullick and Mr. Goodwin at Hartford these, with speed,—present.

[In dorso:] June 6th, 56.*

A letter from some elders in y^e Bay to Mr. Goodwyn and Mr. Jn^o Cullick.

* It is nearly certain that this filing is wrong, and that the letter was dated, *not* 6th day of 4th month (June 6th) but the 4th day of the 6th month, (Aug. 4) 1656.

VI.

FROM CHURCHES IN MASSACHUSETTS TO THE CHURCH IN
HARTFORD.

[Lansdowne Mss., xciii. 78.]

The Churches subscribed, to y^e Church of Christ at Hartford,
greeting in o^r Lord Jesus :

HONORED, REVEREND, AND DEARLY BELOVED IN OUR LORD AND SAVIOR,—God in his all wise Providence (notwithstanding such abundant cause at home of putting o^r mouths in the dust) still seeing good to exercise these churches in reference to yo^rselves, in y^t after a Physitian hath been there, so deare a sister is not healed; y^e patient a mother in Israel, y^e disease continuing if not increased, since y^e application of y^e remedy, the present of conjunction of providence still holding such here as might be serviceable in a consientious nescience of y^e case, and wthholding y^e opportunity of theyr attendance upon you untill y^e Spring; marvel not if y^e zeal of y^e common cause of yo^r Lord and ours, o^r known union in y^e profession of y^e same order of y^e Gospell, o^r companionship in exile in y^e same Patmos for y^e same truth, y^e religious debt of co^munion of Churches, y^e care of all y^e Churches daily co^ming upon us, stirr up many searchings of heart in us concerning w^t may be done for you: marvel not if (wthout any more apology for non-writing, which as matters stand might happily rather be thought to call for y^e writing of a new Apology) yo^r afflicted and affectionate Brethren, unable to see y^e dissipation of so famous a sister church, were it by persecutiō, and much more unable to behold y^e dissolution thereof by scandall p^rceeding out of yo^r own bowels, for y^e preventiō of so sad an evill now feared, by these do beseech you all respectively, yet to continue together in yo^r church estate, untill triall at y^e time mentioned be made (if God p^rmitt) by a second meeting consisting of some frō hence wth some also

of yo^r selves, y^e late reverend councell wth any others you shall see cause) as a further expedient of yo^r godly peace. And also, seeing by y^e good blessing of y^e Lord (this controversy excepted) y^e church is likeminded as to y^e work of y^e gospell incumbent upō you, o^r further desire is y^t in order to yo^r more profitable improvement of this interim, each one in his place diligently serving y^e good of others in love, all matters of difference may for a while be accounted of you as a *Noli me tangere*, covered wth a conscionable and amicable silence; w^{ch} may be a happy means to sweeten this time of yo^r patience, a help to yo^r better edification, and if not instrumental to attaine y^e end amongst yo^r selves, wth y^e assistance of others, without any journey from hence (of w^{ch} we are not wthout hope, and w^{ch} we most desire) yet of especial use, to dispose mindes unto a more kindly pacification at y^e season propounded.

It is true to purg out y^e old leaven is a p^rcept, yet an affirmative p^rcept, w^{ch} you know though it bindeth allways, yet not to all times, hence, y^e p^rmissiō of evill unpnsht for a time (we speak wthout any applicatiō to p^rticulars) hath been preferred before an unseasonable attempting of a cure not wthout apparent hazard of notable calamity following thereupō to a society: or when y^e liberty of y^e p^rty releived is not to be balanced wth y^e consequent evill both of detriment to y^e whole and of scandall to y^e cause of religion. Upon this accot Moses for y^e hardness of they^r hearts suffered putting away, w^{ch} y^e Lord hated, and David, weak though a King, beares wth y^e sonnes of Serviah, then too hard for him. Such a gathering of y^e tares as roots up y^e wheat wth y^m is worse then they^r growing together in y^e same feild. Though a root of bitterness spring up in y^e church of y^e Hebrews y^e assembly is not therefore to be forsaken. Then indeed diligent inspectiō is o^r duty, but intempestive secession w^r [were] a sinn. The principall members desertion of a body laboring under a chronicall and languishing disease, is little less than

ye Messenger of Death ; if pillars give place wⁿ y^e hous re-
ceiveth a visible hurt, how shall ye building stand ?

.....but y^t y^e originall of yo^r trouble is ver-*

We take it for graunted on all hands, y^t upon they^r seces-
sion, as things are, a manifest scandall will follow w^{ch} party
soever be y^e author thereof and y^t (as circumstanced) a scan-
dall exceeding scandalous. The reputation of any offendor
aggravates y^e offence ; y^e scandalls of ye best men afford ma-
terialls for y^e most dangerously ensnaring traps of Sathan.
The evill example of ordinary saints tempteth, but y^e evill
example of Peter compelleth unto sinn. The white hereby
stricken at by Sathan is y^t truth in testimony whereunto we
are in this wildernes, y^e promoting wherof as it hath been
dearer to you then yo^r lives, so y^e wounding y^rof by yo^r
meanes lett it be forever holily abandoned by you ; more, the
death. Other congregations, though diseased amongst us,
have been cured : as yo^r fellowship hath been a glory to these
churches whilst you kept y^e unity of y^e spirit in y^e bond of
peace, so we beseech you putt us not to y^t shame in this
houre of yo^r temtation, y^t it should be sayed of yo^r society y^t
it was y^e first church w^{ch} proved incurable under all meanes
applicable in y^e congregational way, and y^t at such a time
wⁿ we are few, in a low estate and grieved in heart, as yo^r eyes
see, needing more then yo^r assistance, so disinabled to sustain
y^e charg of o^r adversaries by y^e advantage of yo^r example
against us, and this given in y^e sight [of] y^e sun. You are a
city whose fame hath sett you upon a hill, therefore you can-
not be hid. The ill savor of such a breach cannot be sup-
pressed wthin the limmits of these Colonies. Y^e evil report
thereof will be published in pts beyond Gath and Askelon.
A world of evill is herein, in y^t scandalls cannot be kept from
y^e world ; woe be to y^e world because of offences ; Professors

*“The lower portion of the sheet, probably about one-third, has been torn away, and is deficient, apparently at the crease where the paper was folded into three.”—Note by the copyist.

offend and y^e word of y^e God of professor^s is blasphemed. The sonnes of Jacob sin, but Jacob himself stinckes amongst y^e inhabitants of y^e land: or evill example is more potent to do hurt than or pious example is to do good. Many who have followed such as were emminent in theyr offence w^d not follow them in theyr repent[ance]. So, just causes there was why Nehemiah would not give his enemies matter for an evill report though to save his life, and why Paul will rather die than make his glorying void. The hono^r of y^e great name of God is deservedly dearer then life, but scandall (as it may be circumstanced) is worse then y^e death of y^e best man.

Hono^rd Reverend and beloved, we have not thus spoken by way of addition unto yo^r wisdome in point of light, or subtraction from yo^r goodnes in point of or expectatiō, only premonstrated or motiō to be in y^e Lord, y^t y^e just reason of yo^r more intense p^rsuit y^rof might appeare. Is there not a cause why other emergent employm^{ts} should give place to this p^rsent tes[timon]y of or sollicitude on yo^r behalf? Can we beare so sad a sign of y^t dreadfull woe of [Gods de]parting from us as yo^r breach (especially being in conjunction wth too many other sym[ptoms of] like presage) must needs be acknowledged to be, or if we are not altogether devoid [of the] same spiritt of care for all y^e churches, can we forbear being visibly beset*

.....
and spirituall men, in these or like words, If there be therefore any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of y^e spirit, if any bowells, if any mercies, breake not one from another before the time; forsake us not.

Dearly beloved, as we have not wrote unto you without much affliction and anguish of spirit, so neither wthout good hope through grace; for so to look at yo^r church, which God hath enriched wth his gifts and graces above others, is but meet: and upon this occasion to lett you know we so look at you, may not be unseasonable, y^t neither you nor ourselves

* "The lower portion of the sheet torn away."

be overgrieved. Beare wth us we besech you wherein we have exceeded ; if we are besides ourselves, it is for yo^r sake, for y^e Churches sake, for Christ's sake. We crave y^e continuing blessing of yo^r love and prayers, who by di^{vine} assistance shall still continue yo^r restles remembrancers at the throne of grace, untill your return acceptance of this o^r exhortation, issue in a timous and pious pacification, to y^e joy and thanksgiving of many.

Your brethren and ser[vants] for Jesus sake,

[*Signatures torn away.*]

[Addressed :] To the honoured and well beloved
Church in Christ Jesus w^{ch} is at Harford in
Conecticut, present these.

[In dorso :] Septemb. 56. A letter from the Eld^{rs}
in the Bay about o^r stay till Spring.

VII.

FROM THE WITHDRAWERS, TO THE CHURCH.

[Lansd. Mss., xciii. 80.]

DEAR BREATHREN,—The sight and perusall of your letter hath caused vs many thoughts of hart what to return to you, what to our selues, what to our Lord and Master, whom we know to be the Prince of Peace, sent from the Father of peace and sending his Spirit to lead vs in the ways of peace by those meanes of peace which himself hath appointed, and whom we know alsoe to be the Amen, the faithfull and true witnes, the same yeasterday, to day, and the yea for euer: And that faithfulness hath ben shewed in giuing for vs our straight, stable, suer, imūtable way of peace, out of which he would not haue vs to wander vnder the pretence of peace, least wher [we] seek lying vanities we forsake our owne mercies: the consideration wherof we haue often, and desire we may alway, haue in our eye: And accordingly attend your proposall. Whose harts are for peace, he only that searcheth the hart can discearn ; whose wages are for peace he can and will dis-

cover; and that we haue walked in those ways we haue the testimony of our consciencies within, and that evidence of rule that will clear it without to the world; for whereas to the wounding of our harts their grew a breach in our peace, wee propounded our thoughts and iudgments of the rule, and attended that way of debate which your selues iudged most according to rule; and you expressed yo^r selues that if we would but giue in our things in writting, you looked that the differences wear euen at an end; which, as we feared, we haue found a sad mistake.

In our writting, we presented that which we accounted and iudged rule and reason. And yo^r selues not concurring with vs, we after many propositions and prayers obtayned a councell of p^rsons suiting and answering yo^r propositions and desires; wherein how far wee condescended and denied our selues to seeke peace your selues know, and we know and can evince how loath we wear it should haue beene as it was, which yett at last we graunted. When this Councell was come, and we had declared our things to them, (as we thought we had said what was rule and reason, soe) they in most of our things concurred with vs and strengned our thoughts; wherin they did not, we readily attended their councill and their abide, which we think was according to rule. And now if you can show your actings soe for peace, there will be the less difference. We haue thought it was reason, we held fooreth for a way of peace and scripture light for what we pleaded: you thought otherwise, and called in these persons for their help between vs or to either of vs; and wee attende and you doe not: haue we not forgone our owne thoughts for a councill, and in a councill, and yett haue them concurring with vs, when your selues doe neether soe, nor soe, and yett still ar calling for conuerting light?

Off which who shall be iudge or when shall we know that we haue attended the multitude of councillers in which their is safety? You co^mend to vs the wayes of peace, But wheare do you in all your letter go about to proue your proposall a way of peace or a rule of Christ? Sillogismes we are not

skilled in, yett we look' at the reason of the letter, in our way of reasoning, to be thus: That if we agree in soe many things, then we must and ought to agree in sending to the Bay for Elders, and to them of the late councill; though their be no rule presented or reason aplied. Whear is the convincing light heer held foorth to vs, or such course taken to doe it, as we haue done towards you? And Brethren, suppose their wear a rule to call another councill, which hath not yett bin shewed vs; hath the hardnes of our agreement to choose the former councill (whearin you pleaded that if we did not take that, you knew not wheather euer we would agree for a[ny] one councill or noe) made it so easye nowe? Wee wear then long skanning and debating of the persons: and is it noe more now but send to the Matachusets for their Elders, who perhaps may not, at least some of them, be soe fitted euery way for our work. And for the Elders of the late councill, wee see not that yo^r interteynment of their councill hath been such as would be any incoradgment to them to com againe, except they see things in another frame. Now Brethren, we profess in words of truth, all things considered we know no rule warranting us to graunt your request, neither doe you shew vs any, if we vnderstand yo^r meaning: therefore, Deare Brethren, we doe beseech and intreat you, in the fear of the Lord and for the sake of Christ, to yeild to that counsell that is already giuen: either in the first part of it, which would be matter of great rejoicing and comfort to our hearts, if your light and conscience can come thearvnto; or elce that you would in like tenderness towards vs graunt vs our dismissal, according to our desire formerly exprest; that soe boeth you and wee may bee in a capacity to inioy the good things of Christ asunder, which we haue now soe longe time been deprivied off in our being together. And so we rest yo^r loueing brethren, in the name of the rest,

John Webster, William Goodwin,
John Cullick, Andrew Bacon.

Hartford, March 13 | 14, '56-57.

[In dorso:] O^r letter to Mr. Stone & the Ch: desiring them to attend the advice of o^r Councill, March 13 $\frac{2}{3}$.

VIII.

MR. STONE'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT, AND STATEMENT OF HIS POSITION.*

[Lansd. Mss., xciii. 85.]

1. I acknowledge y^t it is a liberty of y^e church to declare their apprehensions by vote about y^e fitness of a p^rson for office upon his Tryall.†

2. I look at it as a received Truth y^t an officer may in some cases lawfully hinder y^e church frō putting forth at this or y^t time an act of her liberty.

3. I acknowledge y^t I hindered y^e church frō declaring their apprehensions by vote (upon y^e day in question) concerning Mr. Wigglesworth's‡ fitness for office in y^e church of Hartford.

4. I am not consciois to myselfe y^t I intended therein y^e least just grievance to any brother, yet wⁿ I diserned that it was grievous to diverse brethren, and I had expressed my own apprehension about y^e rule in y^e case, I should have been willing to have left y^e church (had they desired it) to their liberty in voting.

5. As concerning y^e manner of y^e carriage of this businesse I suspect myself, that I might faile therein: And whatever

* This paper was drawn up while the Elders and messengers from Massachusetts churches were in Hartford. Its cautious concessions and grudging acknowledgment of the writer's *suspicion* of his own "error or failing," were perhaps made the basis of what was subsequently referred to as the "pacification" effected between Mr. Stone and the withdrawers before Mr. Norton and his associates returned to Massachusetts, early in May.—See Conn. Col. Records, i. 290, 291; Hull's Diary, in *Archæol. Americana*, iii. 179, 180.

† In the margin: "*Or otherwise thus*: 1. I acknowledge that it is a Liberty of the church to speak their apprehensions about the fitness of a person for office upon his tryall, provided they attend the rules of Christ in their speaking."

‡ Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, at this time pastor of the church in Malden, Mass. See note on page 54.

error or failing therein God shall discover to me by y^e helpe of any of y^e Elders of y^e late reverend Assembly, or of y^e dissenting brethren, taking in y^e help of y^e messengers frō y^e churches of y^e bay, my hearty desire is not only freely to acknowledge it, but heartily to be thankfull to any or all of y^m by whom such light shall be p^rsented.

6. In publishing my considerations together wth y^e determinations of y^e late reverend Assembly at that time, I acted unseasonably.

Sam: Stone.

This 18th of 2^m.
1657.

[On the verso of the foregoing:]

1. Touching y^e matter of suspension, I owne y^e sentence of the Councill therein.

2. Wⁿ the charge of infringement had been debated in the church at two meetings, wherein I had answered for myselve, one brother after this desired M^r Goodwin to clear mee, or to prove that charge. M^r Goodwin said, if any would charge him, he would answer him, and that was all he did say; yet to prevent trouble and for other reasons, y^e church thought meet to expresse their apprehensions for my clearing.

3. Touching attorneyship; wⁿ y^e dissenting brethren charged mee wth infringem^t, I appeared and answered in person two severall times, if no more, and at a following meeting the Church acquitted mee; afterwards Captain Cullick p^rsented a paper w^rin he charged mee wth y^e said infringem^t, from which y^e church having formerly acquitted mee, returned y^e paper subscribed, as an answer therevnto.

4. As for y^e choice of a moderator, it prop^rly and mostly concerns the brethren and y^e p^rson chosen; But so far as I acted by advising to it, it was y^e p^rsent exigence of y^e church y^t led mee therevnto.

Sam: Stone.

Hartford, 20. 2. 57.

IX.

MR. STONE'S LETTER FROM THE BAY, TO THE CHURCH AT
HARTFORD, WITH CERTAIN PROPOSITIONS, &c.

[Land. Mss., xciii. 82.]

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN,—I account it no small mercy and fauor of our good God that hee hath so comfortably composed those troublesome differances w^{ch} were betwene vs,* the God of loue and peace knit our hearts more and more to himselfe and one to another according to him, the Lord guide all our feet into the wayes of peace, and help vs to glorify that great name of his blessed Majesty, who hath shewed so much loue to vs, and done so great things for vs: my desire is that hee would goe before vs wth his cloud and pillar of fyre, shew vs his way, and cause vs to walk therein.

The Lord hath lately filled my head and heart wth many thoughts concerning my standing in relation to yo^rselues, the honored Church of Christ at Hartford, who are exceeding precious to my soule, for whose good and prosperity I send vp prayers daily to the God of heauen that hee would continue his presence wth you and that his glory may not depart from you, and I looke vpon myselfe as deeply ingaged according to all those abillities w^{ch} God hath giuen mee, to study and labour to promote yo^r spirituall and eternall good. If I were able to manage the things of Christ and the affaires of his

* "1657. The 6th day of the 2d month, Mr. John Norton, and several other elders and messengers of churches, took their departure from hence [Boston] towards Hartford, in Connecticut, to endeavour (if the Lord please to bless) a reconciliation and renewal of the bond of love and unity amongst them, in those parts; for their breach hath been the occasion of much division in sundry churches in these parts. * * * * *

6th of the 3d. Mr. Norton returned in safety home, and brought us word that the Lord had graciously wrought the church at Hartford to a re-union and a mutual promise to bury all former differences in silence for the future."—Hull's Diary, in *Archæol. Americana*, iii. 180. See *Conn. Col. Rec.* i. 290, 291.

house wth you to yo^r good and comfort, and to his praise and the glory of his name, I should not attend any thoughts of leauing y^t worke w^{ch} was committed to mee: but I am now aged and weake, being troubled wth diuers infirmities of body, and in that respect unable to attend that great and laborious worke in w^{ch} I haue bene employed wth you, and wee haue no Phisician at Hartford or neare at hand:* and I cannot conceiue that I shall liue any considerable time to doe service to you if I should return to you againe. I also considering the weight of that work, am convinced that I am vtterly vnable to act those great and difficult matters of Church governm^t w^{ch} must be attended wth you: my judgm^t may also in some thinges bee different from yo^{rs}, w^{ch} may bee a cause of a future breach, and if euer there should bee any new and fresh distance in o^r Chur[ch] th[e] name of Christ woul[d] bee more exceedingly blasphemed then it hath bene by forme[r] breaches. In these and such like considerations I am really fea[rf]ull that I cannot doe any good by my continuance wth you: and therefore I most earnestly and heartily desire you to take into yo^r serious consideration whether i[t] bee not the best way for yo^rselues and comforts for my go[od and] the glory of Christ, to giue me liberty to remove to so[me] other place where my worke may be more easy and tolerable and where I may live to doe some service for Christ. If you shall condiscend and consent to this p^rposition w^{ch} I present to you, I hope that by this means our loue shall continue and bee confirmed one to another wheresoeuer Jesus Christ shall cast mee; and this I conceiue will make much for the glory of Christ, that wee part one from another in loue. I shall most willingly by any counsell or helpe according to my power bee

* Dr. Bray (Bryan) Rosseter, of Guilford, was the nearest educated physician. He had prescribed for Mr. Stone, in 1655, as appears by a vote of the town, Jan. 7, 1655-6, granting £10, "towards Mr. Stone's charge of Phissick which he hath taken of Mr. Rosseter." In May, 1660, the General Court allowed £5 from the treasury, to Mr. Rosseter, "in consideration of his paines in comeing to and attending Mr. Talcot in his sickness."—Col. Rec. i. 353.

serviceable to you, that you may bee supplied, and that it may goe well wth you, and I hope that the Lord will provide better for you, w^{ch} is the desire of your vnworthy Brother

Sam : Stone.

[In dorso :] 1657. Mr. Stone's letter
from the Bay, and p^rpositions.

[On the other side of the same sheet :]

Certain p^rpositions presented to the Church of Christ at Hartford, by Samuell Stone, August 2. 57.

I. Proposition. The Church of Christ at Hartford doe bynde them selues in the presence of God to Samuel Stone their teacher, to submitt toe every doctrine which he shall propound to them, grounded vppon the sacred Scriptures, and confirmed by such reasons from the word of God, that noe man is able to gainsay. And Samuell Stone byndes himself to attend any reason which shall be presented toe him by any brother of the church or any other man who shall offer himselfe to dispute with him, and thearby bring any of his doctrine to publique tryall. I conceaue that the church is bound to this by their couenant which they haue made with their teacher; hee is bounde to propound the truth in a convincing way, Titus 1. 9, In which God is; and therefore people must fall before it, 1 Cor. 14. 24, 25. The members of a church are bound to obey their leaders, 2 Cor. 2. 9, For this end I did write, that I might know the proof of you, whether you be obedient in all things. The word implyeth that they must hearken toe the voice of their Teachers, as inferiors hearken to their superiors, Heb. 13. 17. They are bound to attend their reasons and arguments, assent to them, be taken and perswaded by them, and submitt themselues; not withstand them, but giue way and place toe their doctrine and teaching when it is according to Christ. And it is according to Christ, when it is soe cleare and euydent that it cannot be gaynsaid and noe man can dispute against it. A church must not gainsay their doctrine without reason.

1. Either a church is bound to submit to every doctrine soe dispenced by virtue of their covenant, or they are not obliged to submit to any doctrine propounded by their Teacher. Why are they bound to submit to any doctrine, but because it is dispenced in a convincing way?

2. A church is bound to submit to a convincing Argument of any brother, which they cannot answer, Math: 18. 15; and if they are not bound to submit vnto their Teacher when they cannot answer his reasons, they degrade him beneath the lowest member in the church.

3. If any brethren in a church oppose the doctrine of their Teacher, without reasoning and disputing with him, or procuring some oth[er] to dispute the case or question with him, they deale not soe well as advarsaries who oppose his doctrine and yett offerr to dispute. Acts 6. 9, 10.

II. Proposition. The Church doe bynde themselues not to offer to induce or bring in any officer to ioyn with Samuell Stone against his will and right reason, and without his consent and approbation. This dutye seems to be euydent from the former grounds; the teacher must leade the church, by scripture, convincing argument, and right rea[son], and the Church must then follow, and not oppose.

III. Proposition. The Church doe give full liberty to Samuell Stone to seeke out for a helpe to him, who may preach heere at least once every Sabboth, and hauing found out one hee shall haue liberty to propound him to the consideration of the Church, whoe will giue their free consent if Samuell Stone can give in sufficient testimony and evydence of his godlynesse, learning, abillity, and fitnes for that employment, and proceeding in that way. The Teacher being the leader of the church, he must propound the persons who may be a present help and goe before the church, and they are bound to followe him, when they haue noe reason against it.

IV. Proposition. Samuell Stone alsoe desires and expects an ingagement from [the] Church to procure some able phisitian to dwell and setle heere in Hartford before the next October, if it be posible that such a man may be obtayned.

We are bound by the 6th commandment to use such necessary and convenient waies of providence as may be obtained for the preservation of life.

X.

LETTER FROM THE WITHDRAWERS, TO OTHER CHURCHES,
INCLOSING THEIR REASONS FOR SEPARATION.

[Land. Mss., xciii. 86.]

REVEREND AND DEARLY BELOVED IN O^r LORD JESUS, in whome wee wish you the multiplication of grace, mercy and peace, the w^{ch} wee hope wee shall so much the more earnestly pray for yo^r enjoyment of, by how much the more bitter wee haue felt the absence and loss of the same, euen about what wee could have beleued, but the righteous Lord hath laid on vs the punishm^t of o^r Iniquity, w^{ch} wee desire to accept, and also to humble o^rselues vnder his mighty hand, and leaue o^rselues with him waiting for mercy, though wee deserue nothing but perpetuall desertion; according to his will so bee it:

Wee hauing long liued in the fire of Contention, vsing and seeking means to the utmost that wee might haue quenched the flame; but the Lord denying success to the same, and wee finding o^rselves scorched more and more therewith, haue bene forced by M^r Stone's breaking of o^r pacification,* after all other trouble, to flee from that w^{ch} wee could neither quench nor beare; w^{ch}, what sorrow of heart it is to vs, hee only that searcheth the heart knows; other men of stronger abillities and clearer Judgements might haue done otherwise, but wee haue indeaoured to bee faithfull in improving that tallent w^{ch} the Lord hath giuen to vs: O^r desire is not, to

*“ The breach at Hartford again renewed; God leaving Mr. Stone, their officer, to some indiscretion, as to neglect the Church's desire in the celebration of the Lord's supper, and to proceed to some acts of discipline towards the formerly dissenting brethren; and Satan taking occasion also by Mr. Stone's absence some weeks from them, and neglecting of the use of all means to cherish and to look unto their newly set bones and joints, they easily brake again.”—Hull's Diary, *ut supra*, p. 183.

lay blame vpon others, so wee may but keep o^rselues free, and to vs the voice of o^r Lord is that wee should marke them that cause divisions and auoide them. Somewhat of the ground of o^r withdrawing, wee haue sent you heere inclosed,* and may as wee see the Lord calling vs, declare further: o^r meaning therein being onely that as becomes Christians wee might bee ready to giue an acco^t of o^r actions and courses w^{ch} else might in themselves looke doubtfully, and bee by others rep^rsented otherwise then indeed they are. So desiring yo^r earnest prayers to the Lord for us and your fauorable construction of that course w^{ch} o^r meere necessity and conscience enforceth vs to, we desire the p^rsence of the Lord with you and his blessing vpon you; wee take leaue and rest.

Your sorrowfull and disconsolate friends,

Hartford,
Nov: 11th: 57.

John Webster,
John Cullick,
Willi^m Goodwin,

The seuerall particulars in the first paper, dated 26th, and presented 28th of October, will be testified from amongst the subscribers therevnto.

In the name of the subscribers to the former paper, bearing date 26th Octo: 57, who desire you to co^municate it to your church.†

[In dorso:] Novembr 11th. 57.

O^r letter to the Chh^s wth o^r appology.

* The inclosure has not been found.

† This letter, with its inclosure, appears to have been sent to several of the neighboring churches, perhaps to all those in the two colonies. The "former paper bearing date 26th October" was, probably, the "remonstrance sent to the Church at Hartford," which is said to have been afterwards "published and read in several churches," &c. See the following paper, No. XI.

"At a Quarter Court at Hartford 3d December, 1657. Ensigne Talcott and John Allin maketh compl^t contr: Mr. John Russell Junior of Wethersfield defend^t, for reading of a paper on the Lord's day (being the 29th of November last) at Wethersfield w^{ch} tended to the defamation of Mr. Stone and the Church at Hartford, and also w^{ch} they conceive tendeth to the disturbance of the peace of the Churches and commonwealth." Mss. Rec'ds.

XI.

COMPLAINT OF NATHANIEL BARDING AND OTHERS OF THE CHURCH, AGAINST MR. WEBSTER AND OTHERS OF THE DISSENTING BRETHREN; PRESENTED TO THE GENERAL COURT.

[Lansd. Mss., xciii. 89.]

This 4th of December 1657:

A Declaration of seu'all greiuances and offences giuen by Mr Webst^r, Capt. Cullick, Mr Goodwin and Andrew Bacon, and the other subscribers to a remonstrance sent to the Ch: of Christ at Hartford, now published and read in seu'all Chs, tending to the defamation of Mr Stone and the Ch: at Hartford, and to the breach of the peace of the Ch^s and coñonwealth, w^{ch} wee whose names are subscribed humbly p^rsent to this hono^red Court for reliefe, helpe, and direction, desiring it may bee duly considered. Their offences are these w^{ch} follow:

1. Wee conceiue that they haue violated their couenant wth vs w^{ch} they haue not only made, but lately renewed in a sollemne manner, and testified before God and men that [*they*] would walke with vs as formerly, and yet they repeate former [*matters*] w^{ch} were all issued according to the Counsell of the late reuerend Eld^{rs} and messeng^{rs} sent from seuen Ch:^s in Mattachusetts, whereby they make it appear that they refuse to stand to that determination, to w^{ch} wee and the Ch: doe stand firmly according to o^r agreem^t and ingagem^t.

2. They haue wthdrawne themselves from all Ch: coñunion wth vs, not giuing vs any convincing reason out of the word of God for their wthdrawing from vs in this mann^r, neither haue they reasoned wth the Ch: although wee know it hath bene desired by them, for the Ch: haue answered their paper and receiued no returne; neither haue they since that answere inquired of the Ch: and examined things in the least measure, whether the Ch: will owne any such things as are euill or noe; and that these actings tend of their owne nature to the defamation of the Ch: and Mr Stone may appear,—

(1), Because these subscribers hiding their owne sin in breach of couenant, p^rtend that Mr. Stone hath transgressed the last agreem^t, without a[ny] euidence, spetiall testimony, or any one wisse named who can testify those things, and subscribe a multitude of hands, as if all the things w^{ch} are expressed in that paper were sure and certaine. Who is it that hearing these papers read by officers in Chh^s but will bee apt and ready to conceiue that so many persons of such accompt will not subscribe to a paper wthout just cause and sufficient ground?

(2), They say they wthdraw from M^r Stone and all that joyne with him in these euill courses, as if neither M^r Stone nor the Ch: were worthy of the com^union of saints.

2. These actings also tend to the breach of the peace of Ch^s and Com^onwealth: first, of Ch^s and Ch: estate, (first,) because they tend to the rending of Ch^s. 1. Cor 12. 25.

(2), because these are a desperate violation of the rules of discipline in practise here according to the word of God: as for that rule of discipline, 18 Math. 15, they so slight it, that Brother Bacon not only being vnder offence but also vnder Ch: p^rcesse and some conviction, and yet he p^rfesseth hee will not attend the Ch: and why may not any brother when hee hath giuen offence, espetially if hee can p^rcure a considerable number to joyne wth him, rend himself from the Ch: and shake off the yoake, ordinances and discipline, and gou^rnment of Christ, in his Ch: And this way of theirs crosseth o^r first fundam^tall law,* whereby wee are bound by oath to obserue the rule of discipline here in practise according to the word of God.

(2.) if differences arise in a Ch: they should bee first disputed in the Ch: and then more openly in a publick counsell,

* That is, fundamental law of the Colony.—“For ourselves and our successors . . . enter into combination and confederation together, to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus which we now profess, as also the discipline of the Churches which according to the truth of the said gospel is now practised amongst us.” See Col. Rec. of Conn., i. 21.

according to that pattern, Acts 15; but this rule is not attended by our brethren.

3. Vpon this accompt how can it be avoyded but there will be seuerall Ch^s in euery Towne in this Jurisdiction? for if discontented p^rsons who distaste the wayes of God p^rtending that they are the holy party may seperate from their brethren without just cause, will not this cause diuissions and subdiuissions of Ch^s in seuerall Townes? In p^rbability this will follow this euill example, and be destructive to the peace of the co^monwealth, and kindle such a fyre as will not be quenched till the obseruation of all deuine ordinances, the sanctification of the Sabboath, and practise of the wayes of deuine worship, bee consumed amongst vs, and then woe bee to the Inhabitants of this place. Wee must marke them who cause devisions and offences contrary to the Doctrine w^{ch} we haue learned, Rom: 16. 17.

The reason why wee are necessitated to p^rsent these greiuances and offences to the consideration of this hono^red court, is because these our brethren doe deny any Ch: relation to vs; secondly, the Civill authority are by the apointm^t of God and by the lawes of this co^monwealth to see that the peace, ordinances and rules of Christ in euery Ch: within this jurisdiction bee observed; and the Ch: haue giuen in to o^r brethren, if vpon due examination it bee found that M^r Stone or the Ch: haue departed from that last agreem^t made before the Eld^rs of the Massachusets, they will by the helpe of Christ attend their conviction with due satisfaction.

Nathaniell Barding,
George Stocking,
George Graue,
Thomas Spencer,
William Kelsy,
Joseph Eason,
Paul Peck,
John Baysy,
Nath. Willett.*

* In dorso: "Comp^t of Barding, Stocking and others ags^t Mr. Webster, Capt: Cullick and y^e rest of y^m."

At a session of the General Court, March 11, 1657-58: "This Court

XII.

LETTER FROM THE WITHDRAWERS TO GOVERNOR EATON
AND THE REV. JOHN DAVENPORT, OF NEW HAVEN.*

[Lansd. Mss., xciii. 88.]

To o^r much honored and Reverend } Mr Eaton,
 } Mr Davenport.

You may please to vnd^rstand that wee haue receiued yo^rs
 of the 9th Instant by Will: Leawis, w^{ch} throughout the same

orders that henceforth no persons in this Jurisdiction shall in any way im-
 body themselves into Ch: estate, without consent of the General Court, and
 approbation of the neighbor Churches."—"This Court orders that there
 shall be no ministry or Ch: administration entertained or attended by
 the inhabitants of any plantation in this Colony, distinct and seperate from,
 and in opposition to that which is openly and publicly observed and dis-
 penced by the settled and approued Minister of the place, except it bee by
 approbation of the General Court and neighbor Ch^s," &c. Col. Rec. of
 Conn., i. 311.

At the same session: "This Court orders, in reference to the sad differ-
 ences y^t are broken out in the seuerall Ch^s in this Colony, and in spetiall
 betwixt the Ch: of Hartford and the withdrawers, and to prevent further
 troubles and such sad consequences that may issue from the premises to
 the whole Commonwealth, It is desired and required by this Court, that
 there be from henceforth an utter cessation of all further prosecution, either
 on the Ch^s: part at Hartford towards the withdrawers from them, and
 on the other part, that those who have withdrawn from the Ch: at Hartford
 shall make a cessation in prosecuting their former propositions to the Ch:
 at Wethersfield or any other Ch: in reference to their joyning there in Ch:
 relation," &c. Ibid. 312.

At a session of the General Court, Aug. 18, 1658: "In reference to a
 complaynt made by Georg Graues, Georg Stocken, Nath: Willett, Nath:
 Berdin,—contra Mr. Webster, Capt. Cullick, Mr. Goodwin, Andrew Bacon,
 in y^e name of the rest of the withdrawers at Hartford, consisting of seueral
 particulers, presented the last session to y^e consideration of this Court.
 This Court sees cause to defer the consideration of the compl^t vnto the
 Court in Octob^r, and haue ordered that then it shal be attended; in y^e
 meane time to procure what light and help they can in the case." Ibid. 318.

* This is copied from what appears to have been the original draft, un-
 signed.

manifestly shews yo^r vnwearied Labor of Loue for o^r good, and Compassionate simpathy in this o^r (may we say) distress and misery, w^{ch} calls and cryes aloud on all to whome it comes for the expression and exercise of bowells of pittie; for indeed o^r condition in some respects is exceeding sad, that wee should bee forced to withdraw co^munion from those that haue beene so deare to vs that wee could haue laid downe o^r liues at the foot of any [ru]le that should haue called for them, for the good and comfort of them and theirs; but so it is; though it bee [a] bitter portion from the hand of o^r loving Father yet wee des[ire] to accept it, knowing that wee haue deserued this and worse from his righteous hand; but this is o^r comfort in the midst of these afflictions, that (according to all the vnderstanding that is in vs, and all that wth o^r praies and teares wee could obtaine from him the father of lights to shew vs) wee haue not brought this vnneccessarily vpon o^rselues, but hee hath called vs heerevnto in obedience to his rules and for the p^reseruation of purity in his howse and peace in o^r hearts. In way of returne to yo^r letters wee desire humbly to p^resent a few [t]hinges to yo^r f[ur]ther serious and pious consideration.

F[ir]st, if the last Elders and mes[sengers] w^{ch} were with vs, being those from the Bay, had euer beene called or owned by us as a Councill, wee should haue concluded o^r duty and rule had beene to haue done as in yo^rs to vs is suggested; but that neuer was. Neuertheles wee did acquaint them with M^r Stones expressions about the Instrument of o^r pacification, and sent them the testimony vnder John Bernards and Jeams Ensigne's owne hands, desiring to haue their plaine Answer therevnto, whether they would owne what M^r Stone had affirmed, for it did greatly concerne vs. Wee receiued a p^resent answer by the bearer from M^r Norton, with a promise of a more full answer from the rest, but neuer had it till after wee had giuen them the same Acco^t of o^r withdrawing w^{ch} wee sent you, and then it was onely from 4 elders and 2 messengers; wee haue now sent you a coppie of M^r Stones letter, wherein you will see the tearms propounded of return, w^{ch}

wee cannott accept, in regard of the offences wee haue declared they lye vnder in o^r consciences, and they doe nothing for the remouall of them. Concerning M^r Russells* being serued with a warrant &c., hee appeared and stood at the Barr, M^r Wareham,† M^r Newton and M^r Steele standing allso by him; the Court spending one whole day about hearing their complaint and his defence, broake of without passing any sentence or censure upon one or other; Some of vs haue had a debate wth some of them, before the Gou^rnor and M^r Wells;‡ but without fruit; their sp^{ts} being so exceeding high and deeply ingaged, there is no hope to vs of any reconcilliation according to God. Wee haue allso sent you a true coppie of the testimonial to the perticulars in o^r first paper (called a paper of slaunder). The severall persons that haue subscribed the testimonies went to the Gou^rnor and Deputy and there declared, in the p^rsence of Mr. Tallcott, M^r Stone, Richard Lord and Will: Wadsworth, that (in as much as M^r Stone would not suffer vs to speake to o^r paper before the Church, where wee would haue prooued to the Church what wee had declared; and in as much as it is since published by them§ to the Country (though according to what rule of God or man it was done wee discerned not), we then in the open Court before the coun-

* The Rev. John Russell of Wethersfield. Respecting the troubles in the Wethersfield church, see Col. Records, i. 319, 330, 342; Trumbull's Hist. of Conn., i. ch. 13. Mr. Russell and a majority of his church were in sympathy with the Hartford withdrawers, and subsequently removed with them to the new plantation at Hadley.

† Rev. John Warham of Windsor, Rev. Roger Newton of Farmington, and (probably) Mr. John Steele, formerly of Hartford, now of Farmington. Mr. Newton married the eldest daughter of Rev. Thomas Hooker. He was ordained at Farmington, when the church was organized there, Oct. 13, 1652; dismissed in 1657; installed at Milford, Aug. 22, 1660; died, June 7, 1683.

‡ 'The Gou^rnor' now was John Winthrop, elected as the successor of Gov. Webster, in May, 1657; Mr. Thomas Welles being re-elected deputy-governor.

§ In the margin: "the Gou^rno^r to them all, and after by some of themselves." This refers, perhaps, to some statement which had been made by the Governor to the assembled freemen of the Colony, at the May Court of Election.

try (in a great measure p^rsent) did tender to make proof vpon oath to the particulars in o^r paper but the Court was not pleased to attend vs), wee did earnestly desire that now they would take o^r testimonies, but we could not obtaine it then neither; so that wee can do no more but send you the Testimonies with their names subscribed who tendred their oaths therevnto, w^{ch} as they are now written were read by themselves all. If you can help vs w[ha]t wee should doe more then yet wee haue done for the clearing of o^rselues and the truth, wee shall thankfully accept it and readily attend it to the vtmost of o^r power; The way and meanes you prescribe for o^r reuision is exceeding pretious, in itselue acceptable and desireable to us, could wee but see a possibilitie to humane veiw of a cordiall and harmonical closing in the Lord, but we p^rsess wee cannot see it, they are so ingaged, their spiri[ts] so soured, heightened and embittered (to the best of o^r discerning) that to vs it is too manifest that the cement of brotherly loue is irrecoverably broken; and that it is by o^r fault, wee haue not yet to accuse o^rselues. But wee can freely and solemnly profess, that could wee but see that w^{ch} ought to satisfie o^r consciences accompanied with a vniting, sodering, suting sp^t of brotherly Loue w^{ch} ought to bee, and that bitter biting, deuiding and seperating sp^t forever abandoned with humiliation and detestation, and lastly, might not haue discipline put vpon us as wee haue not learned ensnaring to o^r Light and consciences, wee could as cordially close in the Lord as ever; but the truth is, wee haue no small cause to feare that the Church will bee filled quickly with such persons as wee cannot close with in such a relation and way of indeared co^munion. If they could any way be perswaded, it were to o^r App^rhensions the most peaceable way for y^m to dismiss vs, though wee cannot seeke it because wee are not of them. It is not possible for vs so speedily to remonstrate all the Causes of o^r withdrawing, how those that wee haue declared was circumstanced, and the spiritt w^{ch} appeared in the carri[age] of things since the pacification, w^{ch} wee shall decla[re] in o^r more large remonstrance, if wee be necessitated therevnto. Wee heare that Will: Wads-

worth* is gon into yo^r parts; what his business is wee heare not; but wee hope if you heare or meet wth any thinge that concernes vs, you will as speedily as you may acquaint vs therewth, though you send on purpose vpon o^r acco^{ts}. Wee cannott but long greatly to heare from you, wee want your light and helpe euery way; therefore wee desire you would vpon all occasions (though, when you see there is need, you send at o^r charge) let us heare from you. So wee humbly take leaue, earnestly begging yo^r vncessant praiers for vs in this o^r deepe affliction, and Rest.

The reason why wee could not haue o^r oathes taken before the Gou^rno^r and deputy, was, that when the Gou^rno^r expressed any willingnesse to attend vs, M^r Talcott, M^r Lord and W. Wadsworth did vehemently presse the Gou^rno^r that, if he tooke our testimonyes vpon oath, wee should bee ingaged to vse them no otherwise but in a way of preparation to a civill triall in o^r Court.

Hartford Dec. [1657.]

XIII.

FROM THE WITHDRAWERS, TO OTHER CHURCHES OF CONNECTICUT AND NEW HAVEN COLONIES.

[Lansd. Mss., xciii. 90.]

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—Wee being necessitated toe make a reply to M^r Stones papers (in way of Answer to ours) which himself and the Ch: hath sent to severall churches, you may please to vnderstand that wee have sent you a true coppie of what wee sent in to M^r Stone vppon the 29th of the last moneth. Our humble request is that this our reply may be read to yo^r Ch: and though wee are (as we conceiue) inforced

* William Wadsworth was one of the deputies for Hartford in the General Court, October, 1656, and at almost every session for many years afterwards. He was an influential member of the majority in the Hartford church, and was probably nearly related, by his marriage with Elizabeth Stone, (in 1644,) to the Rev. Samuel Stone.

toe withdraw from the perticular church wee did belong toe, which is a great greif to our hearts, yett we desire to holde our com̄union with the Churches of Christ as formerly. And yett not being able to content ourselves with that, but earnestly longing and desiring that wee might again be vnder the wing and gouernment of Christ in his Church, to enjoy and meete with him in all the waies of his instituted worship, haue p̄pounded our selues to the Ch: of Christ at Weathersfield for com̄union with them thearein. Now thearfore, having founde all former meanes by a counsell and otherwise fruitless as toe a thorough healing, and that thear is noe other meanes within our vi[e]we left but only to apeale to the churches and craue their iudgment and help in this our afflicted state and condition: Wee earnestly intreate that as speedily as you may you would afoarde vs what help you shall iudg wee neede, as our case requires: Either in that way we haue taken of p̄pounding ourselues, or in any other that you shall discern to be more according to a rule of Christ. Wee question not but your love to the waies of the Lord Jesus and yor pitty towards vs will produce a grant of our desire. And herein we unfeignedly beseech the God of all light and counsell to stand by and assist you, that your iudgment and advice may be according to him, and that our hearts may be bowed toe a ready and thankfull receiuing off and submitting toe the same.

Yor deeply afflicted friends and brethren in the Lord,
in the name of the rest withdrawne,

John Webster,
John Cullick,
Will: Goodwin,
Andrew Bacon.

Hartford, February 12th, 1657.

[In dorso:]

12th Febr 1657. Or lett^r sent to the Ch^s with or reply.

XIV.

REV. JOHN DAVENPORT, OF NEW HAVEN, TO THE CHURCH
AT WETHERSFIELD.

[Lansd. Mss., xciii. 74.]

HONORED AND BELOVED IN O^R LORD JESUS,—The answer of y^e Ch: of Christ at New hauen to yo^r Lett^r for advise, upon the question proposed, touching yo^r admitting y^e p^rsons mentioned into ch: Fellowship wth you, was such as that time could p^rsent. Since y^t returne, such of y^e Eld^{rs} of y^e Councell whose lib^rty would pmitt it, haue met togeth^r in this towne, w^{ch} themselues chose as most convenient for them all to meet in from their sevrall places. At their request and with the consent of this Ch: I was sometimes (as my occasions would pmitt) p^rsent with them, not as one of them, but as a stranger willing to receiue light from them, that thereby I might, wth the bett^r satisfactiō unto myselfe and you, signifye myne app^rhens^s touching y^t weighty question both to yo^rselues and to this ch: in due season. I shall leaue it to those Reverend Eld^{rs} to act in y^t way which is p^rp to them, for issuing y^e question betweene y^e Ch: of Hartford and yo^rselues for their dismission frō thence and admittance into yo^r Fellowship. For myselfe, I confesse I looke at such contentions in y^e Ch: at Hartford so long continued and wth such distance of sp^t, and sharpe opposition and bitterness, as highly dishonorable to God and Jesus Chr: and chst religion, and to y^e way of y^e congregacionall Ch^s, and as of dangerous consequences to all the church^s in these ends of y^e earth, both by an evill example and by their tendency to involue all y^e ch^s in some Fellowship of their contentions, if y^e most high be not pleased to avert that storme w^{ch} y^e cloud y^t is there gathered seemeth to threaten. In y^e form^r, we see how just cause we all haue to be humble before o^r holy and jealous God, for these weights w^{ch} p^rsse y^e minds of men downewards, and selfewards, and to watch and pray, and strive to mortifye dayly y^e sin y^t so easily besets us. Whence it is y^t a Brother (as well ecclesi-

asticall and* naturall) offended is hard^r to be won then a strong citty, Prov: 18. 19, and y^r contentions are like y^e bars of a castle. As for y^e latt^r, y^e dang^r of hurt by such an ill example will be removed, if we attend to these good examples, and to y^t p^rfect Rule of walking in Broth^rly loue wth all lowliness and meeknes, with long suffring forbearing one anothe^r in loue, endeavoring to keep the unity of the Sp^t in y^e bond of peace, w^{ch} y^e Script: holdeth forth unto us, to guide o^r feet into y^e wayes of peace and to arme them as with greaues or leg harnesses agas^t Scandals frō y^e contrary practise of others. The other dang^r, of being involued in contentions, hath hith^rto deterred me from meddling in these differences, till it should please y^e only wise God to call me therunto; by whose good Providence I have been exempted both frō publique acting, as not being called to assist in y^e councill, and frō acting by way of private advise to y^t Ch: yet seeing yo^rselues, Honored and Beloved, have bin pleased to write unto y^e Ch: y^e co^muniō of Acts [?] bindeth us to satisfye yo^r godly desire as we are able, least oth^rwise we should be found to be unto you as wats y^t faile in y^e time of need. Therefore I shall first give you a brieve account of w^t I haue don to informe mysele of y^e truth y^t concerns yo^r qstⁿ, and aft^rw^rd shew unto w^t issue my thoughts are come.

For y^e 1st, I find y^t the whole ch: at Hartford unanimously consⁿted to call a councl^l of Eld^rs of y^t Colony, wth whō y^y joined M^r Prud: of y^s colony,† to giue y^r advise for y^e ending of diffⁿcs betw: y^m; by w^{ch} act y^e ch. did put ye whole power of judging one anothe^r about y^e matt^r so referred out of their owne hands into y^e hands of y^t councill, wth submissiō to y^r judgm^t, it being according to Script. and held forth to y^m wth consent am^g y^e Eld^rs of y^t councill.

2^{ly}, y^t councill y^{us} called left their final determinacōn wth them in writting, subscribed by them all, as y^e result of y^e debates y^y had wth both ptyes till they h^d p^rduced w^t they would,

* So in the copy. The sense requires 'as,' for 'and.'

† Rev. Peter Prudden of Milford. He died in July, 1656.

and of y^e debates among y^mslaves touchg y^e diffⁿces and y^e means of removg them w^{ch} was, 1st, y^t mutuall satisfaction should be given on both sides each to oth^r, by acknowledg^g y^r faults in y^e pticul^rs mentioned in y^t writting; 2^{ly}, y^t if diffⁿces should againe breake forth or not be healed, y^e dissenting Brethren should craue y^r dismission, and y^e Ch. should giue it them.

3^{ly}, I haue seen and consid^red as the time would pmitt that Councells defense as the time would pmitt of their proceeding in that businesse, ag^t M^r Stones opposition published to their reproach, w^{rin} they p^rduce many argum^ts for their justification; w^{ch} defence was read before M^r Stone and Mess: [&] Eld^rs y^t came from the Bay, and left wth them, but no answ^r h^s bin retu^rned] to it and y^m, to this day.

4th, The Eld^rs of y^e sd Councill do further testify that the brethren formerly called dissenting haue fully attended the determina^on of the Counsell in both the advices left with them, 1st, By giving satisfaction to remo[ve] offences on their pt; 2^d, By crauing their admission,* wⁿ all means became ineffectuall for the settling of peace wth brotherly love among them; the Pacification also being frustrated w^{ch} y^e Rev^d Eld^rs and Messeng^rs from y^e Bay endeavor'd, the breth: being out of hope of obtaining their dismission haue separated y^ms: from that fellowship wth w^{ch} they cannot walk as it becometh brethren to walk togeth^r in Ch. co^munion; yet still they w^{ld} gladly receive their dismission to [walke?] in Ch. estate and ord^r either among thems: or wth some other Ch: w^{ch} the Counsell judg'd to be necessary as their case was, and that therefore the Ch: should grant it them, there being no oth^r way left for peace. The withdrawn p^{so}ns haue since sent a large writing to the Ch: at Hartford w^{rin} they prove the necessity of this their wthdrawing and charge the blame of it upon t^{ae} other p^{ty} compelling y^m thereto, and haue sent it to y^e Ch:, yet neith^r is that writing answ^rd nor the dismission w^{ch} y^ms; and othe^rs for them haue craued granted, but denyed.

* So in the copy: for "dismission."

5, The Elders of the sd Counsell doe farth^r testify y^t Mr St[one] and the Ch: at Hartf: have violated the determinacōn of that Councill in both p^rts of their advice, by their nev^r giving the satisfacōn p^rscribed for y^e healing of offences, and now by y^r not giving the offended breth: their dismissal.

And now what rem: to be done. Those p^rsons who have p^rpounded y^ms. to yo^r fellowship desire to walk in the ord^r and ru: to y^e rules of the Gospell. They are also known to yo^rs. and to all y^e peo: of God y^t have acquaintance wth them, to be Godly, nor doth the ch: at Hartf: deny this to be true; but there are differences, and thereupon offences unremoved. True, and there are so on both sides. They are for their numb^r and qualities a p^ty not to be despised. Where offences are mutuall satisfacōn must be mutually given and taken; but here, only the dissenting breth: must be urged to give satisfacōn, and the oth^r p^ty, the offend^rs in y^e app^rh[ension] and consciences of these breth:, off^r no satisfacōn to them, neith^r for matt^rs past, tho the Counsell required it, nor for oth^r offences given y^m frō y^t time to this day. Their nearnesse of habitacōn to yo^r town and Ch: is such y^t they may wth lesse inconve: joyn wth you yⁿ sundry ferms in many plantaōns can wth y^e Chs: of w^{ch} they are members. If all Chs sh^d refuse to accept y^m bec: y^e Ch: at Hart: will not dismisse y^m, tho their Councell advise it as a th[ing] necessary, and as it is reported their Hono^rd Gov^rno^r and Deputy have labor^d to perswade y^m to it as conducing to their publike peace, it would follow that they should be wholly deprived of ch: fellowship whom the consc: of all that know them judge to be fitt for that state; and that the determinacōn of a Councill chosen by both p^rties is of no validity for y^e ending of strife and contentiō in a Ch: and soe the only meanes w^{ch} is left to the chs wthin y^ms. for y^e ending of diff^rnces and for y^e releife of y^e opp^rssed will become vain and of none effect, w^{ch}, besides y^e reproach to y^e way of congrega: chs suited to Script: rel [rule?] and patterns, may discourage many frō entering into ch: fellowship.

I wish frō my heart y^t for these and sundry other reasons,

Mr Stone and ye ch: at Hartford would be pleased yet to grant their dismissal wthout any conditions or delay, that there might be some p^rvision made for the settling of peace in the Ch^s and plantations of that Colony; but if he and they are unalt^rably resolved for the negative, unlesse upō unequall conditions, Be ye pleasd, Honor'd and Beloved in the Lord, to consid^r wheth^r upō their Councells sentence and conclusion it will not be safer y^t you rec: y^m then y^t you refuse it, espec: seing their being admitted into yo^r fellowship will not exempt them frō giving just satisfactiō to any w^m they have offended, but rather oblige them more strongly thereunto; and seing if all ch^s should refuse them in this case, w^rto w^{ld} this come in the issue but to say in effect to these Godly p^rsons, goe out of this land, or if you will stay in it you shall serve* God in the way of Ch: cōmuniō; but far be y^t frō any of ye Ch^s of Ch^t. Yet y^t ye may walke orderly in rec: y^m, it will be yo^r pt to act therein by advice of ye Councell w^{ch} the whole Ch: chose, who I suppose either have enquired or will ab: the Ch^s attendance to their advice in this poynt, and declare their conclusive consent about it; w^{ch} being done in a way of approving yo^r admittance of them, unlesse mo[re] convincing light be held forth for the contrary then any that hath yet appeared, I must professe and doe, that I see no satisfying reason for w^{ch} mys^r or any oth^rs sh^d wthdraw broth^rly cōmunion frō yo^{rs}. [for?] so rec: y^m into y^r ch: fellowship, or frō y^r being so received; and I believe that this Ch: will be of the same minde; w^m yet I cannot engage therein wthout their consent, w^{ch} straights of time deny me lib^rty of taking at p^rsent; but I shall if God p^rmit send a speedy account thereof to your Rev^d Pastor, to be cōmunicated to you by the first opportunity. Now the God of peace putt a speedy and grac: issue and conclusiō to these disho^{ble} and uncomfortable contentions, and stablish peace with truth and holiness in yo^r holy fellowship and o^{rs}, and in all ye Ch^s of ye S^{ts} w^{ch} Satan labo^{rs} to corrupt or disturbe. The Lord rebuke him,

* For "shall not serve"?

even the Lord y^t hath chosen his Ch^s, and tread him und^r foot, as he will shortly: In w^m I rest, Honor^d and Beloved,

Your servant and brother, in the faith and fellowship of the Gospel,

John Davenport.

XV.

TESTIMONY AND COUNSEL OF THE REV. JOHN HIGGINSON,
OF GUILFORD.

[Lansd. Mss., xciii. 87.]

Whereas in the first breaking out of the difference betwixt Mr Stone and Mr Goodwin I did what lay in mee to dissuade them from a Counsell in this case, and rather perswaded to a more priuate and brotherly way of healing, before the Church there was engaged unto parties, And haue ever since bene a sad spectato^r of the continuance and increase of the contentions that haue bene in the church of Hartford (especially since the determination of the Counsell of Eld^{rs} chosen by both parties) and could haue rather chosen to haue bene for euer silent in this case:

Yet being called vpon and sent vnto this winter time by both parties (the dissenting brethren sending downe to the ch: of Gilford the grounds of their withdrawing, and Mr Stone sending his answere after them) and vpon the withdrawing brethrens p^rpounding themselues to ioyne wth the ch: of Wethersfild, a letter was sent downe from them to the ch: of Gilford for advise wheth^r they should receiue them or not, though I haue not seen cause as yet to read any of their writings to the church, and am sensible of my owne weaknesse, and that I may erre and mistake when I doe not see it, yet I conceiue it my duty in this juncture of time and state of things to giue my owne testimony, according to my small measure of light, in such an intricate and perplexed case; John 18, 37, To this end was I borne and for this cause came I into the world that I should beare witness to the truth:

1. It is knowne to all men that the Eld^{rs} of the Counsell were chosen by both parties of the Ch: of Hartford, and at their request were sent by their owne Churches, as a Counsell to heare and issue their differences, and by light from the word of God to establish truth and peace amongst them.

2. It was the duty of the Eld^{rs} of the Counsell (thus called and impowered) to set downe their definitive sentence, and giue in their decisiue iudgm^t, w^{ch} they did, viz:

{ either 1, Satisfaction mutuall for offences giuen,
or 2, Sep^tation by dismission of the dissenting brethren, in case of non-satisfaction.

3. It was the duty of both the parties of the ch: of Hartford to submit to the definitiue sentence of the counsell (viz:) either

(1) to giue satisfaction; that is,

either (1) to judge themselues for their offences, according to the iudgm^t of the Counsell so farre as light from the word was held forth to y^m;

or (2) In case that in their owne iudgm^t they dissented from the sentence of the Counsell, yet it was their duty to yeeld and give place to that sentence, wthout any further disputation; so as in silence to suffer vnder their iudgm^t, as the will of God concerning them; being contented to bee accounted guilty of such offences as the Counsell had judged, rather to cause any further disturbance, leauing their case with God; or

(2) in case of non-satisfaction, the dissenting brethren were to craue and the Ch: of Hartford were to giue a dismission, as the last remedy for peace.

4. The dissenting brethren have submitted to the iudgm^t of the Counsell, in both parts of it.

{ 1. They have giuen such satisfaction as they were advised to.
2. In case of non-satisfaction, they haue desired their dismission.

5. That M^r Stone and the Ch: there hath not submitted to the iudgm^t of the Counsell, in neither part of it.

- { 1. They haue not giuen satisfaction as they were advised.
 { 2. They haue not giuen dismission when it was desired.

But instead of submission, Mr Stone hath risen vp in way of opposition to the Counsell, setting vp his owne judgment in his owne case against the judgment of the Counsell; frequently calling for disputation after their definitive sentence, openly in the face of the Countrey publishing a confutation of the judgment of the Counsell, and by restlesse endeauor p^rcuring other Eld^{rs} to come vp from the Bay; whence some difference of judgment appearing betwene the Eld^{rs} of the Bay and the Eld^{rs} of the Counsell, the case might bee, and in the issue was, rendred to the co^mon view,

A Matter of doubtfull disputation.

6. This opposition to the Counsell by Mr Stone hath bene the blameable cause of the continuance and increase and multiplying of those contentions and disorders that haue bene since the Counsell; As also it hath giuen such a scandalous and formidable example of opposition to Counsells, and such a wound to the congregational way, that except Mr Stone's repentance for it bee as publickly knowne as his sinne in so doing, his example in this and the consequences of it is like to haue a destructiue influence vpon all the churches of New England.

7. It was the duty of the Magistracy in that Collony to haue seen that due respect and submission should haue bene giuen to the definitive sentence of the Counsell (as to the will of God and meanes of establishing peace).

But alas, many of the Magistrates there being interested in the case and deuided amongst themselues, this duty was neglected, a delinquent tollerated, the sentence of the Counsell contemned, the Eld^{rs} of the Counsell generally discouraged and discountenanced by a prevailing party growing vp vnder the shaddow of Mr. Stone. In perticular, since the time of the Counsell that power and p^ruiledge w^{ch} the Eld^{rs} of that Jurisdiction had before, to judge of the fitnessse of men for

freedome in that Coñonwealth, hath bene taken from them and transferred vnto other hands.*

* This statement deserves notice. The 'Fundamental Orders' or Constitution of 1638-39 restricted the privilege of voting in the election of governor and magistrates to such as had been "admitted freemen and taken the oath of fidelity," and who "cohabited within this Jurisdiction;" provided that deputies to the General Courts should be chosen "by all that are admitted inhabitants in the several towns and had taken the oath of fidelity;" and declared that the "General Courts only shall have power to admit of freemen." Only freemen of the Commonwealth were eligible to the office of governor, magistrate or deputy. (Col. Rec. i. 21, 23, 25.) In October, 1639, the General Court delegated to the governor and one of the magistrates authority "to make such free as they see fit" in Mr. Ludlow's new plantation at Pequannock (Stratford). In April, 1640, several inhabitants of Windsor and Hartford were "made free" by the General Court, and at the same session a form of the oath to be taken by freemen was prescribed. (Ibid. 46, 62.)

November, 1643, "the Court declares their judgment, that such only shall be counted admitted inhabitants, who are admitted by a general vote of the major part of the town that receiveth them" (Ibid. 96); and in accordance with this construction, probably, the words, "having been admitted inhabitants by the major part of the town wherein they live," were incorporated with the fundamental order regulating the election of governor and magistrates, by an interlineation of the record. (See Col. Rec. i. 21, note.)

No alteration of this law appears to have been made till the special session of the General Court called by the governor and magistrates, Feb. 26, 1656-57,—a few weeks before the expiration of Gov. Webster's term of office. At this Court it was ordered: "That those that shall hereafter be made free, shall have an *affirmative certificate under the hands of all or the major part of the deputies in their several towns*, of their peaceable and honest conversation, and those and only those of them which the General Court shall approve shall be made freemen": and "that not less than two magistrates shall give the oath of fidelity, at a public meeting warned by due and orderly notice given." (Ibid. 290, 293.) It was also declared, that by "admitted inhabitants," in the fundamental order which has been quoted, "are meant only householders that are one and twenty years of age, or have bore office, or have 30*L* estate."

It must be these orders to which Mr. Higginson alludes, as taking from the Elders "the privilege which they had before, to judge of the fitness of men for freedom." No such privilege had been given *by law*. The power of admission remained with the General Court, and the only *prescribed* qualification was, admission as an inhabitant of some town, by a major vote of the town. But some testimony to the "peaceable and honest conversation"

8. That notwithstanding Mr Stones opposition to the Counsell, and notwithstanding the different apprehensions of the Eldrs of the Bay (who were not called by both parties, nor so advantaged to vnderstand the state of things in Hartford as the neighbor Eldrs were), yet the definitiue sentence of the Counsell stands in as full power, as it did at first:

Because none hath convinced this Counsell of Error in their sentence, therefore it must stand as truth, and therefore bee acknowledged by all, that a due submission to and execution of their sentence is the only way for the attayning and establishing order and peace in the present case.

9. The pacification (p^rcured by the Eldrs of the Bay and (through importunity) yeelded vnto by the dissenting brethren and (through a like importunity) condescended vnto so farre by some of the Eldrs of the Counsell as to have it tryed as a meanes of peace) did not nullify either the power of the definitiue sentence of the Counsell or the duty of submission therevnto, in either party of the Ch: of Hartford.

(1) Because that pacification hath not attained its end as (alas) hath been too manifest by the devisions that haue bene since;

(2) Because it was the definitive sentence of the Counsell, that in case their giuing and taking satisfaction did not become effectuall for the remouing of those p^rsent differences and p^rvention of future, and those discords and contentions should continue, or if at present they should seeme to bee buried (as they did, by meanes of the pacification) but should spring vp againe (as, alas, they did after the pacification) then they iudged it most conducing to God's glory and their mutuall good, that there should bee a seperation one from another, by

of the applicant was, doubtless, required by the Court before conferring the franchise, and this, probably, was, by established custom, given by a certificate from the *minister* of the town to which the applicant belonged. The order of 1656-57 required such certificate to be made by "all or the major part of the *deputies*." In March, 1658-59, the Court ordered that the names of applicants should be "presented in an orderly way at the General Court in *October* yearly, to prevent tumult and trouble at the Court of Election." (Col. Rec. i. 331.)

dismissing the dissenting brethren, that as Paul and Barnabas, who could not agree to carry on Christ's worke together, yet God did blesse their seperation for the p^rmoting of Christ's worke and the co^mon good of his.

10. I see not wherein the dissenting brethren can bee blamed for desiring their dismission, for herein they acted according to the definitive sentence of the Counsell; But Mr. Stone and the Ch: are to be blamed for not granting their dismission (when they could not but see the contention sprung vp againe), for herein they acted in way of opposition still to the Counsell's definitive sentence.

11. I confesse, I haue had some scruple about the dissenting brethrens withdrawing co^munion from the Church of Hartford, vpon their not granting their dismission (viz:)

About the maner and order of their withdrawing; For according to the order set downe in the platforme of discipline, gathered out of the word of God, members withdrawing from the fellowship of their owne Ch: is to follow the counsell of neighbo^r Ch^s, and not goe before it. Pages 24, 25.

Had they stood in that posture of desiring their dismission, and when it was not granted, had they craued the further advice of the Eld^rs of the Counsell (w^{ch} had bene formerly chosen by both parties and sent by their Ch^s to end this difference) and if the counsell had admonished M^r Stone and the ch: to doe their duty in giuing a dismission, and in case they then refused, the Counsell in the name of their ch^s, or the Counsell and their Ch^s had withdrawne co^munion from them, the dissenting brethren might then haue withdrawne from the fellowship of their Ch: in a second place (viz:) after the neighbo^r ch^s had withdrawne first:

This had been according to the order there set downe.

12. Yet I see not why they should bee so farre blamed for failing in point of order (in such a difficult case) as to bee disowned or deserted in their cause:

Because their failing in point of order is not wholly to be attributed vnto them,—but

1, partly to a defect of the Eld^rs of the Counsell, in not so

particularly and expressly setting downe their judgments, in that case of the Ch^s not granting their dismissal:

2, partly to a defect of a practicall order settled and knowne amongst o^r congregacionall ch^s for helpe and direction in such cases:

For if a defect of such order among the Ch^s of England giues matter of excuse to such as apprehend themselues to haue those 3 grounds of withdrawing (mentioned in the preface to the platforme of discipline) and of joyning to other ch^s, then why may not a like defect of order (at least in some degree) in these ch^s giue the like matter of excuse to these dissenting brethren, being vnder strong apprehensions of those 3 grounds of withdrawing and hauing attendēd counsell so farre as it went; being now at their furthest, and in great straights, they knew not what more to doe then as they did:

13. I see not but (vpon this sad occasion) all o^r Eld^{rs} and Ch^s are called to acknowledge it, and for my owne part, I cannot but beare witnesse to it, that although the doctrinall part of consociation of churches is spoken much vnto in the printed bookes of o^r deuines, yet that there is a great defect amongst o^r Ch^s in the practicall part of it, viz: that there neuer was yet (that I know of) a practicall orderly way settled and agreed vpon for helpe in such difficult cases as these (viz:)

In what order	{	A Counsell may be convinced of error. Withdrawing cōmunion should bee exercised, and yet the order, peace and edification of churches preserued.
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And for ought I can yet see, not only these dissenting brethren but all o^r Eld^{rs} and ch^s are much at a losse in managing of such a case as this of Hartford, for want of such an orderly practicall way agreed vpon as M^r Cotton left as the last breathings of his loue and care for these churches a little before hee left this world.

Nor can I see that its possible in reason, that congregacionall Ch^s can stand long in cōmunion without such a practicall order of consociation as M^r Cotton hath p^rpounded as a necessary meanes to preserue vnion and consent amongst

churches, and to p^ruide co^mon remedies, against co^mon euills, by co^mon counsell.

14. Finally, for the withdrawing company (notwithstanding any frailties that may haue appeared in them, in the time of their long continued contention) I cannot but for my selfe giue this testimony concerning them,—they hauing been persons sound in the faith and of vnblameable life, in the time of their walking in fellowship wth the ch: of Hartford,—

That in case the Eld^{rs} of the Counsell judge that their wth-drawing hath bene according to the scope and intent of their definitive sentence, that then they are fitt either to joine in ch: fellowship amongst themselues, or to joyne to another church as God shall direct and giue them an opportunity to doe.

John Higginson.*

[Colony Records, vol. i. p. 317.]

AT A GENRRAL COURT OF ELECTION, MAY 20, 1658 :—

“Mr. Samuell Stone, Teacher at Hartford, p^resenting unto the Gen: Court, M^rch 25, '58, a petition wth certayne p^rositions, it was npon his request ordered to be recorded :—

My humble request is that the Qua^estions here p^resented may be sillogistically reasoned before this hono^rd Court. I hope that some of o^r withdrawn Brethren, or some other whom they shall p^ruide, will reason with me, face to face:

Quaes. 1. The former Council at Hartford June, 56, is utterly cancelld and of no force.

2. There is no violation of the last agreem^t (made when the Reverend Elders of Massachusetts were here,) either by the Ch: of Christ at Hartford or their Teacher.

3. The withdrawn Brethren have offred great violence to y^e formentioned agreement.

4. The withdrawn Brethren are members of the Ch: of Christ at Hartford.

5. Their withdraweing from the Ch: is a sin exceeding scandalous & dreadful and of its owne nature destructive to this and other Churches.

6. The controversy between the Ch: of Christ at Hartford and the withdrawn p^rsons is not in the hands of the Churches to be determined by them.

Sam: Stone.”

* This name has been “studiously effaced,”—as the copyist notes.

XVI.

FROM THE GENERAL COURT, TO THE CHURCHES OF BOSTON,
CAMBRIDGE AND ROXBURY.*

[Lansd. Mss., xciii. 93.]

Windsor, August 26. 58.

REUND AND BELOVED,—Grace and peace in X^t Jesus.—
The condition y^t or most wise God hath stated vs vnder, in
the dispensation of his p^rvidence, we doubt not but is wel
knowne vnto you to be very deplorable in regard of the discen-
tions and continued or renewed contentions of Brethren, w^{ch}
hath occasioned very sad thoughts in many, to consider what
might be, the purpose of God towards his people, that after
such indeavours, and labours, improued to reconcile and set
at one those deuided Sp^{ts}, and a good issue visibly manifesting
itself to the ioy of vs all: yet the flames of contention are
agayne broken forth, w^{ch} haue p^rvailed euen to the breaking

* The General Court in August, 1658, advised the Church at Hartford and the withdrawers, "to debate and dispute their difference among themselves, in the first place,"—the questions in the controversy to be plainly stated, before the debate. "In case this doth not take nor be embraced," the Court ordered that each party should choose three Elders, "able, and indifferent as times will afford, before whom the case in difference shall be publicly disputed; who shall lend what light and help they can to the issueing the controversy according to God, unto which both parties shall peaceably submit themselves." In case either the Church or the withdrawers should refuse to choose, the Court was to choose for them. If either party should be dissatisfied with the determination of the Elders so chosen, "there may be liberty for the dissatisfied party to object, that so the determination may be vindicated and confirmed by scripture and reason." The withdrawers were willing to choose; the Church refused. The Court named Mr. Cobbet [of Ipswich], Mr. Mitchell [of Cambridge], Mr. Danforth [of Roxbury], and for a reserve, Mr. Browne [of Sudbury], on the part of the Church: the withdrawers chose Mr. Davenport of New Haven, Mr. Norton of Boston, and Mr. James Fitch of Norwich. Mr. Allyn, Mr. Phelps, Mr. Henry Clark and the secretary (Daniel Clarke) were appointed to write, in behalf of the Court, to the before named Elders, to request their presence in Hartford, "by the 17th of September, to assist in that service." Col. Rec., i. 320, 321.

and wasting the bands of the revnion at Hartford, causing an abrupt and vnexpected seperation and rentinge, one from another. And yet though feares attend vs, the Lord hath not left vs without hope; but that the Balme of Gilead may heal vs throw the concurrence of the blessing of God, that hath appoynted the meanes to attayne the end. The labours and indeauors of this court with each party hath bin long improued, and seuerall p^rpositions made on al hands, wch vntil now have bene ineffectual to settle vpon some way to bring the case in difference to a hearing. But now, with good satisfaction to al, for ought, doth appear, it is concluded that severall Elders from the Massathuset Collony, viz—Reuerend Mr Norton, Mr Cobbit, Mr Michil, Mr Damforth, and from these parts, Mr Dauenport, Mr Fitch, shall be requested both by this Gen^rl Court and by both parties at variance to take paynes once agayne for the composing and setling peace, and to be helpful to repayre the breach.

It is appoynted y^t the Questions in controuersy (being playnly stated beforehand) shall be publiquely disputed before these Rev^dnd Elders chosen to hear and consider the matters and to lend what light and help they can to y^e issueing the differences according to y^e revealed wil of God: Unto whose determination, vindicated from obiections (y^t may be made by either party) and confirmed by scripture and reason, each party is peaceably to subiect themselves.

And now, reverend and beloved, o^r earnest desire and request to you is that y[ou] would be pleased to consider o^r condition and aff[ord vs some]* help and relief by sending yo^r Reu^dnd Elder M[r. Norton] whom we desire to be p^rsent here at Hartford on the [seventeenths of t]he seuenth month to assist in the forementioned [service?] whose former readynes (issueing from a sympathy and [compassion?]) of our misery) to vndertake this long and tedious Jo[urney] doth encourage vs to hope and conclude y^t o^r reques[t he]rein wilbe attended and answered for the furtherance of our ioy, in the dayly ex-

* The manuscript is torn here, and some words are illegible.

pectation y^t the Lord wil speak peac vnto vs and in due time worke a setled p[ea]ce amongst vs f[or] the obtayneing whereof we intreat yo[ur] applications [on] our behalfe. Furthermore we request that you would be pleased to impart the contents of this l^re vnto yo^r [neighbour] churches of Cambridge and Roxbury, whom we [cannot] include in the p^rmisses because straitnes of time prevents o^r desires of sending p^ticular letters to each congregation: we hope it may be wth speed and facility communicated or sent to those neighbor churches. We have wrote to M^r Cobbit, to y^e church at Ipswich. We desire further to certify y^t in case God by his p^rvidence doe disable any of the forementioned Elders of the churches wth you, by sicknes, y^t they cannot wth safety vndertake the iourney, in that case M^r Browne is requested and desired to supply the room, to be helpful with the rest of the Reuerend Elders. This we desire may be made known vnto him wth as much convenient speed as may be, in case need soe require. Thus comending you to the wisdom of God for your Guidanc and direction in yo^r administrations and consultations, we subscribe ourselues, Yo^{rs} in al Christian offices,

Daniell Clark,

Secret^{ry}

In the name and by order of y^e Gener^l Court
of Conecticut.

We desire more fully to informe you in one p^ticular w^{ch} is as followeth: y^t in case any thing fall out to hinder the much desired p^rsenc of Mr. Michil, M^r Cobbit, or of M^r Damforth, or of any one of these three, that M^r Browne is chosen to supply y^t defect.

Daniell Clarke, Secret^{ry}

p ord^r vt supra.

[Addressed:] To the Reund Elders and Brethren
of the Church of Christ at Boston, Cambridge and
Roxbury, p^{rs}t.

XVII.

MR. STONE'S CHARGES AGAINST THE WITHDRAWERS.*

[Lansd. Mss., xciii. 91.]

Quæstions to be disputed at the meeting of those Reuerend Elders who are chosen by the Gen: Court and our Brethren who are withdrawn from vs.

1. The naked testimony of the withdrawers, in the present differences between the ch: of Christ at Hartford and themselves, is illegal and invalid.

2. The same withdrawn psons transgresse in owning and standinge to the first Council (who were sitting at Hartford, June, 56) or any of their sentences and determinations, all which are now of no force.

3. The withdrawers transgresse in charging the Ch. of Christ at Hartford, and their Teacher, with violation of the agreement made when the Reuerend Elders of Massachusetts were here present.

4. The withdrawers transgresse in offering great violence to the forementioned agreement.

5. The same psons transgresse in p'fessing thēselues to be no members of the Ch. of Christ at Hartford.

6. Their withdrawing frō the Ch. of Christ at Hartford is a sin exceeding scandalous, tending of its own nature to the destruction of the Ch. of Christ at Hartford, and other churches.

* "At a session of the General Court at Hartford, Aug. 18, 1658: . . . In regard that the Court apprehends that the order concerning the stating and drawing forth of the Questions in controversy twixt the Chnrch at Hartford and the withdrawers, hath not been fully attended, it is therefore ordered, that twixt this and the 8th of September next, each party shall attend the foresaid order, in drawing forth and plainly stating all such Questions as they desire to have debated before the Council. . . . And it is also required that each party do plainly declare what it is that they will maintain in their Questions, either negatively or affirmatively, as matter of offence," &c. Col. Records, i. 321.

7. The withdrawers transgresse also in publishing their papers against the ch. of Christ at Hartford and their Teacher, before they had giuen them any conuiction to iustify their act, and without the consent of the ch. and their Teacher.

8. The same withdrawers transgresse in separating and rending thēselues in a scismatical way frō the ch. of Christ at Hartford.

9. Mr Webster transgresses in opposing y^e interpretation which the Teacher of the Ch. of Hartford gaue of that place, Hebr. 13: 17, when he said y^t the word translated ‘submit’ signified to give way, yeeld or give place. Mr. Webster said y^t that was not the just signification of the word, nor all; and said y^t he knew som thing, and y^t he feared y^t they should be brought into a snare, and when they were engaged they should haue it in the full breadth or extent.

10. Our Bro. Bacon transgressed in saying to Mr Stone, “then you are pfect,” or “then belike you are pfect: I had thought y^t no man had been pfect till now.” This thing testified to his face by diuers Brethren, he confessed then y^t if he said so then he wronged God, Mr Stone and his own soul, yett now he owneth not that confession.

11. When our Bro. Bacon was vnder ch. pcess he withdrew frō the authority of the ch. and said y^t he should not attend the ch. and his reason was he thought it not conuenient, because they had giuen in that declaration. Sam: Stone.

7^{ber} 7. 58.

XVIII.

FROM THE GENERAL COURT OF CONNECTICUT, TO CHURCHES IN MASSACHUSETTS.

[The original draft of this letter, in the hand-writing of Secretary Clark, was discovered by Mr. C. J. Hoadly, pasted into the cover of a volume of Records of the Quarter Court. He succeeded in detaching it, and in making an accurate copy, with the loss of only a line or two at the beginning and a few words near the end.]

.....
unto you once agayne, hoping y^t aft^r the perusal and scanning of the ensuing lines somew^t may appear pointing out o^r app^t

need of help from other or sisterchurches to heal or sad disastrous breache at Hartford,* and their chirurgerie for ye reuniting and rejoynting (if it be possible) those yt have dismembred themselves. We evidently find yt the spirits of those yt have formerly drawn together in the yoke of Ch^t and had pleas^t communion in the things of God are at a very vast distance and rather is augmented by continuation, so yt in civil matters there is not yt neighbourly concordance as formerly. And we cannot but be afrayd what ye issue may be, each party justifying themselves in yr ways and courses. We need not p^rsent unto yo^r rev^red consideration the continue scandal yt ye ch^s of N. England lye und^r, and the policy exercised in the Kingdom of Ch^t amongst us we doubt not but you are very apprehensive [of, as ap]pears by yr l^r. That w^{ch} gives us ground to judge yt there is yet hope concerning ye p^rsent state of Hartford is because the ch: and the withdrawn members profes their readynes to submit to any rule of Ch^t yt may be p^rsent wth clear evidence unto y^m: they have each party stated the question wherein yr difference lyeth and are ready to embrace any light that may be administred from ye word of God for resolutions of the sayd quest^s, w^{ch} are publicly to be disputed before them whom ye Lord shal stir up to come to hear and help in issuing and determining the sayd controversy. In the last session of this Court, 9 of this instant, there were many indeavours improved both wth ch; and the other party to bring them to a concurrence in some way for a hearing of ye case. The wthdrawers earnestly desired a council, and desired a mutual concurrence of the Ch: wth them to send to other Ch^s.

* March 9, 1658-59, "The Court taking into consideration the continued troubles and distance twixt the Church at Hartford and the withdrawn party, after further indeavours for a concurrence and unanimity to call in some help from abroad, and finding their labours herein invalid, have now ordered and appointed a council to be called by the Court (leaving each party to the liberty whether they will send or no), to be helpful in issing the Questions in controversy." The Secretary was ordered to write to those Churches whose Elders had been requested to come hither [see page 101, note,] to desire them to send from each Church "one of their ablest instruments" to Hartford. Col. Rec., i. 333, 334.

The Ch: were not willing to y^t course, but rather left it wth this Court to cal a council, and in fine there was y^e result, y^t unles we can p^rvayle wth the ch^s of X^t to send to y^e help of the Lord in this matter, o^r state and ch^s are like to remayne in a deplorable condition. Both parties are desirous to have y^e case come to trial, but refuse to act ioyntly in and about y^e way of calling for help. And now Ho: beloved, we beseech you consider and [if] there be noe weighty impedim^t in the way, graunt o^r request, to send one of yo^r ablest instrum^{ts} in yo^r society to be helpful to us in y^e p^rmises, to meet here at Hartford the 3d of June, with some messeng^{rs} from other neighbour ch^s of yo^r parts and from the southern parts, to whom we have sent as to yo^rselves o^r earnest requests. We hope you wil find argum^{ts} from o^r state and condition here p^rsented, and from yo^r owne bowels of compassion and yearnings towards us, to move you to send help to us: But [if] you yet doubt or anything impede, we intreat yo^r returne wth as much convenient speed as yo^r occasions wil permit, [*so that*] if it lye in our power we may remove the [*impediment*] and may obtayne the p^rsence of yo^r messeng^{rs} to whom [with your]selves and the rest of the ch^s of Christ [

grea[tly] obliged in y^e Lord Jesus,

Daniel Clarke, Sec.

in y^e name and by order of Gen. Court of Conecticut.

We entreat you to communicate the contents hereof to y^e neighb^r ch^s at Cambridge and Roxbury. We have sent to y^e othr^r ch. viz: Ipswich, Sudbury, N. Haven, Milford and Seabrook, and hope to receive their compliance wth o^r request herin.

XIX.

REPLY OF THE CHURCHES OF BOSTON AND ROXBURY, TO THE
CALL FROM THE GENERAL COURT OF CONNECTICUT.

[Conn. Archives, Ecclesiastical, vol. i. doc. 2.]

To the Honored Generall Court at Harford.

HONOURED & WELBELOVED IN O^r LORD JESUS:—That yet the Lord hath not pleased (unto whom nothing is impossible or hard) to compose the hearts of such Godly brethren who did once and for soe long a time together (through his grace) enjoy all the holy ordinances of Christ and mutuall co^munion one wth another therein after such an eminent & excellent maⁿer & measure, wth so great glory to the name of God and singular comfort not only to themselves but all others of y^e faithfull throughout all the churches of Christ, but y^t rather that envious & malignant and subtile one is still suffered to prevayle so farr, (as if no meanes had bene used to cast downe his holds or to defeate his stratagem,) it is (as it ought to be) and wee desire it should be farr more then it is, deeply lying upon o^r hearts, the Lord seeming to looke wth such an angrie countenance at all y^e prayers and indeavours of his poore people; who do looke at themselves no lesse afflicted in yo^r afflictions, yⁿ they did formerly account themselves blessed in yo^r blessings, making your case to be their very owne, as God knoweth how soone it may be y^e very same indeed, if the Lord should strictly mark o^r manifold ill deservings. And this doth adde greatly to y^e wound of o^r spirits, that God should stirre up y^e hearts of yo^r Hoⁿrd Court, so piously and pathetically to seeke or call for any help and succor from y^e churches of Christ here-about (and namely from o^r owne) in y^e way you doe ayme at, wthout such an answerable returne as might be worthy of those whom wee have in such high esteeme in y^e Lord, w^{ch} doth not proceed from any aversness unto further labour and service (if wee did apprehend there might arise any good or hopefull result therefrom:) what should we not adventure in such a case, or whom should wee spare? or who would once desire to be spared? if one ther be more desired

oy you, or more fitt in our owne conscience then another. But neyther the church (or major part) nor yet the part y^t is wthdrawne (much less both of them) addressing themselves unto us in any letters or message to y^t end, nor ought appearing, the w^{ch} may promise unto us (suppose a councill should there meet, from any churches there or here) that their counsell would have (or be acknowledged to have) any decisive power in the Lord (after their solemnest inquiries after Gods mind and conclusions therefrom, upon due hearing, consultation, debate, or deliberation,) but that each one are free to determine what shall be suggested by y^e light of their owne judgment: it hath seemed to o^r congregation, that such a way or attempt would be vayne, and little lesse then taking up an holy and sacred ordinance of God in vayne, (wee speake wth submission of o^r owne sence to better judgm^{ts}.) And therefore do beseech you right humbly to construe it in good part, that there hath bene no such one voted among us to such a worke: never the lesse magnifying y^e name of God for y^e holy and solicitous bent and zeale of yo^r solemne assembly. Beseeching upon o^r bowed knees the God of all wisdom, mercy, and peace, whose thoughts do infinitely transcend all of o^{rs} in every respect, that he would bring all things among you by y^e over-ruling grace of his holy spirit and almightie working of his owne providence, to a most blessed issue, in y^e way y^t may most please his majesty, and may be most effectuell for the good of you all (both in church and co^monwealth) above and beyond all we can either aske or thinke, even for the sake of his deare soⁿe Jesus o^r most mercifull advocate, to whom he never did nor can deny any thing at all, whose unworthy servants we are, and in him yo^r owne.

Boston 19 of 3^d mo: 1659.

We in the behalfe of the breth^rn
of the church of Roxbury doe
concur wth o^r brethren of the
church of Boston.

John Eliot,
Isack Gooch.

John Wilson,
Will: Colbron,
James Penn,
wth the consent
of the brethren.

[The General Court met, by adjournment, June 15th, and made one more attempt to restore peace to the Church by procuring the submission of all questions of controversy to a council "with decisive power." The members of the former council (of April, 1657), "unto whom are added by the nomination of the withdrawers, the teaching Elders of Dorchester and Watertown," were requested to meet at Hartford on the 19th of August. "The Churches to be sent to, whose help is requested, are Boston, Cambridge, Roxbury, Dorchester, Ipswich, Dedham, Watertown, Charlestown, Sudbury; seven whereof the withdrawers consented to; the Court and Church assenting to and desiring all, or as many as the Lord shall incline or enable to attend the work: unto whose decisive power, the withdrawn party is required, the Church at Hartford freely engaging, to submit according to the order of the Gospel." Col. Records, i. 339, 340.]

The withdrawers had already come to a determination to remove from the jurisdiction of Connecticut. In May, 1658, Capt. John Cullick and Elder William Goodwin presented to the General Court of Massachusetts a petition, asking in behalf of themselves and others liberty to take up a plantation "at Nonotuck or elsewhere." (Mass. Archives, 'Emigrants,' doc. 2.) April 18, 1659, "at a meeting at goodman Ward's house in Hartford," Mr. Webster, Mr. Goodwin and nearly sixty others agreed to remove from the jurisdiction of Connecticut, into that of Massachusetts. (Goodwin's Foote Family, Introd. p. xvii.) Before the meeting of the General Court in June, considerable progress was made in the settlement of the new plantation at Hadley. Under these circumstances, the withdrawers did not feel themselves bound to submit to the *decisive power* of the "council now chosen by the Church and Court;" although they "consented to" the selection of seven, and were allowed to nominate two of its members.]

 XX.

 FROM THE WITHDRAWERS, ASKING COUNSEL OF THE
 CHURCHES.*

[Lansd. Mss., xciii. 83.]

TO Y^E REVERENDE ELDERS OF Y^E CHURCHES, and whom we
 request by these to be informed:

That our earnest desyres are, that they would take into
 y^r pious consideration, that it being once and againe af-

* From the original draft, without date, signature, address or endorsement. From the mention of Mr. Fitch (of Norwich) and Mr. Davenport (of New Haven) as "of the *other colonies*," it appears that the writers were already within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

No reply to this letter has been found. The substance of the reply may be inferred from the fact of the withdrawers' subsequent assent to the

firmed by Mr Stone in y^e Courte at Hartford, y^t y^r needed not our consente to make theire call of a counsell for y^e issuing of y^e differences between us legall and orderly, that y^r counsell now chosen, and by y^r Ch. and Courte sent, wee, in respecte of our free choise, are not at all Interested in.

2. Hence wee doe wth all humble earnestnes request, that they would consider and determine whether (as y^e case now stands) wee are bounde to submitte to y^e decisive power of y^r Counsell, in case they shall goe and acte (considering y^t wee are not wthout thoughts y^t it may bee in y^e Liberty of y^e Ch. to w^{ch} wee are joynd afterwarde, to choose a counsell, in case y^r shall be dissatisfyed wth y^e determinacion of y^s). And if wⁿ you have brought your thoughtes to a conclusion, it shall be determined that it is our duty to refer re[specting?] y^e controverseyes depending to y^e counsell, and sett downe in respecte of order to y^r judgment, wee doe hereby Ingage so to doe.

3. The greate necessity wth wee see ourselves and others also to stand in of a counsell, wee doe moste earnestly intreate y^t you would determine what counsell is in y^e case legall and orderly, and having informed them and our unworthy selves y^rof, to improve your utmost to perswade a legall attendance y^runto.

It may be further added, y^t as we see no satisfactory objection why Mr Davenport and Mr Fitch, of y^e other Collonyes, may not be added as helpers in counsell, so wee are not without hopes y^t if y^e churches here should choose out of y^mselfes 3 or 4, and from y^e other two collonyes 2 or three more be added by y^e choise of y^e churches there, that by y^r helpe our differences through y^e goodnes of God might be composed, as well as in any other way.

A counsel we extreamely neede, and as earnestly desire: y^e waye to come by a legall Counsell seemeth difficu[lt]: wee know not to whom, if not to yourselve, to adresse for advice:

submission of all matters of controversy to the decision of this council, constituted from the churches of Massachusetts which had been named in the order of the Connecticut General Court in June, but which was held at Boston on the 26th of September, instead of at Hartford on the 19th of August.

for y^e Lords sake desyring y^t you would shew us our waye herein, and helpe us, both by counsell and prayer, to be ordered by it.

XXI.

[Hutchinson Papers, vol. ii. pp. 225-229.*]

The Sentence of the Councill held at Boston Septemb^r 26, 1659† concerning the long, sad & afflicting controversie between the Reurend Teacher M^r Samuel Stone, the Honoured & dearly beloved Brethren of the Church of Hartford on the one part, & the Honoured and dearly beloved Breth-

* Apparently in the handwriting of the 'matchless' Jonathan Mitchell of Cambridge.

† "Sept. 26. The church at Hartford and the dissenting brethren that had withdrawn from communion and joined to another church, appeared here in their representatives, and referred themselves to the judgment of a Council before chosen by nine several churches, and then set in Boston.

"The Council fully heard the grievances of both sides, and through the gracious presence of God so determined as was blessed with a sweet reunion, and very good satisfaction unto both parties; which was publicly manifested before they departed home. The Council also reserved a liberty for themselves to sit again the next spring, if any thing should after prove not so clear as it seemed to be at present to both parties." John Hull's Diary, in *Archæol. Americana*, iii. 188.

The nine churches from which the Council was constituted were represented as follows :

Rev. John Wilson, Rev. John Norton, and Edward Tyng, from the church in Boston.

Rev. Charles Chauncy (president of the college) and Rev. Jonathan Mitchell, from the church in Cambridge.

Rev. John Eliot, Rev. Samuel Danforth, and Isaac Heath, from the church in Roxbury.

Rev. Richard Mather, from the church in Dorchester.

Rev. John Allin, from the church in Dedham.

Rev. Zech. Symmes, Rev. Thomas Shepard, and Richard Russell, from the church in Charlestown.

Rev. Edmund Browne, from the church in Sudbury.

Rev. Thomas Cobbett, Rev. Wm. Hubbard, from the church in Ipswich.

Rev. John Sherman, from the church in Watertown.

ren the Withdrawers from the said Church on the other part, since the relapse after the pacification, May 3d, 1657.

After our unfained desire to Sanctify the all-wise & righteous God in his awfull Dispensation, in visiting with many stripes our Breach of Covenant by our abuse of the peace & liberty of the Gospell wherewith he hath priviledged the churches in this wildernes; in this Houre of Calamity, Heterodoxie and Confusion which is come upon our dearest native Country: And in particular singling out from amongst us the Church of Hartford, a Society excelling among her sisters, formerly a joy & Glory, but lately a matter of shame & sorrow of Heart unto us all; where through Gods tremendous dereliction of the members thereof, by letting the sun so many times goe down in their wrath to give place unto the Devill, wee for a long time have beheld an enemy in that habitation of Christ, to the consuming of our eyes & the grieving of our Hearts; And so as that also out of this Burning we continually heare the voice of Him whose eyes are like a flame of fire & who hath said, All the Churches shall know that He searcheth the Reines & tryeth the Hearts, Calling unto the other churches & threatening that He will come unto them quickly and remove their candlestickes out of their places except they repent: And after our thankful acknowledgement of y^e ffaithfulness of Him who keepeth Covenant, for his mercy endureth for ever, visiting the soules of his Saints with a spirit of repentance (as we hope) not to be repented of, whence the voice of his Turtle-dove is heard in our solemne Assemblies crying out, Why hast thou hardened our Hearts from thy feare? whence also the precious servaunts of God, the members of this distressed & mutilated society at last puffed with the anguish of their putrified sore which runneth day & night & ceaseth not, oppressed under their sense of the Blasphemy of the enemy, the sufferings of the Gospell, the sadness of their Brethren, their own languishings, being ready to dye, preferring the Remedy before y^e Disease, the way of Truth before the way of their owne understanding, have made their fre-

quent addresses unto the Great physitian, attending his healing presence according to his Institution of Councell by the way of Churches; not forbearing through Grace to say, Let the righteous smite me, it shall be a kindnes, let Him reprove me, it shall be an excellent oile which shall not Break my Head. To deserve rebuke is common unto all; to suffer rebuke is proper to y^e saints: that we need reproofe sheweth that wee are men; that we accept reproofe argueth that we are men of God: to give cause of blame is matter of dishonour; to beare blame obediently is matter of greater honour both to our Saviour & to, the sinner. Hence, Wee the Church-Messengers assigned unto that service and in order thereunto convened at the place above-mentioned, having heard the Case debated by both parties, examined and discussed the reasons pro & con alledged on either side, & and having imparted our apprehensions upon the whole unto the Litigants, as giving them thereby a further opportunity, if yet they had any more to say whence wee might in time see cause to make any alteration therein; Beeing sensible of the momentousnes of y^e Business in hand, Conscientious of the truth, Considerate of the parties & Conscious to ourselves as men of like passions; doe by these deliver our joynt sentence upon the Case, according to the particulars presented to us, as followeth:—

I. Concerning the Grievances presented by the withdrawing Brethren.

1. Mr Stones non-administration of the Sacrament.

Wee judge Mr Stones non-administration of y^e Lords Supper, especially at such a season to be irregular, because He was therein defective unto the execution of his office & fulfilling of His Ministry, Colos. 4. 17. Ministers are stewards, 1 Cor. 4. 1: It belongs to the Steward to give them of the household their meat in due season, Mat. 24. 45: And though we perceive that to have administred it before his going into y^e Bay was accompanied with some difficulty to Mr. Stone, yet that should have been overlooked at such a time. And concerning y^e time after his return, wee see not that y^e of-

fence of one man arising in the Church should hinder the whole from y^e celebration of that precious ordinance.

2. Concerning His sending for a Dismission.

The Reverend Mr. Stone having solemnly promised in his acknowledgment of the instrument of pacification, together with the rest of the parties concerned respectively, to walk in his Relation of an officer as formerly: wee cannot but judge that His Desire of a Dismission so speedily after the pacification, before the joynts of that dis-united Body so lately set were considerably settled, was unseasonable.

3. Concerning his propositions.

His proposalls of Engagements unto the Church at such a Time which were partly unnecessary & partly Disputable, & might minister matter of sample and jealousie at least unto weaker & Timorous apprehensions & consequently tending to the unsettlement of y^e Body, wee judge both unseasonable & inexpedient.

4. Concerning Rigid Handling of divers Brethren.

By rigid we understand not that which is unlawfull in itselfe, but a Strictnesse that is unnecessary. Now the State of the Church being then Tender & the parts thereof for too long a time sadly disjoynted & being but lately glued together; All prudence and patience was requisite in dealing with any of y^e Dissenters, especially if accompanied with any appearing dissatisfaction of the Rest, apt enough to be jealous that rather the humane interest of a party then the Cause of Christ was acted therein. In such Case Christian prudence often calleth to forbear that which at another Time was but duty to be done.

The Dealing with Honoured Mr Webster, as for aught we perceive it was unnecessary, so we think it had been much better spared. The Dealing with Brother Bacon for his first speech we conceive was with the Hardest. His second speech we look at as that which ought not to be suffered in Silence, yet it falling from him on a sudden might rather have been passed by with a present & publike rebuke. Wee dare not Censure the proceeding in Brother Lewis his case as rigid, lest we

should seeme unto ourselves to be rigid in so doeing. Concerning the Honoured Capt. Cullick, wee doe not find that He was dealt withall in a Church-way, & therefore cannot charge rigidnes upon it.

5. Concerning Mr Stones nullifying the instrument of pacification.

That Mr Stone said : “ the 2^d paper was a supposition & as nothing,”—we grant according to the Testimony; which notwithstanding, distinguishing between the paper taken largely for all the contents therein, and taken in a restrict sense, as relating only to part of the contents therein; though it seemeth Mr Stone severall times spake generally & indistinctly thorough an inadvertency, when the nature of the contest called for distinctness, yet wee cannot but interpret him to have intended those words in a limited sense, as relateing only to the argumentation about the matter of infringement, & not in a large sense as relateing unto all the contents in the paper, viz: both the position inferred from that argumentation & all the rest of the discourse therein: 1. Because that discourse of James Ensigne with Mr Stone which occasioned all this Contest, had reference to y^e Business of Infringement. 2. Bec: Mr Stone severall times in the hearing of themselves & others acknowledged the positiveness of the instrument of pacification & its validity, professing to stand unto it. 3 Bec: Mr Stone offered by writing to appeale to y^e judgm^t of y^e Church-messengers, concerning the truth of his assertion, which in case he had thereby intended y^e whole paper, all reason proclaimeth that a man not devoid of reason would have been as farre from, as from expecting that y^e church messengers would have sentenced their owne act to be a nullity. 4. The paper itselfe would manifestly convince him of untruth should he so speak. 5. There is testimony of his acknowledgm^t of its validity & his commendation of the paper, at the same time. 6. The argument Mr Stone made use of to prove his assertion, viz: Mr Allen’s words in publike, “wee see no infringement,” shewes that he spake to that. 7. There was no materiall difference between the first paper

& the 2d, that rationally concerned M^r Stone at this time to speak of, but only touching the matter of infringement. Hence we cannot say (allowing a candid interpretation to M^r Stones expression) that he nullified the instrument of pacification. Neither see wee, How M^r Stone substituted a false one in the room of it; because speaking of the 2d paper, he professed that he stood to it, rejoiced in it, and blessed God for it. Yourselves & we all know that the paper subscribed, read, voted and owned solemnly, before God, Angels and men, was the only instrument of your pacification, & that the other paper of which there hath been so frequent & (to say no worse) unprofitable mention, was presented to the dissenters without any hand, only as an essay, & being by them disaccepted, was & is, as unto the beeing of the Instrument of pacification, as if it had not been.

6. Concerning the Churches separating carriages, not taking Cognizance of our complaints, owing to M^r Stone in his offensive practises.

1. We find not any of the Instances urged as separating carriages, proved so to be; yet the agitation & transactions of affaires, whether ecclesiasticall or civill, seem not to be so farre from sideing as was to be desired; much less managed with such indifferency, yea rather solicitous encouragement of y^e hearts of the Dissenters concerning the impartiality & cordiallnes of their Brethren, as the weak, jealous & almost sickly temperature of y^e Body at that time required.

2. Wee see not sufficient reason to blame M^r Stone for not reading the paper presented by y^e Dissenting Brethren, in order to their withdrawing; It being a matter so weighty & of so troublesome and doubtfull consequence, he might well take time both to consider & to seek advice about it.

3. So far as the premises impute blame to M^r Stone, the Brethren of the Church that have adhered to him, acted with him and defended him therein, cannot be excused from being blameworthy also.

Now concerning the principal point of the Question, viz: the Breach of the pacification:

Wee distinguish between Grievances Curable, i. e. actions which had a tendency to unsettlement of the pacification, & Scandalls Incurable as to the pacification, viz: either such offenses obstinately persisted in as render it not possible to continue Communion in the Body without Sin, or actuall separation without Cause. The former render the offender not excusable from the unsettlement of the pacification; the Latter render the offender guilty of the Breach of the pacification.

The fformer we cannot excuse the Reverend Mr Stone from, whom we find ourtaken (as in the particulars above-mentioned) with infirmity, both negatively, in not discharging that duty of his office which was requisite to cherish the pacification; & positively, in some Commissions which in their owne nature tended to the unsettlement of ye pacification. The latter we doe not charge him with.

II. Concerning the Grievances presented by Mr Stone & the Brethren of the Church with him.

1. The Withdrawers offer violence to the pacification.

Answ. The Dissenting Brethren did, by their actuall separation or withdrawing, violate or break the pacification.

2 & 3. The withdrawers transgresse in separating and rending from the Church of Christ at Hartford in a schismaticall way: and their sin therein is exceeding scandalous.

Answ. 1. The separation of the withdrawers from the Church being totall, both as to the relation of membership & communion, wee judge to be irregular: (1.) Because it was from a true Church constituted according to ye order of ye Gospell & not convicted of, nor orderly impleaded for, any male-administration: (2.) There was no just cause of separation, there being no Grievance, antecedaneous to their Act of Separation, notwithstanding which they might not have continued in their Church relation & communion without sin: witness the example of Christ, who retained his membership & held communion with ye Jewish Church in the passover & other ordinances, although there were corruptions therein farre exceeding any of the Grievances before-mentioned, or alleadged by the Brethren: And Paul's not advising the mem-

bers of y^e Churches of Corinth & Galatia (though many greater corruptions were among them) to separate, but forbidding the same, in the Church of Corinth, 1 Cor. 1. 10, & 12. 25 : (3.) In case there was a cause, yet councill beeing to be had, they should haue attended meanes either of Healing or Orderly Dismission, & not have separated upon a private apprehension, without a competent Judge : (4.) ffrom an enumeration of the approved particular wayes of y^e cessation of membership, viz: Dismission, Death, Censure, or Cessation of the Society, of which number this is none. (5.) It is of a nature immediately and formally destructive to society, which makes the parts to depend upon the whole ; but separation upon a private apprehension, makes the whole in fine to depend upon the pleasure of the parts : A church to-day, & if particular members be so minded, no church to-morrow : A member now, but as soon as otherwaies minded, no member. By a private apprehension we mean, that y^t is opposed to a publick orderly judgment upon hearing of both parties. (6.) Separation from a church upon a private apprehension, when Councell of Churches may be had, is in effect to renounce all Church-order, whether relating to Councell, Office, or the Society itself, & may it be permitted in some, why not in others ? if from one Church, why not from others ? & consequently it is a practise of a Tendencie subrasive to the very beeing of Churches & introducing confusion itself.

2. Nevertheless, although we look at the Act of their separation as irregular & therefore cannot discharge it precisely considered in the nature thereof from schisme, yet we dare not look at the Agents as schismaticke : (1.) Because they were led thereunto by a mistake concerning the Act of the Reverend Councell held at Hartford, June '56, to have been in force for the enabling of them thereunto, of which we shall straightway give our apprehensions. (2.) Bec: They with us condemn the like act in like case, either in themselves or others, without the Approbation of a Councell when Councell may be had, as irregular and destructive. (3.) Because perceiving offense taken at this act of theirs, they have all along

desired a Councell for the decision of this controversie, with constant profession to be subject to the sentence thereof, according to order. For which reasons & for what else might be alleadged, the evill of their Act of Separation is very much mitigated in these Brethren.

As to the mis-application of the Act of the Councell now mentioned, Thus :

The Act of the Councell held at Hartford in '56, & sentencing an Act then past, can extend no politicall influence into an Act not in Being until '57, & consequently is not pleadeable to warrant the separation of the withdrawers, especially after satisfaction given & taken ; as may appeare from the Arguments following :

(1.) From the nature of the object of the politicall influence of such an Act of a Councell, viz: somewhat antecedent to that act: otherwise a Councell might sentence an individual act before it hath heard it, contrary to Prov. 18. 13: He that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly & shame to him ; as also to the suffrage of those famous nations, John 7. 51 ; Acts 25. 16. All that a Councell in such a Case can doe is but doctrinally to deliver the Thesis [He that so doth, is to be thus censured]. The interresting of another after-judicial act by a competent ministeriall judge must make the hypothesis or assumption concerning the regularity or irregularity of & application of any Church-administration to a future individual act, viz: [that Thomas hath thus done, & is therefore thus to be censured]. *Post legem universalem latum, in applicatione ad particulare, opus est legis ministro qui iudicis officio fungatur.*

(2.) From the terme of the politicall influence of the sentencing Act of a Councell, which is terminated in scripturall satisfaction, not in a conditional satisfaction, i. e. such after which the Giver of satisfaction relapseth not, Luke 17. 4 ; Mat. 18. 22 ; 2 Cor. 2. 7. The conditioning of ecclesiasticall forgiveness to perseverance in repentance, makes the Church incapable to forgive a penitent because it cannot be secured against after relapsing.

3. If the separation under debate upon an act of the Impleaded subsequent to satisfaction, be warrantable by y^e act of y^e Councell premised, then either it must be by reason of the act antecedent or subsequent to the satisfaction. Not by reason of the act antecedent, for that is contrary to the pacification, wherein the Dissenters solemnly promise not to make mention of any act foregoing the pacification, by way of grievance: not by reason of an act subsequent to the satisfaction, for y^e reason formerly alleadged, Argum^t 1st; or else there is a place for a conditionall forgiveness; which hath been disproved, Argum^t 2^d.

4. From y^e many irrational incongruities that accompany the affirmative: (1.) It is to deny the regular satisfaction of the Impleaded, to be satisfaction: (2.) To deny the forgiveness of the Church, to be forgiveness: (3.) To punish a subsequent act for one kind, with the punishment held forth by virtúe of a declarative sentence antecedent & upon an act of another kind.

The withdrawers after the sentence of the Councell, which appointed either satisfaction the end *per se*, or dismissal the end *per Accidens*, i. e. in defect of satisfaction, having received regular satisfaction from Mr Stone, testified their acceptance thereof in the pacification, & religiously promised not to make mention of any act foregoing the pacification, by way of grievance, cannot now goe back to require their dismissal by virtúe of the sentence of the Councill.

4. The withdrawers are still members of the Church at Hartford.

Answ. The Dissenting Brethren (this irregular separation notwithstanding) are still members of the Church of Christ at Hartford. For, the relation of membership being divine, it beginneth and ceaseth according to Divine Institution, and consequently it is not in the power of man to Dissolve it at his pleasure: what God hath joyned together let no man put asunder. Should irregular separation at pleasure solve the relation, it were in the power of man to make the Institution of Christ concerning Church Discipline vaine & of none effect.

& the Church incapable of proceeding therein ; ffor in case the offendour renounce his membership & can thereby un-member himselfe, then, what have I to doe to judge them that are without? 1 Cor. 5. 12. Irregular renouncing of Church-relation, is to cause Division and Offense ; such offenders the Apostle doth not look at as non-members with whom the Church hath nothing to doe, but as objects of the Churches Cognizance & Censure in case, Rom. 16. 17. Should the Church look at her members renouncing their relation as non-members, and leave them to themselves, shee should be wanting to the use of all meanes committed to her trust for the salvation of their soules: 1 Cor. 5. 5, that y^e spirit may be saved in y^e day of y^e Lord Jesus. Hee y^t is once a Church-member, whether in communion or under censure, is always under an ordinance. If a Church-administration *clave errante* be a nullity, much more is such an irregular act of some particular persons.

5. The withdrawers Transgresse in publishing their papers.

Answ. We distinguish between the defensive and offensive part of these papers. The Defensive part, rendring an account of their own actions, we passe by. Of the Offensive or Accusatory part, imputing Blame unto y^e actions of others, thus: The Accusatory part wee judge irregular, both in respect of exact verity & in respect of order: In respect of exact verity, some of the particulars being mistakes, & consequently so many Breaches of the 9th Commandment: In respect of order, as relating to the Church & their Teacher, the minor part judging the major, & the sheep their shepherd, both publicly and before the Time, contrary to 1 Cor. 14. 40; 1 Cor. 4. 5; Mat. 7.

6. Concerning their Joyning to another Church.

The withdrawers being still members of the Church of Hartford; either wee must grant that the same person may be a member of two churches at once, a priviledge only compatible to Apostles and Evangelists, both of them extraordinary subjects of the power of the Keyes; or else we are necessitated

to beare witnesse against y^e act of such of the withdrawers as have joyned themselves unto another Church, as irregular :

Concerning whom our first desire is, that in case of regular satisfaction mutually given and taken between all the parties concerned, according to the premises, & a cordiall closing one with an other, (of which we desire and hope to be witnesses, as to those that are present, before we part,) that then there might yet be a return of the Dissenters into communion with the Church of Hartford as formerly. But in case any or more of them after satisfaction given, shall still desire to dispose of themselues elsewhere & to remove their habitation ; Then our Advice and Determination is that the Church forthwith upon such their desire shall give them their Dismission, & that such as have joyned themselves to another Church doe solemnly renew their covenant. Yet while they abide at Hartford, as also after their removall, we expect they should hold communion with the Church of Christ at Hartford, and the Church with them, that the memory of this offensive breach may no longer remaine as heretofore in this our Israel.

Honoured, Reverend & Beloved, Gentlemen, Fathers & Brethren, out of much affliction and anguish of heart we have wrote and delivered this our Sentence unto you, with many Teares ; not that you should be grieved, but that you should be healed. Plainenes & conviction was necessary for the Truths-sake. If it be a conviction of Patience, that is to be imputed to the cause. To put bones dislocated in joynt, to search, cleanse & bind up a putrified sore, true it is that it cannot be effected without the suffering of the diseased. The working upon the parts is from the Chirurgion ; the Dolour concomitant is from the male-disposition of y^e Body of y^e patient. If in handling this grieffe we have put you to more paine than was unavoidable, we confesse our fault & crave your pardon. Beeing excused in that respect, wee are lesse guilty of your culpable suffering, as (through mercy) not beeing partakers with you in the blame ; yet are we partakers with you in your suffering, as being in y^e Body. Beare with us, if compelled, wee according to our poor measure having

the same spirit of Gospell solicitude, represent unto your pure minds that which also (in this juncture of calamitous occurrences) cometh upon us dayly, the care of all the Churches. Alas! most dearly Beloved and longed for, if we make you sorry, who is it that maketh us glad but the same which is made sorry by us? You may believe it, until the patient be well your physician is a patient.

Be pleased this day to remember the many pacificatory addresses formerly made unto yourselves by the Letters exhortatory ffrom the Honoured Commissioners of y^e United Colonies,* the Honoured Magistrates of this Jurisdiction & your sister-Churches of the Bay. Thus have Moses & Aaron fallen downe before you, the Congregation of Hartford. Herewith give us also leave to remind you of the great labour of the Reverend Councill held at Hartford in '56; the poore service of y^e church-messengers from hence in '57; the severall occasionall Letters from y^e Elders of these parts before & since, & lastly, the travells of this present Assembly. Oh! Let the time past suffice wherein for our sakes, for our scandalous divisions, that Royall name whereby we are called hath been blasphemed, the Gospell suffered, & the adversary triumphed! Wee cannot but look upon yourselves as having (& that in a greater measure) the same conflict respectively which you heard to be in us and see to be in us. If therefore there be any Consolation in Christ, if any Comfort of Love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels & mercies, fulfill y^e joy of your afflicted Brethren; confessing as there is cause one

* See, in Records of Commissioners of U. Colonies, "a copy of a letter sent to the Church of Hartford," dated at New Plymouth, 17th September, 1656: suggesting "the sad and dreadful consequences of dissension heightened and increased, especially in a church of such eminency for light and love;" and expressing the earnest desires of the Commissioners that the church should "not only forbear and avoid all further matters of further provocation," but should give themselves up "to endeavour after peace and union" and not "be prevailed with to any dissipation and scattering," &c. The Commissioners for Connecticut, at this meeting, were John Mason and John Talcott,—the latter a member of the Hartford church and a supporter of Mr. Stone.

unto another, forbearing one another & forgiving one another, even as Christ forgave you: That through the Blessing of ye only Counsellour & Prince of peace, the effect of this poore script may be like the fruit of that Epistle which when they had read, they rejoiced for the consolation: I will heare what God the Lord will speak, for Hee will speak peace unto his people & to his saints; But let them not turne againe to folly.

Boston Octb. 7,
1659.

John Wilson,	Richard Russell,	Edm: Browne,
Charles Chauncy,	Edward Tyng,	Tho: Cobbet,
Richard Mather,	Isaack Heath.	John Sherman,
John Allin,		William Hubbard,
Zech: Symmes,		Samuel Danforth,
John Norton,		Jonathan Mitchell,
John Eliot,		Tho: Shepard.

CORRESPONDENCE OF

SILAS DEANE,

DELEGATE TO THE FIRST AND SECOND CONGRESS
AT PHILADELPHIA,

1774-1776.

CORRESPONDENCE OF
SILAS DEANE, 1774-76.

FROM SILAS DEANE, TO SAMUEL H. PARSONS.

[From a copy furnished by Samuel H. Parsons, Esq., grandson of General Parsons to whom the letter is addressed. It has been printed in the Appendix to Hinman's "Historical Collection of the part sustained by Connecticut during the War of the Revolution," pp. 537-539.]

WETHERSFIELD, April 13, 1774.

DEAR SIR,—I have this moment wrote Mr. Bishop and the Speaker, per post, to meet the 22d inst., in order to choose members for the Congress, and have left it uncertain as to place—saying that Middletown or Wethersfield may be the place, as most agreeable to the committee. You will see Capt. Trumbull, to whom communicate this; and though I am not over solicitous as to the place, am unwilling to meet at Middletown, and hope you will prefer Wethersfield, or even Hartford. The reasons I have for calling a meeting, are these: The southern colonies appear ardently engaged to confer together, and to form one general plan for future action and proceeding. It is judged by all of the greatest importance. The calling of town meetings is growing fast into fashion in the colony; the consequent diversity, and in some instances, perhaps, inconsistency and absurdity of their resolves, will soon throw us into a scene of confusion, and gradually sink all proceedings of this kind into contempt: while fixing the attention of the public on so rational, manly, and promising a mode of proceeding as that of a general conference, will calm their minds, and they will be ready to receive and comply with whatever may be advised them by such assembly; and in the mean time they will be kept from forming those narrow,

partial, and indigested resolves which they otherwise may come into and grow fond of, from principle paternal though from no other, and be averse to exchange them even for better, or the best possible to be invented.

I have wrote to Portsmouth, Newport, Boston, New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, Maryland, and Virginia, and inclosed the needful, which has cost me much time, beside clerk hire in copying; for I could not well make one letter answer as a circular for all, as our correspondence with them is various, as well as their situations and tempers. Boston, in sending out their solemn league and covenant, before they have consulted any other colony in the affair, is, in my humble opinion, very wrong, totally and absolutely so; as it is directly contrary to every principle of good reason and sound policy, to apply partial means to remedy a general evil, or to take measures on a subject so universal and important, equally interesting to all, without consulting all. Good steps, and the best meant endeavors, so taken and pursued, lose greatly, and are often as fatal to the cause as the very worst that can be taken. But their present distracted situation must atone for their errors, and we must do the best we can, for and with them. I am fully persuaded the ministry design to seize on some of the Boston leaders, and try them capitally in Great Britain; if so, (and Lord North's speech in Parliament fully points out such a design,) will they submit to go like prisoners of the holy office to a distant country, to take their trial? or will they have the spirit to die like men, and sell their lives as dearly as they can, leaving to posterity their testimony, sealed with their blood, that death is to be preferred to slavery? I fear we are degenerated; but this is nothing more than what our ancestors actually did for us, and for liberty. This town met on Thursday, this week; they are spirited. But Sheriff Williams, in his boiling zeal, has almost preached them to death; he neglects serving writs or levying executions, and is now so hoarse that he can only whisper, but his desire of communicating is no way abated, which, were the

subject less interesting than it is, would render him a diverting figure.

My design in our meeting, is, if possible, to carry only two points: 1st, Approve of the resolves of the Assembly, in a strong style, and order them to be preserved as parcel of our records, to oblige our people now and hereafter, with ready access to them on all occasions. 2d, To anticipate the general constitution, by giving now our proportion to the relief of Boston, to be raised in an equal way, by subscription; each one entering against his name so much on the grand list as he has a mind to give, whether it be one penny or more on the pound.

I have wrote a long letter to our friend E. Hazard, a copy of which is enclosed, and after perusal you will return to me, as I have no other. To which wild scheme, as you may freely call it without offence to me, I subjoin this alternative—that if tracing the river Mississippi so far up be considered as too remote and laborious, that we attempt the south-west corner of lake Erie, which will be less so, and may answer our purpose quite as well, if it succeed. Had the memorial been granted, and we seriously pursued it, one of these places must have been the spot for our first beginning on; and ten thousand pounds will go so far in making the experiment of a settlement on either place that, if it answer our expectations, we may easily obtain partners able to carry it on. Is it impossible, while the crown and its slaves are busy in quarreling with the old colonies, to fix such a lodgement at one or the other of those places, that let the affairs of America turn as they will, we may be secure in our possessions? There is now six thousand, and in less than one year there will be ten thousand inhabitants at Susquehannah. This settlement had every discouragement and obstacle that we can possibly meet with, and some that we may most probably avoid. Disowned by every government; persecuted with fire and sword by one of the most powerful; unsupported by any proprietaries of wealth or influence, and so wretchedly poor themselves that the place was an asylum from the gaol or an assignment in service to most of them; yet this has thus increased in about

three or four years, and will in all probability soon become an opulent and populous plantation. Can we not start on as good grounds and better, though disowned by government? We shall have none to contend with on our first settling down; and put the case—the American difficulties—if they should last but four or five years, and there is not, in my view, the least prospect of their ending in twice that time, we may have without charge to ourselves, at least two thousand men able to bear arms, with their families on the spot. Then, I say, let the affairs of America turn as they will, we may be secure; for if arbitrary measures are still pursued, whatever success the arms of these tyrants may meet with, they will not in that time subdue the tempers of the colonists, so but that it will require all their attention to keep up the appearance of submission; which is all they can ever hereafter expect in America. And such a proceeding on their part will cause many to fly to any place that will afford them peace, and a tolerable competency for support; so that unobserved or beyond the power of their immediate attention, our plantation in ten years may be some thousand strong; and by a properly humane and timely hospitable treatment of the natives, have some powerful tribes in our allegiance and friendship. Should, as I observed, arbitrary and coercive measures be pursued, this may the more readily be effected. And on the other hand, we are not to expect lenient and conciliating measures on other terms than a general alteration of the whole system of American government, by the repeal of all revenue laws now in being, enacted by the parliament of Great Britain; and in lieu thereof, have a new but an equivalent code formed by a Parliament of our own, with a Lord Lieutenant at their head, or some alteration similar; for I have not the least prospect, even in idea, that Great Britain will ever condescend to give up their right of taxing America, without fixing some hold on us, in their view equally binding. And indeed should they now repeal the tea act, and restore Boston to the state they once were in, we all know it would have no decisive effect as to ending the dispute. The post office, and the admiralty judges,

would be our next grievances, and would doubtless be productive of as serious consequences. Now as a general system, either of tyrannical, arbitrary, and despotic government supported by the sword, or some civil constitution adopted, to take in the whole continent, must take place soon, that is, within ten years at farthest; we have no great to fear, situated in that inland country, from the former, after we have got but two thousand men * * * *

[The remainder of this letter has not been found.]

FROM EBENEZER HAZARD, OF NEW YORK,* TO SILAS DEANE.

HARTFORD, June 1st, 1774.

SIR,—I enclose you a Copy of the Rules, &c. As I was much hurried, I was obliged to use abbreviations. When you get leisure, sit down and transcribe it fairly, with the Words, Sums of Money, &c., at full length, that all things may be done decently and in order. Be sure let me hear from you soon, and tell me what the Assembly does about this matter; who are the Committee; [when] they are to meet; and where: or if the Assembly won't appoint a Committee, tell me so. If you are talked to about the matter, don't say anything about my giving more than £10,000: I think it is enough, in all conscience. I wish you would send me a *printed* List of your Numbers in this Colony, when it is finished.

* Mr. Hazard had come to Hartford to present a petition to the General Assembly, for the release or quitclaim to himself and his associates, of the right of Connecticut to lands between the western boundary of Pennsylvania and the Mississippi River. His petition, dated May 27th, 1774, is printed in Force's Am. Archives, 4th Series, vol. 1, cols. 861-867. It was rejected by the General Assembly.

The preceding letter shows that the project for the immediate settlement of the western lands was promoted by, if it did not originate with, Messrs. Parsons and Deane. See, in this connection, a letter from Pelatiah Webster, printed in Hinman's "Connecticut during the War of the Revolution," (App.) pp. 535-537.

As I have now gained some Idea of your Politics, I should be glad to hear how *public* matters in general go. Don't fail of writing to me soon. Adieu.

EBEN^r HAZARD.

To Silas Deane, Esq^r, Wethersfield.

[Enclosed in the preceding letter.]

RULES FOR THE ADMISSION OF ASSOCIATES.

1st. Every Person admitted as an Associate shall at the time of his Admission pay to E. H., S. H. P., and S. D.,* or either of them, 8 Dollars, and give satisfactory security for the payment of such other Sum or Sums as shall be sufficient to make up the Remainder of his Proportion of the Money to be paid the Assembly for the Quit Claim of their Right: the eight Dollars to be applied towards making the first Payment to the Assembly; and should any surplus remain, it is to be appropriated to the public uses of the Association. Upon the payment of the said 8 dollars, and Security given as aforesaid, the person so paying and securing shall be entitled to one 2000th Part of all the Lands granted by the Governor and Comp^y of this Colony, to E. H. and his Associates.

2nd. Each Person admitted as an Associate shall pay his proper part of the expence of defending the Claim under the Colony of Connecticut, in case it shall happen to be disputed; and shall, moreover, pay his proportion of Money towards making a purchase of the Indian Right to the lands; and contribute towards defraying the expence arising from the exercise of Jurisdiction:—the proportion each Associate is to pay of the abovementioned expences, to be determined by the Number of Shares he holds.

3d. Each Associate shall also pay his proportion of the expence of making a Settlement upon the Lands; and as it may hereafter be difficult to ascertain with precision the exact proportion of this expence, such as shall become Associates after June 1st, 1775, and before June 1st, 1776, shall pay £15 L. M. for a Right, and their proportion of the expence of settlement;

* Ebenezer Hazard, Samuel H. Parsons, and Silas Deane.

after June 1st, 1776, and to June 1st, 1777, £20 L. M. shall be paid, and so for every year afterwards, advancing £5 a year, until all the Rights shall be disposed of.

4th. All the Money arising from the first sale of Rights shall be applied to the public uses of the Association in such manner as shall be determined by a majority of the votes of the Associates, excepting that the money to be paid to the Colony of Connecticut for a Quit Claim of their Right shall be paid in preference to every other sum.

5th. No person shall have a right to vote as an Associate but such as shall have purchased a whole Right of Land, (that is, a 2000th part of the whole quantity granted to E. H. and his Associates,) and every person having purchased more Rights than one shall be intitled to vote in all public matters relating to the Association for each Right he has purchased. But if a purchaser shall have sold his Right to another, that Right shall not be considered as entitling to *two* votes, but the *last* purchaser of a whole Right shall be the voter.

Hartford, June 1st, 1774.

RESOLVES OF A MEETING HELD AT WETHERSFIELD,
JUNE 17th, 1774.

At a Town Meeting legally warned and held at Wethersfield in Connecticut, on the 17th day of June, 1774:*

The Resolutions of the Honorable House of Representatives, by them come into their Session at Hartford in May last, being

* "My design in our meeting"—wrote Mr. Deane to Samuel H. Parsons, April 13th—"is, if possible, to carry only two points: 1st, Approve of the Resolves of the Assembly, in a strong style, and order them to be preserved as parcel of our records, to oblige our people, now and hereafter, with ready access to them on all occasions. 2d, To anticipate the general constitution [contribution?] by giving now our proportion to the relief of Boston, to be raised in an equal way, by subscription; each one entering against his name so much on the grand list as he has a mind to give, whether it be one penny or more on the pound." See p. 131.

These Resolves were printed in the *Connecticut Courant*, June 21st.

read, were unanimously approved of, and ordered to be entered at large on the Records of the Town, as being expressive of the Sentiments of the Inhabitants on the important subjects to which they refer, and proper to be transmitted to future times, in such a manner that all of them may have ready access to them on every proper occasion.

The extreme distress to which our brethren of Boston are reduced by the merciless arm of Tyranny, was then brought under consideration, and Voted and Resolved: That this Town consider the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston to be now suffering for the common cause of American Liberty, and that we are bound in common Justice, as well as by the early ties of Friendship between our Ancestors when, suffering every other hardship and danger, they fled from Tyranny civil and religious, to this Continent, then a Savage Wilderness, and here erected the Standard of Liberty,—as well as by the law of common Humanity,—to afford them all the Assistance in our power, both by our Advice and Counsel, and by giving them a part of that Substance which God hath blessed us with, from time to time, as their necessities shall require.

2dly. This Town being informed that a Congress of the Colonies is proposed, and likely to take place soon, do highly approve of it as a necessary and salutary measure, when we hope and trust that a General Non-Importation and Non-Exportation Agreement will take place, and be unanimously come into by the American Colonies; but to the deliberation of so Respectable a Body and to their superior Wisdom, [we] submit what is proper to be done at so alarming and critical a period as this, in which nothing less is attack^d than the very Lives and Liberties of all the free-born Inhabitants of British America,—most cheerfully engaging to the utmost of our power and influence, to come into and promote that universal similarity of Sentiment and Proceeding, on which, under God, our ALL in Life and every agreeable prospect for Posterity is depending.

3dly. As the Honorable General Assembly resolved to contribute to the relief of the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston,

but, as we are informed, put off carrying the same into execution until their next meeting, when their situation and necessities may be better known; and whereas we are apprehensive that some of the poor of said Town may, previous to such designed relief, suffer much, or become too burthensome to their wealthier neighbors: Voted and Resolved, that we will give in proportion to the sums our Estates respectively amount to in the General List, at and after the Rate of one Penny on the Pound, in Cash, Wheat, Rye, or Indian Corn, to be transported at our expense to Boston, and delivered to the Select Men or Overseers of the Poor of said Town, to be by them disposed of as they shall judge best for the relief of said Town.*

FROM THE NEW JERSEY DELEGATES TO THE CONGRESS, TO
THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE FOR CONNECTICUT.

ELIZABETH TOWN, July 25th, 1774.

GENTLEMEN,—Pursuant to an order of the Committees of the several Counties of the Colony of New Jersey, convened at New Brunswick, we have the Honor to acquaint you, that they have appointed us Delegates to represent this Province in the General Congress, and that we are ordered to attend the same at the city of Philadelphia, on the 1st of September next, or at such other time and place as may be agreed upon. You will be pleased to inform the Delegates of your Colony thereof, and let any letters intended for us be directed to Stephen Crane, Esq., at Elizabeth Town. Sincerely wishing

* See in Mass. His. Collections, 4th Ser., vol. iv. pp. 16-20, a letter from Wethersfield, July 25th, signed by Ezekiel Williams, in behalf of the Town Committee, to the Selectmen or Overseers of the Poor in Boston,—with the reply of Samuel Adams, July 29th, acknowledging the receipt of 34¾ bushels of wheat, 248½ of rye, and 390 of Indian corn, etc.

the Congress may be productive of the important End proposed, We are, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble Servants,

JOHN DE HART

for himself and

STEPHEN CRANE,

JAMES KINSEY,

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON, and

RICHARD SMITH,

the other Delegates.

THOMAS MUMFORD* TO SILAS DEANE.

GROTON, 18 August, 1774.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of 1st Inst gave me some Satisfaction respecting Doct^r Johnson's excuse for not attending the Congress.† It would have given me much satisfaction as well as many other of his friends, to have had him with you. We all

* Thomas Mumford, Esq., of Groton, married a sister of Mr. Deane's wife,—a daughter of Col. Gurdon Saltonstall of New London.

† The Committee of Correspondence for Connecticut met at New London, July 13th, and nominated the Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, Hon. Wm. Samuel Johnson, Major Erastus Wolcott, Silas Deane and Richard Law, Esquires, "either three of whom" were authorized and empowered to represent the Colony in the proposed Congress at Philadelphia. Messrs. Dyer and Deane *accepted*, the others *declined* the appointment, "being unable, by reason of previous engagements and the state of their health to attend the said Congress." The Committee met again, August 3d, at Hartford, and nominated the Hon. Roger Sherman and Joseph Trumbull, Esqr., either one of whom was empowered to represent the Colony, with Messrs. Dyer and Deane, previously appointed.—Am. Archives, 4th Series, vol i. col. 895.

A correspondent of the *Conn. Courant*, August 2d, regrets that an article printed the week before in that paper might be construed "to the disadvantage of the common cause," and proceeds to give the reasons why Dr. Johnson, Major Wolcott, and Mr. Law declined to attend the Congress: "Major Wolcott and Mr. Law having neither of them had the small-pox, and the latter of a very precarious health, were doubtful whether they

look for the wise and judicious Deliberations which the Congress may recommend to the Colonies, and I really have much faith we shall religiously adhere thereto. I sincerely wish unanimity to attend you. If a leisure minute should attend you, I should like to hear what transpires at the Congress. Mrs. Mumford joins me in love to your Better Half, and believe me to be very truly, Dr Sr,

Your very affecte

THOS. MUMFORD.

Silas Dean Esqr.

JOHN S. MILLER TO SILAS DEANE.

NEW LONDON, 18 August, 1774.

DEAR SIR,—I have your favor of the 9th,* could not answer it the last week, being necessitated to go very early the day following out of town, and since my return home have been so much taken up with sundry matters that I have not had the least leisure till this day to attend your desire, which I now send you, as at foot, as exact as my time would permit me to make it. Perhaps there may be 50 or 60 Horses and Cattle less, and it may be more; however, if it answers your purpose shall be glad. I have set no Tonnage to the Coasters,

could attend with safety;" and, "unhappily, the Hon. Dr. Johnson had engaged in an affair of very great importance, to be transacted at the very same time of the proposed Congress."

The *Conn. Gazette* (New London) of August 19th, has an "Extract of a Letter from one of the Committee of Correspondence for this Colony, in a neighboring town, to his Friend in this Place; dated the 1st Instant,"—which probably was communicated by Mr. Mumford, from Mr. Deane's letter, the receipt of which is acknowledged above.

* "I hoped to have obtained from the Custom Houses, the number and size of the Shipping, as well as a general state of the imports and exports, and accordingly applied: but they appear at present unwilling to give me any information on the subject, I suppose on account of the present situation of publick affairs, and the part I have taken therein."—Mr. Deane's letter to Gov. Trumbull, Aug. 16th; in *Am. Archives*, vol. i. col. 710.

as my hurry has prevented, but you can easily compute it, they being about 20 Tons, one with another, perhaps not quite so much. In great haste after wishing [you] safe at Phil^a, and the pleasure of success in the enterprize, I am, with regards to friends,

Yours,

JOHN S. MILLER.

70 Foreigners, 400 men, 3100 Tons.

22 Coasters, 90 “

About 2,750 Horses and 1,200 Cattle, for the last year.

CHRISTOPHER LEFFINGWELL TO SILAS DEANE,

(AT PHILADELPHIA.)

NORWICH, 22d Aug^t, 1774.

GENTLEMEN,—At this critical time, every thinking man is anxious for his Country, and is pointing out methods for its Salvation. Every Town has its plan, and almost all unite in this, viz^t: That a Non-Importation from Great Britain will be the most probable means of obtaining Redress, &c. I fully agree with them in this, as a prudent method, but it appears to me from the present temper of Administration, that alone will not effect all we are contending for, and that the Controversy will not be decided without the Loss of Blood; at least that nothing will prevent it but a general preparation throughout the Continent for a Defence. At present we are in a miserable, defenceless situation; our Militia is under a bad regulation, (at least it appears to me to be so). I want the Militia throughout the Continent on a better footing. I have thought much but have said but little on the subject. But as our whole dependence is in the wisdom, prudence and determination of the Congress, the highest and most respectable Council that ever was (and perhaps that ever will be) in America, who will give laws to this whole Continent, laws like unto those of the Medes and Persians, which must not be altered, but must and I believe will be strictly and most religiously observ'd,—I could wish among other things it might

be recommended by the Congress to have eighty or an hundred thousand men on the Continent under regular Discipline, on the following plan or somewhat similar to it, viz^t :—

The superior or commissioned Officers to be appointed by the General Assemblys, and to be such as are possessed of Real Estate worth contending for: The Adjutants and Serjeants to be under constant pay; to be well acquainted with discipline; the former to instruct the Officers in what relates to the Evolution and Mænouvres of an Army, the latter to teach the manual Exercise: and that they be always ready to receive and discipline such men as shall be presented to fill up Vacancies. The Arms and Clothing to be purchas'd by the respective Governments, and deposited under the care of proper Officers at the place of Rendezvous in each County.

The Select-Men of each Town to make a return of the number of males from 18 to 45 years of age, excepting Clergy of all denominations, Magistrates, &c. The proportionable number being fix'd that each Town shall raise. The Select-Men, with the consent of the Inhabitants, either proceed to balloting or laying a tax to pay a premium sufficient to induce men to enter Volunteers. The men so chosen (on pain of Imprisonment or other penalty) be oblig'd to appear at the place of rendezvous, at time appointed, to learn the Exercise for one month at least, during which time they shall be subjected to military law, and all Offences punishable by Court-Martial. But if any person shall be under necessity of leaving the County in which he serves, he shall be oblig'd to shew his reasons before two Magistrates in the Town in which he belongs, who shall be impowered (if they see cause) to grant him a Dismission, and appoint another in his stead, who must immediately attend the Serjeant to learn the Exercise; to receive the same pay (or more) that the regulars do during the time they are embodied; the money to be paid out of the Colony Treasury; and after attending one month in every year for three years, they shall be finally discharg'd. But if during the above term they are call'd to actual service, they may not lay down their arms till they obtain a legal discharge, on pain

of being treated as deserters. Some such regulation as this appears to me absolutely necessary for our defence against both foreign and domestic Enemies. [I] hope I need not apologise for these broken hints, as every one has equal liberty, in my opinion, of chalking out the way, and it is no matter who does it if they do but find out the right. Can only say my heart is with you, and that I wish your Endeavours and Determinations may be crown'd with Success; and am, Gentlemen,

Your hearty friend & fellow-Countryman,

CHRIST^R LEFFINGWELL.

COL. GURDON SALTONSTALL* TO SILAS DEANE.

WETHERSFIELD, August 29th, 1774.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor last week from N. H. and this Town rec^d, and on Saturday morning I bro't Mrs. Saltonstall hither, to tarry with your Spouse, who, Sally tells me, is better than when you left her. Refer to her letter accompanying this for particular account. Doct^r Gale† [is] expected this day or to-morrow; his Bro^r George Eliot being extremely sick, has prevented his coming hitherto.

Your letter yesterday‡ agreeably entertained us with your journal as far as Kingsbridge.

* The father of Mr. Deane's wife.

† Dr. Benjamin Gale, of Killingworth.

‡ This letter has not been found. Mr. Deane left Wethersfield, August 22d, as appears from the following paragraph in the *Connecticut Courant*, of Tuesday, the 23d:—

“Yesterday morning, SILAS DEANE, Esq., one of the Delegates on Behalf of this Colony to attend the American Congress, set out from his House in Wethersfield, attended by a great Number of the principal Gentlemen of that Town, who waited upon him as far as Middletown: At New Haven he is to be joined by the Hon. ROGER SHERMAN, and at Fairfield by the Hon. ELIPHALET DYER, the other two Delegates from this Colony, who will then proceed on their Journey to Philadelphia, to attend upon the grand and important Business of their appointment.”

They arrived in New York on Thursday, the 25th.

The Quebeck Act is the finishing stroke for the Ministry. That the Roman Catholic Religion is there establish'd does not surprise me; you well know that it has been my opinion for many years, that was at the bottom of the Ministerial System; and that it should make its appearance at this Juncture is most fortunate for America, and G. Britain also. This will make Britains see, the Acts to abridge American Liberty were preparatory to the alteration of the British Constitution at home and abroad, and therefore they will throw their interest into the American scale. The Hisses and Groans, &c., and the men of fashion appearing amongst the Crowd, and their Huzzaing D. of G——r for ever, when the King was going to Parliament House is truly alarming. Verily it is probable the Nation at home will soon relieve themselves and the Americans from their repeated injurys. However, Americans must exert their own powers, and not depend on Britain.

The harmony throughout the Continent is daily increasing, and the Zeal for the Common Cause rises in same proportion.

Hartford has sent to N. L. County a proposal for non-consumption Agreem^t. It was rec^d the moment I left N. L., and will not be acted upon until my return, and no doubt we shall resolve not to act at this juncture, but submit the matter to the wisdom of the Congress. I shall not return until [I] have seen Doc^r Gale.

I am with esteem,

Y^r most oblig^d humble ser^t,

G. SALTONSTALL.

Silas Deane, Esq.

SILAS DEANE TO HIS WIFE.

[From New York.]

MY DEAR,—We left the Bridge,* where I closed my last, after dinner, and baiting by the way, arrived in Town at six. Win. Hubbard and Doc^r Turner overtook us at the Bridge,

* King's Bridge. See the preceding letter, and note †, p. 142.

bound for Philadelphia, so that we now made a considerable string on the road. Instantly on our alighting at Hull's, Mr. Bayard came up, and without allowing us to shift our linen (apprehensive of something like this I shifted mine at the Bridge, before dinner), he forced us directly to the Exchange, where were the Boston Delegates,* two from S. Carolina, and all the gentlemen of considerable note in the city in the mercantile way, where they had dined,† and were then passing round the glass. They appeared in the highest possible spirits, on our introduction. But though we read that the presence of a friend enlighteneth the countenance, yet the brilliancy of this circle might by us, without any violence to our vanity, be as well attributed to something else. We went the round of introduction and congratulation, and then took our seats. The glass had circulated just long enough to raise the spirits of every one just to that nice point which is above disguise or suspicion, especially in persons any way generously disposed. Of consequence, I saw instantly that it was an excellent opportunity to know their real sentiments. Cool myself, I was not afraid of sharing in the jovial entertainment; therefore, after introduction, I wav'd the formality of sitting at the upper part among my brother Delegates, and mixed among the gentlemen of the City. Here was McEvers, Alsop, Bache, Sherbrook, Sharp, &c. &c. I soon found that parties ran excessively high in the City. Here were none of the Broomes, Sears, McDougall, or any of them, yet I found many favorable to the Cause we were upon, and willing to go almost any length, while others were in reality against doing anything at all. I found they were fond of paying great court to

* Thomas Cushing, Samuel and John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, who arrived in New York, Aug. 20. They went first to "Hull's, a tavern, the sign the Bunch of Grapes," and afterwards "to private lodgings at Mr. Tobias Stoutenburg's, in King Street."—J. Adams' Diary; Works, ii. 345.

† "We dined [Thursday, Aug. 25th,] in the Exchange Chamber, at the invitation of the Committee of Correspondence, with more than fifty gentlemen, at the most splendid dinner I ever saw; a profusion of rich dishes, &c. &c. * * * * After dinner, the Connecticut Delegates came in."—Ibid. p. 354.

Connecticut, and consequently could easily find out the reason, without the art of divination. We broke up at nine, and retired to our Lodgings. Mr. Sherman is clever in private, but I will only say he is as badly calculated to appear in such a Company as a chestnut-burr is for an eye-stone. He occasioned some shrewd countenances among the company, and not a few oaths, by the odd questions he asked, and the very odd and countrified cadence with which he speaks; but he was, and did, as well as I expected. These are good Lodgings, but I have relished nothing in the City since I entered it, being taken with a dysentery, which however I think is wearing off. The next morning we breakfasted with Mr. Sherbrooke,—that is, Col. Dyer and myself, only. He went with us to fit us with clothes. I am not well suited, but took the best I could find. The more I converse in the City, the more I see and lament the virulence of party. As charity thinketh no evil of its neighbor, party spirit is quite even with it, for it is sure to think no good. We have waived invitations, and dined and supped at our Lodgings yesterday, but to-day we go to *Hobuck* with Mr. Bayard. This would be taken rather ill, but to make amends, we dine and go to meeting with John Broome to-morrow. It is not yet settled who will represent this province, though y^e Congress begins next Thursday. The Counties have assented [to] the doings of this City, and have chosen delegates for themselves, part of whom are now in the City. We set out early on Monday, and should do it with pleasure could I hear how your health recovers. Remember me to Sally, Hannah, Jesse, Jos. Webb, &c. &c. The people need not be afraid for us. I can assure them from what I learn from the Southward, there will be spirit enough at the Congress. As to affairs at home, I think of nothing new. Should Simeon* return, wish he would write me how he has made out in his voyage. I have seen Mr. Livingston, and will write him, Simeon, a letter, after further conversation with him, and I mean to leave here a letter for Jos. Webb and

* His brother, Simeon Deane.

Barzⁱ Deane, but cannot write it this day. Jn^o Wright buys and brings for me one doz. best Watermelons. Shall fill this side before I leave the City, therefore *Adieu*.

We spent the day agreeably at Mr. Bayard's, with some of the delegates and a good old stand-by on festival occasions, Mr. J. Chew.

Sunday. Heard parson Treat in the forenoon, and Mr. Ledlie in afternoon. I think the former much inferior to the latter. Doct^r Rogers is sick. Mr. Sherman (would to Heaven he were well at New Haven,) is against our sending our carriages over the ferry this evening, because it is Sunday; so we shall have a scorching sun to drive forty miles in, to-morrow. I wish I could send you his picture, and make it speak, and in the background paint the observations made on him here. But enough of this at present. I will have him drawn in Philadelphia, if it can be done at any reasonable rate.

This will come under cover to your father at New London, to be forwarded by Knight. Pray omit nothing conducive to your health and peace of mind. I have been really ill until this afternoon, when the villainous carelessness of my tailor &c. has so awakened me that I feel well. He brings me home a suit of clothes quite unfit for me, so I had to set him to work anew, and wear my old ones, and now expect to be detained on his account in the morning. Doct^r Gale has wrote me, or rather sent me word, that he will attend you punctually, which I hope may be to your benefit. I go from hence with an additional weight on my spirits, by reason of the uncertainty I am and must remain in as to your health, and have wrote in the rambling manner I have, as much to relieve my own mind as to divert yours.

I am Your's, most affectionately,

SILAS DEANE.

New York, Monday morning, }
29th of August. }

I wrote above that I sent this by way of New London, but on second thoughts will leave it for the Thursday's

post, as you will receive it as soon within a few hours as by the other conveyance. I am really better, for I lay in bed the whole of last night, which I had not done before since I set out my Journey. We go forward in about an hour.

THOMAS MUMFORD TO SILAS DEANE.

GROTON, 3d September, 1774.

DEAR SIR,—I have taken every method my prudence could suggest, in vindication of Doct. Johnson's refusing to attend the Congress as a delegate from this Colony with Col. Dyer and yourself, and from the information you gave me of his reasons for not accepting (which I have not spared to communicate,)* I expected the minds of many would have been quieted, but the universal voice is, that no business or engagement whatever should be put in competition with the arduous task we now have to struggle with. Tho' I much esteem the Doct., I must likewise declare these as my sentiments, and from the present temper of the people in this part of the Colony, I shall not be surprised if he should be dropped from the nomination of Councillors this fall, tho' I still hope otherwise, and shall be very sorry that should be the case; at this time, I think it would be very impolitick.

I conclude by this the Congress is formed. May the wise Disposer of all events direct your counsels with wisdom and unanimity, equal to the Glorious Cause you are engaged in. It is nothing short of determining whether Americans *at least* shall be Freemen or Slaves. Our expectations are fixed on your deliberations, and our determinations on your conclusions. The universal voice is to abide the result of the Congress. May that be Honourable to Britain, but Glorious to America.

As I know myself to be your sincere and fast friend, I take the liberty to hint to you that I promise myself the satisfaction to hear that you early stood forth with your sentiments,

* See, *ante*, p. 138, note.

what methods ought to be adopted at this critical juncture to save America from her impending ruin. I mention this *to you* with more freedom, as you well know there are those *among us* would willingly stigmatize you as not being hearty and zealous in the Glorious American Cause. A universal non-importation and exportation will *in my opinion* be the most effectual and readiest plan we can adopt for relief, but Mr. Adam Babcock of New Haven (lately here) says, Mr. Sherman, *delegate with you*, will be against either. But I hope better of him. If he has not goodness enough, I hope he has sense sufficient to keep him from declaring such sentiments.

I should say many things to you of what is passing this way, but as you will have the newspapers from Boston, &c. &c., I will not take up your time with a repetition of them. As it is somewhat uncertain whether Cap^t Mumford and self shall be able to leave home before the Congress rises, I shall be glad if you find a leisure minute, you would employ it in writing me a line. Mr. Sam^l H. Parsons is not yet returned from Boston and Newbury; he is much indisposed in the former of those places. My hearty service to Co^l Dyer. I respect him for his candour and undisguised sentiments. Cap^t Mumford and spouse, with my rib, join me in sincere wishes that every good may attend you while absent, and that you may in due time return home safe, and meet a hearty welcome, with the universal applause of us you have represented. This is the sincere wish of him who is with great truth, D^r Sir,

Your very sincere and affect^e friend,

THO^s MUMFORD.

Mr. Silas Dean.

THOMAS MUMFORD TO SILAS DEANE.

GROTON, 3d Septem^r, 1774.

DEAR SIR,—I am very desirous to put my son Giles (now fifteen years of age) to a merchant in Philadelphia. You

know somewhat of his talents ; he is quite active, and a full *common* share of natural accomplishments. I will be much obliged to you to endeavour to get a good place for him. I expect to give a prem^m with him, as is common. I understand some pay for their board, but what you agree to I shall *with pleasure* perform. I want him where he will be kept close to business. Your favour herein will not only oblige Mrs. Mumford and self, but likewise our rising offspring. Cap^t Mumford informs me he has desired the same fav^r of you for his ; their ages are near equal.

I am with real esteem, D^r S^r, Your very affect^e

THO^s MUMFORD.

Silas Dean, Esq.

COL. GURDON SALTONSTALL TO SILAS DEANE.

WETHERSFIELD, Sep^r 5, 1774.

A. M. 7 o'clock.

DEAR SIR,—I could not leave your Spouse until I knew the consequence of Doc^r Gale's medicines, which he directed to last Tuesday, when he was here ; and verily, through God's goodness, they have been very efficacious. The weather moderating, has no doubt been of the utmost service. Saturday eve, on asking her how she was, A[*nswer,*] She had not been so well these two months ; and last evening, had you seen her in your kitchen with her porringer of gruel, standing intermixt with a number, eating, conversing and smiling in her wonted manner, methinks you could have scarcely believed your own sight. May the Almighty confirm her health in due time. I am mounting for N. L., leaving Mrs. Saltonstall with her daugh^r. Mrs. Deane's cough is very much abated ; has had no fever, nor night sweats.

Yesterday, 6 o'clock A. M., I was by your bro^r Barzillai called up, an Express being at the door from Col. Putnam, that the ships had cannonaded Boston all Friday night, &c.

&c. &c.,* (a copy of his letter Mr. Webb will send you, and to whom I refer for a journal of yesterday). On scrutinizing s^d letter, at your door, with the people collected, my opinion then was, the facts affirmed were improbable, and that as there was no regular Express, I did not believe the catastrophe was great, and perhaps no person killed; but this opinion of mine did not gain much ground. To this moment no express has appeared in the usual course; and therefore I am still of opinion [there has been] no murder done, but this report originated from the Post's meeting numbers with staves, going to attend the two new councillors at Cambridge; and perhaps thinking of the murder at Boston of Capt. Preston &c., have ventured to affix about that number murdered at Cambridge as was then at Boston. But this you will say is wild conjecture; time will set the matter right. Putnam's dispatches went to N. L., and last night [I] learned they were to march yesterday afternoon, but believe it did not actually take place. Upon the whole, am really of opinion it is probable that ten thousand men of Conn^t and Massa^{ts}, armed, were yesterday on their march towards Boston, and had it been in fact true, and the evidence properly supported, that Boston was cannonaded, undoubtedly 20 thousand men armed would have been on their march before this hour.

You'll have all the publick papers on the Contin^t, by which you'll learn the whole state of affairs. I will only observe that Town Meetings, by last Thursday's Spy, appeared to be held at Boston (where Gen^l Gage was,) without opposition, and in all other Towns and Counties in the Province, in order to establish a Provincial Congress; but for what purpose, it is not said. However, you shall have my conjecture, to wit: the Act of Parliament they will say has dissolved the Compact; that they are in a State of Nature; and have a right to make

*See Putnam's letter to Col. Malbone, dated "Saturday, 12 P. M." [Sept. 3d,] in Conn. Historical Society's Collections, vol. i. p. 231, and a full account of the affair in his letter of October 3d, (in reply to statements published in Gaines' *New York Gazette*,) in the *New London Connecticut Gazette* of October 7th, reprinted in *Am. Archives*, vol. i., cols. 942, 943.

a new Constitution ; and on that principle, adopt the Province first Charter and make choice of Gov^r, Dep. Gov^r, Secretary, and other officers necessary, and endeavor to establish a Constitution, in defence of which they will spend all their treasure and blood.

It appears the A[ct of] P[arliament] has made no penalty on holding Town Meetings ; however, their doings are not valid ; but when in a state of nature, some such meetings must exist before any Constitution can be established —

The scene is changed, this moment, a man comes in and lets us know the two persons that yesterday went from Litchfield and Farmington to enquire of Mr. Keis, [Keyes] from whom Col. Putnam had his first intelligence, are returned, and say Keis denies telling Col. Putnam anything of Boston's being cannonaded ; and find the whole report is without foundation ; none killed or wounded, nor has any fracas happened ; all that's said is, some merchants sold powder to the army ; that they sent in an orderly manner to Cambridge for it. No doubt, Soldiers went, and that alarmed some person or other, and thence proceeded as it's now supposed this grand manœver. The troops from Farmington and Litchfield that yesterday went through Hartford eastward, returned thither again last night, finding all peace to the eastward. Thus you have an imperfect sketch of the times, by which you'll be more convinced (if possible) that Americans are in earnest to support the Cause of Liberty and their Country.

Our last advice from you was at N. Y., an hour before your departure for Philadelphia, where we contemplate with the highest satisfaction that you are among the Nobles who will, by their Resolutions, undoubtedly make their names famous as the Heroes of America, as long as America endures.

I am Y^r most Obed^t Hum^{bl} Serv^t,

G. SALTONSTALL.

Capt Elizur Goodridge presents his compliments to you.

The committee of correspondence at Hartford sent to N. L. Com^{tee}, an hour before I left home, inviting us as well as

other Counties, jointly at Hartford, the 15th Instant, or separately, to resolve and subscribe a non-consumption Agreement. At N. L., had not time before I left it, to consider, only just to say it would rather be an affront to the Congress to act in any sort until we had their Resolves, and then the Towns universally to meet and approve, and in strongest manner establish their Resolves, and record them at large in every Town for the benefit of posterity. I have been to Hartford, and propagated this doctrine.

Mr. Jonathan Simpson Jr, attempting to settle in trade at Providence, was routed. His bro^r John went thither to adjust matters, by saying neither of them were Addressors &c., and seemed to quiet matters. At midnight, a loud rap at his door, advising him to decamp instantly, which he did, and in an hour the posse was round the house, and as he was gone they had hints he had taken sanctuary at another house, which was also paraded, but he was denied being there. However, there he was, but put off privately, and traveled on foot towards Boston, about eleven miles, and then took passage in a Stage Coach.

P. S. The Quebeck act is providentially in good season, and when G. Britain has the American [news] and especially the result of the grand American Congress, they will do the work desired and produce a new Ministry, friends to B. and American Liberty and their Constitution; and this I expect America will be certified of by Christmas day next.

Silas Deane Esq., Philadelphia.

FROM TITUS HOSMER TO SILAS DEANE.

[A portion of this letter is missing, and what remains is without date or signature. It appears to have been written from Wethersfield, Sept. 4th, 1774.]

MY DEAR SIR,—I wrote a few lines p^r last post, under cover to young Mr. Ray, for you forgot to leave orders where I should direct. I hope they came safe to hand, tho' you will make some observations on my carelessness in promising to

enclose sundry pieces and omitting all ; but as you will most likely be favor'd with the public prints from every quarter, it will at this time be needless. As for myself I must confess I am quite low spirited ; a heavy melancholy aspect hangs on the brow of every face that I have seen this day. *News*, and rumours of *news* as you may say, are plenty this day with us, and from reflection we can find out nothing. This morning quite early I was call'd out of my bed by the Sheriff: "Where's the *Town Stock*?" I honestly own'd there was not a pound of powder in my keeping ; as for Ball and Flints they need not fear ; but, for Heaven's sake, says I, what means this ? Is Boston in action ? "O yes, terrible News ; I suppose before this Boston is in ashes." My God ! is it possible ! But after a little more *spit*,—he show'd me a letter from Putnam ; (by this time the people gathered from all quarters like a snow-ball ;) the contents—was something—but, to puzzle any one, sufficient. The purport was, Boston was in action by the "troops sending out to seize all the powder in the country, especially at Framingham about 20 miles from Boston ; which when discovered occasion'd the country people to collect and offer to rescue the powder. Six of the country people were shot dead at the very time, and many wounded—an Artillery planted at the Neck—the Ships were heard to fire all night of a Friday." Observe, this came from Windham by a Farmington man that was late from Boston. We expected Expresses every hour. Previous to this collection at yours and my house, which was a large collection from all parts of the parish, Mr. Sheriff had sent Loomis off for Mid^a [Middletown] Much was said ; some were for pushing on to aid 'em at once ; so much was said, I was obliged to send to Mr. Alsop a Wagon for *powder*, which he was good enough to let me have, and at this time it was friendly to me—for you are very sensible right or wrong we are obliged in some measure to follow the *cry* of the many. A number went to Hartford for further intelligence. By this time a number were up from Rockyhill, but agreed to wait a little longer as further News seemed very requisite. At nine all dispers'd

to their several homes, but every one very anxious, you may easily judge. At 12 o'clock news from Hartford was nearly thus: "Benjⁿ Brattle at Cambridge, a high tory, had petitioned Gage for troops to protect him at his house, which Gage granted; a mob gathered and demand of Brattle to renounce his toryism or whatever you may term it; but after a short parley the troop fired, kill'd some right out, a large num^r wounded. No news from the town itself." This, with many circumstances, leave us quite in the land of *amaze*—for the improbability that this should happen on Friday, and an Express follow on to overtake Hyde just before he came into Hartford, and Hyde not able to go any further, makes the whole a matter of doubt—but the town is in great ferment; some of this opinion, some of that, as various as the wind; but, as I observ'd before, all wear a dejected countenance, but resolved, if required, to pursue on. It's said the Eastern people are already gone on arm'd—some from Farmington, and elsewhere. Great Heaven, where will these unhappy, truly melancholy affairs end! The people from one end of the Continent [to the other] are wide awake; in particular the province of the Massachusetts. You will undoubtedly before this reaches you have heard that last Tuesday the Court met at Springfield:* The mob gather'd to the amount of three or four thousand, and obliged the Royal Blood in Hampshire County to resign. A copy of the resignation I now enclose. They in general in the province are much more roused, much warmer than you have an idea of,—resolute to fight if required, and say they are determin'd to be set even upon the

* "On Tuesday last, being the Day the County Court was to sit at Springfield, a great Concourse of People, judg'd to be about three Thousand, assembled at the Court-House in that Place, and appointed a Committee to wait on the Court and request their appearance among the People, which they immediately complied with; when they very willingly signed the following Engagement, viz. [Not to take, hold, execute, or exercise, any Commission, Office, or Employment whatsoever, under or by virtue of, &c., a late Act of Parliament, &c.] * * * After the above was delivered to the People, in writing, they all dispersed."—*Connecticut Courant*, Sept. 6.

first Charter, i. e., to appoint their own Governors, &c. This is much the state, or nearly as I am able to give it you; perhaps before I close, I may be, more fully. Your letter, dated on Monday from N. York, came to hand on fast-day. I think Parson Marsh* behaved quite in character, said enough, but not too much, very clever and very acceptable. Parson W—— of E. H——† went deep and far, we are told, in political matters. Tomorrow we have a town meeting, which comes by means of the hand-bill given you the morning you left us, which I do not [ap]prove of; indeed I have spoke my mind so freely that I lik'd to have quarrel'd once or twice; so that I say but little about it; but I think a non-consumption agreement is quite premature. But the people are warm this way for stoppage of trade every way, a non-export and import,—and the consumers, a non-consumption. They are quite ripe, quite warm and [a]wake enough; in short, they can't bear the least argument on the other side. What I mean by premature is, that we ought to have some account from you. The Clergy say much; and every one expects more. Parson Jarvis refused opening his church door on fast-day, and said what has displeas'd a number, much. Col. S. and Barz.‡ are now gone to Hartford; by them I hope to receive some acc^t that may be depended on, for this state of suspense is really bad enough. To turn to business at home; we jog on the same dull round; the Brig is gone for Carolina. For myself I got insured £200 on Vessel and Cargo, to and from, at 4 per ct. My small vessel at the Cove goes on but slow indeed. As to Mrs. Deane's health, I think no one can deny but she mends fast, but is still quite unwell. Your father returns home tomorrow. A crowd of people are continually calling upon us to hear and know the Boston news, of which we are able to give but a poor acc^t; in short it's mere conjecture, in my opinion. But the people are getting in readiness for a march at a very short warning.

* Rev. John Marsh [D. D.] of Wethersfield.

† Rev. Eliphalet Williams, D. D., of East Hartford.

‡ Col. Saltonstall, and Mr. Deane's brother Barzillai.

Col. and yr brother have just returned from Hartford, and leave the affair as much in the dark as ever; say the Boston Post is a new hand, that never rode before in behalf of *Hyde*; the news he brings was handed him by the third person. But it's well to observe how quickly the country is alarmed, for the news passed thro' this town to go westward sun abo' an hour high. Gay and Judd are both past Hartford, with a hundred men; and Capt. Deane says as he came out of Hartford he met thirty-four well arm'd from Harwington, and they told him there was a large number coming from Litchfield. At Hartford they have sent off Hez. Wylls; and Mid^{tn}, Hartford, and Wethersfield are to lie upon their oars, till further light. I doubt not that so rapid are these reports, you will have 'em long before this comes to hand; but shou'd you not, I should blame myself very much. We was much disappointed at not hearing from you p^r yesterday's post; but on recollection are sensible you could write us nothing new until your arrival at *Philadelphia*, from whence I hope to have a very particular acco^t. My compl^{ts} wait on Barny and Sammy, and wou'd write 'em, but as I write so full to you, I think it will be needless; beside, I have many letters to write that I cannot avoid. Mr. Deane, for Gracious sake tell me what is your opinion of these times? Is it not enough to make our family shudder? Consider how our matters are situated, should Mobism take place instead of good Government among ourselves. The Col. is very sanguine that all will come out right yet. This colony almost to a man seem to be willing to march with their muskets for B.

[Enclosed in the preceding.]

“COPY OF A LETTER TO CAPT. CLEVELAND FROM COL. PUTNAM.*

POMFRET, 3d Sept, 1774.

CAP^t CLEVELAND,—Mr. Keyes has this morning bro't us the News that the Men of War and Troops began to fire on the

* See note on page 150. A communication, from Col. Putnam, to the *Connecticut Gazette* (New London), of October 7th, gives an account of

people of Boston last night at sunset, when a post was sent immediately off to inform the Country. He informs [that] the artillery play'd all night, that the people are universally [rallying], from Boston as far as here, in arms, and desires all the assistance possible. It [This first commencement of hostilities] was occasioned by the country people's being robb'd of their powder, [from Boston] as far as Framingham, and when found out, people went to take the Soldiers and were immediately fir'd on. Six of our people were killed on the spot, and several more were wounded. Beg you'll rally all the forces [you can] and be on the march immediately, for the relief of Boston and the people that way.

ISRAEL PUTNAM."

This was spread by copies all over the colony by Sunday noon.

GURDON SALTONSTALL, CHAIRMAN, TO THE CONNECTICUT DELEGATES IN CONGRESS.

NORWICH, 8th Sept., 1774.

GENTⁿ,—The two Counties of New London and Windham, this day convened by their Delegates from the several towns in each County,* to consult for their common safety on the very critical and alarming aspect of our publick affairs, are deeply impressed with an apprehension that the late Proceedings of the British Parliament respecting America are so fraught with Despotism and seem to be carrying into execu-

the origin of the alarm of September 3d, and the circumstances under which his letter to Capt. Aaron Cleveland of Canterbury was dispatched. He inserts a copy of this letter, "as nearly conformable to the original as he can recollect,"—from which the words in brackets have been supplied to Mr. Hosmer's copy.

* Of this Convention, Col. Gurdon Saltonstall was Chairman; Col. William Williams, Clerk. The Address and recommendations, unanimously approved by the Convention, were printed in the *Connecticut Gazette* of September 16th.

tion with such determined Resolution, that unless a change in Administration, which is rather wished for, than expected, should take place, and produce an alteration of Measures; or the Americans passively give up their rights, which we are persuaded they will not,—that there is the greatest reason to fear the Colonies will be reduced to the dire necessity of defending their privileges by the Sword.

We therefore thus viewing the Storm gathering and just ready to burst over our heads, think it our indispensable duty to use every means in our power to be prepared therefor, and for that purpose beg leave to recommend to your particular attention a new regulation of our Militia, whereby it may be put on some more respectable footing than that on which it now stands, and would suggest for your consideration whether a number of men should not be agreed on and be assigned to each Colony, to be enrolled and thorou'ly diciplined, and held in constant readiness for actual service in case of need, and that this or some other mode that the Congress shall adopt should be recommended to every Colony; for we are convinced, and doubt not you will readily agree with us, that in case of a war with Spain or France, or the very unnatural one with our Mother Country, unless some preparation is made, or some better mode of Defence than what we now rely on, is adopted, the life of many a brave person must be flung away for want of an acquaintance with the necessary discipline of arms. A few regiments well diciplined will be more relied on than twenty times their number to be raised in a hurry and rush into immediate action. The times are such, that we think it criminal not to speak with freedom; we are apprehensive, suffer us to repeat it, that the liberties of this continent are of such immense importance that if no other means are likely to prevail they must be defended by arms, and therefore we most strongly recommend the putting ourselves in the utmost readiness for that last extremity.

We are aware that the Governors appointed by the Crown will by no means give their assent to any Acts of the Legislatures within the Provinces over which they preside, for regu-

lating their Militia: but we flatter ourselves that if any mode shall be recommended, as necessary, by the Congress, that either the Committees of Correspondence, or some other persons to whom the People may be under the necessity of delegating the power, will fall upon some method to enforce the same with the People. These sentiments have been prevailing with us for some time, formed upon calm and deliberate reflections, and not in consequence of the alarm last Saturday, the particulars of which you will doubtless receive ere this comes to hand, and to which you may be apt to attribute our present solicitude; however that event urges us to acquaint you that the disposition which appeared in the inhabitants to give immediate succour and assistance to the Town of Boston, and their precipitate flight to the expected scene of blood and carnage, has furnished us with the most convincing and pleasing evidence that nothing is wanting but good regulations, with a small degree of exercise, to render the Body of the People as formidable Troops as any in the world; and we are not willing to leave unattempted anything in our power to make this Spirit of Heroism and Love of their Country which glows in the breasts of our fellow-countrymen, predominating over every selfish principle, as eminently serviceable as they are virtues admirable and glorious. We think we ought to express our fears to you that the late sudden martial parade in this part of the land, wherein many thousands were almost in a moment of time ready for battle, is a prelude to an occasion that will soon take place with a dreadful reality. However, Gentⁿ, it is at least possible that this grand and almost infinitely important dispute may be brought to a happy decision without the intervention of such dismal carnage, although, if less will not suffice, opening the crimson fountain of all American blood will not be too costly a sacrifice; and if so happy an event can be accomplished without recourse to the last dreadful yet, in such case, necessary and eligible remedy, it must, we conceive, be effected by raising in the nation so powerful a party in our favour, and exciting such a storm of opposition to the Plan of our Oppressors, as will de-

molish the Administration, or irresistibly compel them to change their cruel and wicked Measures. The Nation are not and will not be blind and callous to their own interest, if they are to ours; and to touch that in the most tender place and forcible manner, while human Nature is what it is and Interest won't belie itself, must, we conceive, soon kindle such a flame as all the engines of our Oppressors cannot extinguish or resist; and what can so effectually bring to pass that great design, as in good earnest to break off all commercial Inter-course with Great Britain and the West Indies (unless for the absolute necessaries of Life, if such there be included,) and thereby reduce many ten thousands of their now wealthy Inhabitants to the necessity of starving (for beg they cannot,) or becoming our powerful Advocates, besides making an immense impression on the Royal Revenue. If it will suffice to let all non-Importation from Great Britain take place immediately, and to assign a not very distant day for the rest, we should be content and rejoice, but if not, what a trifling hardship should we be subjected to by coming into the whole? Why truly, no more than for some to cease the acquisition of wealth so fast, and for many more to cease impoverishing themselves in pursuit of the extravagancies and luxury of the rich and great in the Mother Country. But even if we were for a while reduced to Bread and Water, or Mallows and Juniper for food, and Sheep-skins and Goat-skins for covering, (which would be far from the case,) what would that be to deluging our Country with blood too pretious to be spilled in vain! and yet, we beg leave to repeat it, that that would be preferable, far preferable, and far sooner take place than a submission to such horrid and unnatural oppression. We take liberty farther to add that we apprehend that while so many false brethren and betrayers of our liberties are scattered through the Colonies, while that principal Port and Harbour of Boston is under the control of a Hostile Fleet and Army, and all the Powers at Home will lend their utmost powerfull aid to the infamous designs and insidious artifice and practice of our Enemies, and the mercenary Wretches who would aggrandize and enrich themselves at

the expense of their Country's Liberty, it will be absolutely impracticable to carry into complete execution such non-importation agreement, unless it should be backed and supported also by a non-consumption agreement; which entered into, and religiously observed, would effectually check and discourage those base betrayers of our Rights, as they could not in that case receive the wages of their Iniquity. We therefore take leave to recommend this article also to your most serious consideration; and although, Gentⁿ, we do not conceive that we can communicate to you any new sentiments in these interesting matters, but, as you have not at any time had the collected voice of so many of your Constituents, we take the liberty to suggest to you these things, and have strong confidence in your Wisdom, Firmness and Integrity. And are with the utmost Esteem, Gentⁿ,

Your Most Obedt^t Humble Serv^{ts},

G. SALTONSTALL, *Chairman.*

Signed by order.

To the Commiss^{rs} for Connecticut at the Congress,
Philadelphia.

[Enclosed in the foregoing.]

COPY OF A MEMORIAL TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF
CONNECTICUT.

To the Honorable, the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, to be convened at New Haven, the Second Thursday of October next, The Memorial of the Delegates of the two Counties of New London and Windham, met at Norwich, the 8th of September, 1774, humbly sheweth:

That, whereas, the Parliament of Great Britain have passed several Acts subversive of the Liberties of this wide extended Continent, and the present Ministry have thought proper to enforce Obedience to those unconstitutional Acts by Military Execution, by investing the Town of Boston (the Athens of New England) with a Formidable Fleet and an Army under the command of General Gage, who is vested with both a Civil and a Military Command, a Commission too great to be given

to any person in a free Country—That the Americans should be in the power of a Lawless Army not under the control of the Civil Magistrate, we humbly conceive is a situation terrible beyond description. What subdued the Roman and Grecian Republicks? An Army not under the control of the Civil Magistrate. What Country, what State, what Kingdom, has not fallen a sacrifice to a Standing Army? We being extremely apprehensive that there is just grounds to fear that we shall be under the disagreeable necessity of defending our Sacred and Invaluable Rights, sword in hand,—for we would not entertain a thought that any American would, or possibly could, be dragooned into Slavery,—We therefore think it our indispensable Duty, in the most pressing manner, as worthy of the greatest attention of your Honors; to suggest to your Honors, that the Militia of this Colony be put upon a more Respectable Footing than they now stand, by revising the whole of our Militia Laws, and adopting a different System; especially as we have had the example of Great Britain during the last War, when an Invasion from France was repeatedly threatened. We are not only threatened but the Capital of New England is absolutely invaded, and as we may reasonably expect a Foreign Foe 'ere long may turn their eye and arm against America, to gain so very important and valuable a Territory, have therefore infinitely a greater occasion of regulating our Militia than Great Britain had. We hope and earnestly request that your Honors will agree in sentiment with us, and enact a Law similar to that of Great Britain, and that Five Thousand men, *at least*, be raised, well officered, and in every respect well appointed. And furthermore, that your Honors will be pleased to grant commissions to the officers of Artillery Companies that shall hereafter voluntarily enlist and form themselves for public service, under proper regulations, in addition to the new proposed Regiments: or in some other way, as your Honors in your Wisdom shall think proper, and as in duty bound shall ever pray, &c.

Signed p^r order,

G. SALTONSTALL.

Dated at Norwich, 9th of September, 1774.

The foregoing draft of a Memorial to the Honorable General Assembly was read and considered by the Delegates of the Towns in the Counties of New London and Windham assembled at Norwich, the 8th of September, 1774, and is approved; and ordered and desired, that the Hon^{ble} Col. Saltonstall, Chairman of said meeting, signed and cause the same to be preferred accordingly.

Test, W^m. WILLIAMS,
Clerk of said Meeting.

Copy.

SILAS DEANE, TO HIS WIFE.

[PHILADELPHIA, Sep. 8th, 1774.]

MY DEAR,—I parted with you as by letter, at New York, last Monday morning. As I expected, our delay or rather superstitious neglect of getting over our Carriages the preceding evening, brought us under the mercy of the ferryman, who kept us until after ten that excessive hot day, and then part of us, not myself for one, assisted in rowing over, as it was a calm. On the western shore is a large elegant tavern kept by Ellsworth, who married a Gale. She now has a number of children, three or four. I was now on a new journey, on a road new to me, and of course my attention was excited, the more so as I had often heard this country brought not only as a rival but in preference to Connecticut, by gentlemen from New York. Newark was the first Town, and to give it its full due it is a pretty one and the soil good and well cultivated, but is neither for buildings nor improvements nor natural soil equal to East Windsor. Here I called at a house where the Inn-keeper was acquainted with all Wethersfield and Hartford, having been three months under Doct^r Porter's care. He married a niece of Doct^r Gale's, as she told me. We went on and dined at Elisabeth's Town, at one Graham's. This is the prettiest Town since I left Connecticut; the best land and best improvement. Here live three of our brethren the Delegates, (viz.) Mr. W. Livingston, Mr. S. Crane, and Mr. De Hart; but we did not call on them, but after dining

proceeded to Woodbridge, ten miles, and there put up. Elisabeth is a Town in soil and buildings several degrees behind Middletown, and Woodbridge is rather a village, though with city privileges. We lodged tolerably, and rose at 4 o'clock, my disorder still following me closely. We pass'd Rariton Ferry, ten miles from Woodbridge, at seven o'clock. This is a small River, about twice the bigness of Middletown Little River, has a tide in it, and coasters come up thus far, as large as those to Rocky Hill in Wethersfield; here we breakfasted very indifferently. The town is tolerably clever, not equal to Middletown in bigness and as irregular as Norwich Landing; but they are all warm Sons of Liberty, which must atone for smaller matters. From hence it is seventeen miles to Princeton, where stands the New Jersey College, and this we rode by twelve [miles] through a country that has nothing remarkable to distinguish it unless it be a thin soil, horse-teams, poor cattle, no good pastures; but plenty of grain, and the most evident marks of an industrious, frugal people. Princeton is a new town and, though the best situated to command a good air, has no good farm-houses and settlements. The College is an elegant building of stone, well calculated, and to appearance well provided. The Tutors waited on us, but tutors and scholars are the same everywhere, so need not enlarge. The town is inferior by much to Colchester for soil, buildings and improvements, but the people are neat, and there is elegant entertainment for strangers at the taverns. Here the Jersey Delegates overtook and pass'd us. The weather extremely hot, without the least breath of air stirring. We rode no farther that afternoon than Trent Town, which is twelve miles further, and put up. Here a Connecticut clergyman, brother to Col. Spencer, is settled, who waited on us with the Delegates of the Province. For my part, I never underwent more to keep up my part of the conversation, when I wanted to be in bed, sick, worn out with the heat and dust, headache, and anxiety of mind; but so it was, I could not retire until past eleven, when, as fond as I am of sleep, the night and bed were worse to me than to have proceeded on.

my journey. I turn'd, and turn'd, and groan'd, while Judge Sherman who lodged in the same chamber snored in concert ; [when morning came] I got up, wash'd my feet in hot water, and without eating a mouthful set out on my journey. This is the prettiest town I have seen in the Jerseys ; is on the banks of the Delaware River, which is here shoal, and rapid over rocks and falls, so that it has no benefit from navigation ; but I think it is nearly as large a town as Wethersfield. I have now got through the Jerseys, and through this sheet of paper. Adieu.

I have omitted one ferry, which was the first we pass'd, but it was a mere trifle, as was the next, beyond Delaware, called *Shammenoy*, over a River discharging into the Delaware. The weather extremely hot, the roads sandy, and my illness together, almost sunk me. The country has nothing lively or agreeable, one plain, mudd houses covered with straw, save here and there an elegant building ; but the latter are scarce. We rode ten miles to Bristol, a village on the banks of the Delaware, most delightfully situated, having the River close by it, which is thus far navigable for large vessels, though none were here, and Burlington, the capital of the Jerseys, on the opposite shore, to the south of it, which appeared, at the distance of about three miles down the River, very pretty ; but as to Bristol, there are not so many buildings as in Rocky-hill, nor of so good appearance, though this is within seventeen miles of Philadelphia. Here we baited, and then pushed forward in extreme heat, to a tavern within six miles of Philadelphia ; yet in the whole of this stage there was neither village nor country seat, nor any thing by which a stranger would conclude himself near a Capital Trading City. The tavern appeared tolerable ; had it been less so we must have put up ; but to our surprise here was no fruit, bad rum, and nothing of the meat kind but salt pork. I had now been destitute of food twenty-four hours, and consequently kept a severe though involuntary Fast on the day you fasted and prayed for us in Connecticut. I called for bread, cheese and

porter. The latter they had none of, but of the former, though their cheese was both new and bad, I swallowed a few mouthfulls, and having excellent bottle-cyder, I mixed it with water and it proved a cordial to me. Sam^l Webb knocked over three or four chickens and roasted them, but I could not taste them. We set out from thence for this City at five o'clock, and arrived at six. Mr. Dickinson, the Pennsylvania Farmer, has a pretty seat about two miles out of town on y^e road, which to my surprise, was the only one I saw deserving the name. Not a garden, nor the appearance of one, in the neighborhood of this city, equal to ours. This gave me a poor opinion of their vegetable market. Wheat fields crowd into the very squares of the City, but as to grass and verdant meadows, there is more between Weathersfield and Hartford than in sixty miles on the road we came. The city standing on a plain, and but few steeples, you see nothing of it until you are in the midst of it. We drove up to a noted tavern, one Mr. Biddle's, and alighted. I called for coffee, and meeting with some former acquaintance my spirits recruited. Mr. Galloway very politely called on us, as did Dr. Smith. Fortunately lodgings had been reserved for Col. Dyer and Doct^r Johnson. I took the bed reserved for the latter, and am well provided for at a widow lady's, one Mrs. House. Mr. Gadsden and son from Charlestown, S. Carolina, S. Webb, young Mr. Dyer, Mr. Arnold, and self, are the lodgers. Thus I have given you my journal down to Wednesday evening. Lem^l Deming is here, as is Tho^s Willson.

Thursday. Col. Floyd and my Brother arrived. The city is full of people from abroad, and all the lodgings in town full, or engaged. This day is so excessive that I sit in my gown and write, for I dare not venture out much thro' fear of a return of my disorder, from which, thank God, I am now perfectly well. The Delegates from Virginia, Maryland, the Lower Counties, and New York, are not arrived. We spent this day in visiting those that are in town, and find them in high spirits, particularly the gentlemen from the Jerseys, and

South Carolina. In the evening we met to the number of about thirty, drank a dish of coffee together, talked over a few preliminaries, and agreed to wait for the gentlemen not arrived, until Monday next, before we proceeded to business. This day, therefore,—Friday, I mean to ramble over the city and make my observations. To-morrow, am invited by Doer Smith, who is vastly sociable (or rather aims at it), to see the College and curiosities of the city, and in the afternoon I design for German Town, which they tell me is about six miles off, where I shall remember my stockings. I find but two things disagreeable as yet; the extreme heat in the city, and a scarcity of a fruit, vegetable and fish market. The aspect of the inhabitants bespeaks them affable and clever, and the Friend or Quaker habit was always agreeable to me. They have a strong partiality in favor of this city, and think nothing is equal to it in America, but I am not yet prepared to subscribe to their opinion. I traversed their market, this morning. Their mutton looks the best I ever saw. Their soil is fit for this, being dry and sandy. But though their meat is neatly dress'd, I saw no Connecticut beef, and could honestly prefer Hooker's cart for that article, to anything I saw here. There was not a fowl nor a fish in the whole market. Watermelons look'd tolerable, and were the only fruit worth buying. There were a few miserable pears, and peaches, and plumbs, and as to vegetables and roots, potatoes, green corn and cabbage comprised the whole in a manner, and these brought in a very indifferent order. You will begin to think me as guilty of partiality as the Philadelphians are said to be. They who think nothing is right but what is in this city and province think so too; nay, they look on me mad when I tell them that I have seen more good pasture, clover, meadow, oxen and cows, in a circle of three miles in Connecticut, than is here to be met with in thirty; but it is true, and every New England man in the company tells them the same. But to-morrow is their market day, when we are to see great things; indeed, I begin to suspect we have travelled over the poorest part of their country. The people are really extremely civil,

and vastly industrious ; in both these I think they must take rank.

I find I must page my letter, or you will never be able to take the course of it. It is now Saturday morning. Yesterday arrived Capt. Jer^a Wadsworth, in good health. In the afternoon came in the Virginia and Maryland delegates, and part of those from New York, so that we are almost complete. The Virginia and indeed all the Southern delegates appear like men of importance. We waited on, and were introduced to them in the evening. They are sociable, sensible, and spirited men, and the short opportunity I had of attending to their conversation gives me the highest idea of their principles and character.

I attended the market this morning and have no reason to alter my opinion in favor of the supplies of this city to those at New York. As I said before, their meat is brought in the neatest order and appearance, and their mutton exceeds, but in the whole market was nothing of the fish kind, and I scarcely saw any fowls of any kind, worth naming. Fruit of but few kinds and those very inferior, watermelons excepted, which you will think ought to be good when I tell you I saw them sold for two shillings each ; and among their roots and vegetables, I saw none of the first quality, and none at all of several that we value. I saw no celery, not a root ; no kind of sallads, one basket of endive excepted ; no beans but what were fit to shell ; and the cucumbers offered for sale, older than we ever eat them. The only vegetables or roots worth noticing are : cabbages and potatoes, good ; turnips, carrots, and radishes, as tough as a dry sandy soil will make them ; but the red beets are good. The whole of their Market is in one street, and is near twelve hundred feet in length ; the street is as wide as the Broad Street or Way in New York, and is as full as you can conceive of people, for about four hours. They expose horses, cattle and sheep, earthen-ware, stockings, &c. &c., in the market with other things, so that they really have an assortment ; but everything without ex-

ception is dearer than at New York. Common price of butter, 16^d pr. lb. Their dry goods, as near as I can judge of them, are sold at the same in Philadelphia as at New York, only with the addition of the odds of the currency. They have the finest team horses I ever saw; there are teams here which could not be bought for two hundred pounds; but I was deceived as to the neatness or cheapness of their carriages. I went this day to a noted coachmaker and viewed his work, and asked his prices. A sulkey, thirty-four pounds, without a top; a fall-back carriage like mine, fitted for but one horse, sixty pounds; and he asked me five pounds to new paint and gild mine; for which reason I shall bring it back *in statu quo*, as my money will hardly hold out at such a rate. I have just returned from viewing the College and Schools, and their furniture. They are clever, and Doctr^r Smith was very polite in waiting on us from Connecticut.

On my return met with your Father, Mr. J. Webb, and Sally's letters, for which I thank them jointly and severally; and as this may be a kind of family letter, as I shall keep writing occasionally until next Monday, it must answer instead of writing to them individually. I advise J. Webb to make the insurance on the Brig^a at least, and cover his as well as my interest. I rejoice at your better health; may it still be mended and fully restored by the time of my return, of which I dare not yet say one word, or even think. Inform my friends that we are in high spirits, if it is possible to be really so when the eyes of millions are upon us, and who consider themselves and their posterity interested in our conduct. But the prospect of unanimity among ourselves, and of support from our countrymen, greatly serves to animate us in the arduous task before us, which is as arduous, and of as great consequence, as ever men undertook and engaged in. This City and province I have hopes will be firm and resolute, though there are not wanting enemies to the general Cause, and who, aided by party, are restless in their endeavors to defeat or retard our proceedings. The City have offered us the Carpenters Hall, so called, to meet in, and Mr. Galloway

offers the State House and insists on our meeting there, which he says he has a right to offer as Speaker of that House. The last is evidently the best place, but as *he* offers, the other party oppose. This will be determined on Monday, when I shall add the intermediate occurrences and forward my letter. I spend the remainder of the day out of town.

Sunday Morning. We had a pleasant ride about six miles north-west from the City, to the Falls of the Schuylkill River, which is a pretty, romantic place, and there are seven or eight pretty seats on the road; some of them but just begun, and none so completed as to be brought into comparison with those near New York. Here we met with Doct^r Smith again, who you will begin to think by this time is everywhere, and indeed I think him a most extraordinary compound; Wm. Hubbard, Doct^r Turner, Jer^a Wadsworth, B. Deane, Col. Dyer and myself, from Connecticut; Wm. Livingston, Mr. Jay, Mr. Crane, and Col. Floyd, from N. York and the Jersies; with Mr. Patterson the Collector, were present. In conversation last evening at the coffee-house with Gentlemen of the first character in the Province, and of Mr. Ingersoll's acquaintance, I find his conduct very much condemned in this city, even by Prerogative men themselves, or those who might be stiled such.

Waiting for my barber, I have wrote thus far; will only add that Ja^s Rivington's paper was yesterday agreed to be stopped by a great number of the Gentlemen of this City, and a subscription come into which will doubtless be universal. Tell Jo^s Webb to promote the same throughout Connecticut, and to put it forward. I have wrote to the Committee of Correspondence at Hartford, the enclosed letter, which I desire him to read, then copy, and deliver; and I wish him to write to Isaac Beers and others at N. Haven on the same subject, as I think we ought to unite in punishing so great a scoundrel as he appears to be.

We set out this morning for Meeting, but Col. Dyer, who is one of the worst men in the world at recollecting streets,

distances or stages, instead of leading towards Mr. Sproat's Meeting (where more out of complaisance to our countrymen, than from a belief that we should meet with the best of sermons, we determined to pay our first devotions,) he led the right contrary way. Passing two or three streets, he began to suspect his error, but on enquiring for Mr. Sproat's, the honest man asked if it was the Presbyterian, and then told us we were right; on this, on we went, two or three streets more, until inquiry was in vain, for we had got beyond the knowledge either of Mr. Sproat or his meeting. The Col. fretted and I laughed at him, though vexed enough I confess to find ourselves thus foolishly swamp'd, when had we accompanied our fellow-lodgers we might have gone to hear either Mr. De Jay [Duché] or Mr. Coombs, both eminent men. At length coming to the south-west extremity of the City, I proposed to the Col. that we would get a Cryer to look out our Meeting for us, or else go forward to the Bettering House, then in view, or fall into the Church before us, which from the appearance of the people entering I judged to be High Dutch, and of course could expect nothing but to be diverted with something new in a strange language. In we went: the house was unfinished and the people appeared poor, but they civilly shewed us to a seat, when to our agreeable disappointment we were entertained by as agreeable, instructive, and elegantly pathetic a preacher as I have almost ever heard in my life. He gave us a discourse of about fifty minutes, without notes, yet extremely correct and in a fine stile. Perhaps the accidental falling upon him, and his being a warm Son of Liberty, both in prayer and sermon, prejudiced us in his favor, but I do not expect to hear a better sermon soon. It seems they are a set of honest plain Dissenters, who, to the shame of the other dissenting congregations and their clergy, have rather been despised and persecuted because they insisted on the right of choosing their own Minister, and chose this gentleman from a distance; neither of which circumstances prejudiced me against him; and I design to hear him again, before I leave the City.

This afternoon we found Mr. Sproat's meeting, and heard old President *Witherspoon*. The evening spent at Mr. Tho^s Wharton's, who was extremely civil and complaisant, and insisted on our using his horses and carriage while in town, or rather his Convenience, which is the name of a Friend's or Quaker's Coach. This he was the more urgent in, as he was, he said, determined to convince me before I left the City, that they had land superior to ours.

Monday, Septem^r 5th. The Congress formed, by choosing the Hon^l P. Randolph Esq^r, of Virginia, President, and Charles Thompson Esq^r, of this city, Secretary, and fix'd on Carpenters Hall for the place to meet in. This proceeding is highly agreeable to the mechanics and citizens in general, but mortifying to the last degree to Mr. Galloway and his party, Thompson being his sworn opposite, as you may say, and by his means prevented being one of the Congress for this Province. It was a matter of dispute whether we should choose a Secretary out of the Members, and I doubted in my own mind the propriety, but did not oppose it, as by opposing I most probably should have had the task myself, which is too burdensome to one who wants all spare hours for relaxation. The day until three, was spent in reading our Certificates and adjusting some formalities; after which, adjourned until ten next morning. I dined in company with a number of New England gentlemen, at one Mr. Marshall's. I will not call him a Quaker, but a Friend, which is the true and proper characteristic of the man. In short, by seeing and dealing much in the world, and among the polite, with a native stock of good sense, and freed by profession from the incumbrances of formality and compliment, he appears the easiest and truly politest of men, without a single bow or congee. I really enjoyed myself, at a plentiful and elegant table, but the best part of the entertainment was the pleasure I received from the openness and simplicity of behavior in the man and his wife. When James the second try'd to convert *Col. Kirk* to the Roman Catholic faith, this rough and bloody soldier told him

he would do any thing for him but change his religion, and that he determined against; but should he resolve otherway, he was pre-engaged, having promised the Emperor of Morocco when in his service, that if ever he altered he would turn *Turk*. I think of this, and have almost resolved, if I alter, to turn *Quaker*. I designed this afternoon to have rode out, but was prevented by company, and spent the evening with members of the Congress from different Colonies. Our President seems designed by nature for the business. Of an affable, open, and majestic deportment,—large in size, though not out of proportion,—he commands respect and esteem by his very aspect, independent of the high character he sustains. I must begin another sheet to-morrow. Adieu.

I told you I should begin another sheet, but had no conception of doing it on so disagreeable an occasion as that of the intelligence rec^d of the situation of Boston. Of this I can say nothing more than that this City is in the utmost confusion, all the bells toll muffled, and the most unfeigned marks of sorrow appear in every countenance. The Congress sat untill after three, and then adj'd but untill five; but our proceedings for various reasons will be kept secret, so on that head shall say nothing, untill we break up; for though we may publish to the world the whole, it is improper to do it prematurely. You may tell our friends that I never met, nor scarcely had an idea of meeting, with men of such firmness, sensibility, spirit, and thorough knowledge of the interests of America, as the Gentlemen from the Southern Provinces appear to be. In this I do not speak from prejudice, but from the knowledge I have of them in their public as well as their private conversation, both of which I attend to with a pleasure that balances many, if not more than all the anxieties and troubles of such a journey. May New England go hand in hand with them, and we need not fear a want of spirit. I intended to have entertained you with a brief sketch of their character and appearance, but this is the nineteenth page of my letter; must therefore conclude, and reserve the rest for a future opportunity; but of the trans-

actions of the Congress you will have no intelligence to be relied on, untill we publish.

Jos. Webb told me he sent the *Massachusetts Spy* which I did not receive. Tell or write your Hon^d Father, that the report in his case will be the same as before, of which I give him joy. I will not begin a 20th page. Read or show this, at discretion. Remember me to all. Capt. Hubbard sets out in the morning. Hope for the best; all is here unanimous. I am wishing you Health, the sweetner of every enjoyment.

Yours,

SILAS DEANE.

N. B. The Congress are not hereafter to disclose their proceedings but by agreement. There is good reason for it. I make no excuse to Jos. Webb for not writing to him particularly, as this is designed for his perusal, and as I before said is a family letter, and a summary of proceedings and sentiments to this Tuesday, 6th of Sept^r, 1774, nine at night.

Wednesday morning. An express arrived from N. York, confirming the acc^t of a rupture at Boston. All is in confusion. I cannot say that all faces gather paleness, but they all gather indignation, and every tongue pronounces revenge. The bells toll muffled, and the people run as in a case of extremity, they know not where nor why. The Congress met and opened with a Prayer made by the Rev^d Mr. Deshay [Duché] which it was worth riding one hundred miles to hear. He read the Lessons of the day, which were accidentally extremely applicable, and then prayed without book, about ten minutes, so pertinently, with such fervency, purity, and sublimity of style and sentiment, and with such an apparent sensibility of the scenes and business before us, that even Quakers shed tears. The thanks of the Congress were most unanimously returned him by a select honorable committee. We are just now formed into Committees, and our business is laid out, which, as we mean to go to the bottom, nothing but Gen^l Gage and a greater force than he has at Boston will prevent our sitting some time.

I will now give you the character of the Delegates, beginning at South Carolina, as they are the Southernmost. Mr. Lynch is a gentleman about sixty, and could you see him, I need say nothing more. He has much the appearance of Mr. Ja^s Mumford, deceased; dresses as plain, or plainer; is of immense fortune, and has his family with him. He wears the manufacture of this country, is plain, sensible, above ceremony, and carries with him more force in his very appearance than most powdered folks in their conversation. He wears his hair strait, his clothes in the plainest order, and is highly esteemed. With him are two brothers, Mr. Rutledge, Sen^r and Jun^r, of independent fortune, ingenious, but impetuous in the Cause they are engaged in; the eldest, I judge, of my age; his lady, and a son of Jesse's age, is with him. They lodge at the next door. The younger brother is a tolerable speaker, equally zealous. He married Mr. *Gadsden's* daughter, who as I told you lodges with us. Mr. Gadsden leaves all New England Sons of Liberty far behind, for he is for taking up his firelock and marching direct to Boston; nay, he affirmed this morning, that were his wife and all his children in Boston, and they were there to perish by the sword, it would not alter his sentiment or proceeding for American Liberty; by which you may judge of the man, when I add that he is one of the most regularly religious men I ever met with. Col. Middleton is the only remaining member for that Province whom I have not characterized. He appears very modest; has said but little hitherto; is, I judge, fifty years of age, and of a very slender thin habit; but is in high esteem by his acquaintance.

Virginia comes next, but that must be the business of a future hour.

This evening I spent at Mr. Roberto's [Roberdeau's], a gentleman of fortune, who married Mr. Bostwick's daughter. She is a most amiable woman, and often reminded me of the late Mrs. Adam Babcock, whom she greatly resembles. Both she and he are too zealous Presbyterians for me, which is all the

fault I find with them. They give Mr. Murray a very indifferent character, but not as to morals.

Thursday morning. We are all in the greatest anxiety; that of a most cruel suspense as to the certainty of the Boston rupture, as no fresh intelligence has as yet arrived. Though entirely in health, yet to shake off a lassitude gathering on me, I rode out this morning in company with Miss Levy who lodges here, five miles south of the city, before breakfast. This is perfectly fine, both the natural soil and the improvements; and she was able to give me the names of the owners of the different seats we pass'd by, which was as entertaining as the morning air was refreshing. I wished often you could have taken a seat with us, and admired the country and prospects. A river on each side of us, the Delaware and Schuylkill, at about three miles distance; the former full of large topsail vessels, at anchor or under sail, and the latter winding through a fine intervale meadow full of cattle fattening for market,—for in these meadows they feed all the beef for the city. B. Deane sets out in the morning, so shall close my journal this evening.

3 P. M. Having promised to wait on Mr. Marshall, my kind friend before mentioned, at 4 o'clock, I have only time to add, that to our joy *Putnam's* blundering story is contradicted, and that every thing as yet wears the most favorable aspect which zeal and unanimity can promise us. My friends must content themselves with my expensive tarry, for to settle the rights and ascertain the privileges of a Continent like this, is a work of time, and serious beyond the conception of a bystander. You will read this in full circle, and the bearer must explain it. My love to all, Sally, Hannah, Hetty, Jesse, &c. &c.

I am, most affectionately, Yours,

SILAS DEANE.

Philadelphia, Sept 8th, 1774.

Turn to the Morning Service in the prayer book, for the 7th day of the month,—Psalm 35th, I think it is.*

As Doct^r Turner goes in the morning, I close my letter with adding, that the bells of the city are now ringing a peal of joy on acct^t of the news of Boston's having been destroyed, being contradicted.

Friday morning, Sept. 9th. Barzillai will not set out untill to-morrow, or Monday, and on the whole I find my letter will reach you as early by him as by Doct^r Turner; and it being of such a miscellaneous composition, I am unwilling it should pass through too many hands, lest curiosity should overcome delicacy in the passage, and the consequence be a misconstruction of my sentiments.

It gives me some uneasiness to think that you will be disappointed by this post, that is, this week's post, but you will not blame me when you receive this budget and find I have wrote to you every day, and oftener. Yesterday afternoon, my Friend Marshall call'd on Friend Deane, and Brother, &c., and waited on us to what is called the Bettering House, in other words a poor-house; the particular description of which must omit, and say only, that it vastly exceeds all of the kind in America put together and, I guess, equals in its excellent institutions any thing in Europe. It has ample room for five hundred lodgers. There are about three hundred in it, old and young, from the poor old mortal expiring with age to the foundling pick'd up in the streets but the night before perhaps. All is neat and clean, even the rooms of the sick, and the walks and yard very airy and lightsome; the yard and garden very spacious. Here all that can labour are put to it, and what they earn goes into the common stock. Here are about fifty looms; wheels, &c. &c., in proportion; and those

* So John Adams wrote to his wife: "It will amuse your friends to read this letter [Sept. 16th] and the thirty-fifth Psalm to them. Read it to your father and Mr. Wibird. I wonder what our Braintree churchmen would think of this." "It seemed as if Heaven had ordained that Psalm to be read on that morning."—J. Adams's Works, ii. 369, note.

that can work at no trade mend clothes and clean rooms ; fetch and carry as we may say, for those that do labour. This house, I judge, must have cost forty thousand pounds, and the annual support of it amounts to about two thousand. Here are two schools for the poor children, and nothing that serves at once to alleviate the wants and distresses of age, sickness and poverty is unattended to. It put me in mind, at entering the house and meeting some poor old women at the door who seemed as rejoiced at seeing my friend as if he were their son, of the line of Pope,

“ Where Age and Want sat smiling at the gate.”

All this is done by private donation, and chiefly by the people called Quakers, among whom the Marshalls are some of the first ; yet, as if these people determined to outdo all the rest of the world, they never permit any of their own poor to be sent here, but support them in a neat house by themselves, which is provided with gardens, but too much in the center of the city, occasioned by it being built early ; whereas the Bettering House stands without the city, in the fields. Returning, we took a view of a more melancholy scene, a prison now erecting, the construction of which is most curious. It is one hundred ninety feet in length, besides two wings of one hundred twenty feet each. This, I say, is a more melancholy scene, as it gives more gloomy ideas to view the punishments prepared for the wicked, than provisions for the relief of the unfortunate and the miserable. I write as I view things, and as you will preserve this budget, after shewing it to J. Webb, &c., will explain it on my return, more at large.

The following is a list of the Congress, in the order they stand :

For New Hampshire—Col. Fulsome, Majr Sullivan.

Massachusetts—Hon^l Mr. Cushing, Mr. Sam^l Adams, Mr.

Jn^o Adams, Mr. Rob^t I. Paine.

Rhode Island—Hon^l Mr. Ward, Hon^l Mr. Hopkins.

For Connecticut—Hon^l Eliph^t Dyer, Mr. S. Deane, Hon^l Mr. Sherman.

New York—Mr. P. Livingston, Mr. Isaac Low, Mr. Jn^o Jay, Mr. Jn^o Alsop, Col. Floyd.

New Jersey—Mr. Wm. Livingston, Mr. De Hart, Mr. Crane, Mr. Smith, Mr. McKinsey.

Pennsylvania—Hon^l Joseph Galloway, Mr. Mifflin, Mr. Biddle, Mr. Morton, Mr. Ross, Mr. Rhoads, Mr. Humphreys.

Lower Counties—Hon^l Cesar Rodney, Mr. McKean, Mr. Read.

Maryland—Mr. Tilghman, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Goldsborough, Mr. Paca, Mr. Chase.

Virginia—Hon^l Peyton Randolph, *President*, Col. Washington, Col. Bland, Col. Harrison, Mr. Henry, Mr. Pendleton, Mr. Cha^s Henry Lee.

South Carolina—Mr. Lynch, Mr. Rutledge, Mr. Gadsden. Col. Middleton, Mr. Rutledge, Jun.

Charles Thompson, *Secretary*.

Two Committees are now out, and when they report I shall be able to judge better of our business. The one is to ascertain our Rights, enumerate the violations of them, and recommend a proper mode of Redress. The other, to take a view of all those Acts of the British Parliament which affect our Trade and Manufactures. I am in the latter Committee, which I must attend directly.

TO MRS. DEANE.

[PHILADELPHIA, SEP. 19th, 1774.]

MY DEAR,—Barney* supp'd with us last night, and set out this morning at five. By him you will receive our proceedings to the time of his departure. The family we lodge in here consists of a widow lady, turned of forty as I judge.

*His brother, Barnabas Deane.

genteel and sensible ; has been handsome, and is still comely. She has a daughter, her eldest child, lately married to a Lieutenant in the Regiment here, one Mr. *Trist*, who lodges with us. She has also two sons, that are one at apprentice with a merchant, the other at school. This is the standing family, but every room is now full. Two more gentlemen from Charlestown, So. Carolina, and a sick gentleman from Jamaica lodge here. The two former arrived last evening ; the latter, poor man, has been here some time, and will probably never more remove but by the help of others, to his last lodgings—the Grave. I have not seen him. The officer here is much to be pitied. His commission is his principal dependence. He loves this country ; he loves his young wife, who is very deserving and who is a warm Daughter of Liberty ; yet [he] is ordered this morning to be ready to march in the afternoon, for Boston. This is really affecting, and my passions are too sensible of soft impressions, to view the struggle between duty (so-called), interest, and honor military, on the one hand, and affection and an honest regard and tenderness, on the other. As we have all dined and supped together, on a free footing, at the same table, he seems the nearer to us ; and our repeatedly asserting that the troops at Boston would be cut off if they attempted any thing against that town and province, gives him and his connections the most uneasy and melancholy apprehensions. Could he get rid of his commission on any terms short of ruining himself, he would gladly do it.

The Troops here which are to assist in reducing New England and all America, amount to one hundred and eighty, of which sixty are old, worn out invalids, unable to march as far as Boston in six weeks, were they to have the plunder of the town for their asking,—and the rest, disaffected to the unnatural employ. It is a doubt with me, whether the people here will let them march. Had blood been shed by the soldiery at Boston, there would have been no doubt at all, for these soldiers in that case would before this have been disarmed and dispersed ; but it is dangerous to begin hostility but on

the most urgent occasion and, indeed, absolute necessity. I design to view them when on their march.

I gave you the character of the South Carolina delegates, or rather a sketch. I will now pursue the plan I designed. Mr. Randolph, our worthy President, may be rising of sixty, of noble appearance, and presides with dignity. Col. Harrison may be fifty; an uncommonly large man, and appears rather rough in his address and speech. Col. Washington is nearly as tall a man as Col. Fitch, and almost as hard a countenance; yet with a very young look, and an easy soldierlike air and gesture. He does not appear above forty-five, yet was in the first actions in 1753 and 1754, on the Ohio, and in 1755 was with Braddock, and was the means of saving the remains of that unfortunate army. It is said that in the house of Burgesses in Virginia, on hearing of the Boston Port Bill, he offered to raise and arm and lead one thousand men himself at his own expense, for the defence of the country, were there need of it. His fortune is said to be equal to such an undertaking. Col. Bland is a plain, sensible man, deeply studied into and acquainted with the antiquities of Virginia and of this Continent in general; has wrote several very sensible pieces on the subject; and is a tolerable speaker in public, as is Col. Washington, who speaks very modestly and in cool but determined style and accent. Mr. Pendleton is a lawyer of eminence, of easy and cheerful countenance, polite in address, and elegant if not eloquent in style and elocution. Mr. Henry is also a lawyer, and the completest speaker I ever heard. If his future speeches are equal to the small samples he has hitherto given us, they will be worth preserving; but in a letter I can give you no idea of the music of his voice, or the highwrought yet natural elegance of his style and manner. Col. Lee is said to be his rival in eloquence, and in Virginia and to the southward they are styled the *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* of America.* God grant they may not, like them, plead in vain for

*“Duane says the Virginians speak in raptures about Richard Henry Lee and Patrick Henry, one the Cicero, and the other the Demosthenes of the age.” John Adams’s Diary Aug. 28, 1774, (Works, ii. 357.)

the Liberties of their Country ! These last gentlemen are now in full life, perhaps near fifty, and have made the Constitution and history of G. Britain and America their capital study ever since the late troubles between them have arisen.

Sunday. We dined yesterday with Mr. Wharton, a plain hospitable Quaker family, of great connections in this City, and on this Continent, as well as in Europe ; but I think has as much of the Serpent as the Dove in his composition. He treated us with the utmost politeness, and carried us in his coach after dinner to his country seat, and about ten miles south of this City, to view the country, which is fine and rich almost beyond comparison. The industry of this city exceeds anything you can have an idea of. The Delaware naturally overflowed at every tide a large tract of land on which consequently nothing grew but alders and rushes. This they enclosed with a dyke for miles in length, and by keeping the tide out have made it the richest meadow I ever saw. It is said to contain fifty thousand acres. I honestly owned beat, to Mr. Wharton, for though I have seen as good land in Wethersfield, I never saw such an extent of it. This morning we set out to look up Mr. Deshay. [Duché], but being unwell he only read prayers, and Mr. White preached. After dinner we went to Mr. Sprouts', but finding that neither Mr. Sprout nor Mr. Spencer preached, but an indifferent old gentleman, I pushed on and heard Mr. Coombs, who is called a rival to Mr. Deshay ; and at evening, heard Mr. Spencer who is a very sensible good preacher.

Monday. This day as usual was spent on Committees. Tuesday we dined with Mr. Smith, a merchant of this City ; and on Wednesday and Thursday attended our business. Friday we had a grand entertainment at the State House.*

* " On Friday, September 16th, the Honorable Delegates, now met in General Congress, was elegantly entertained by the gentlemen of *Philadelphia*. Having met at the *City Tavern* about three o'clock, they were conducted from thence to the State House by the Managers of the entertainment, where they were received by a very large company, composed of the Clergy, such genteel strangers as happened to be in Town, and a number of respectable citizens, making in the whole near five hundred."—Force's *Am. Archives*, 4th Sec., vol. I., col. 900 ; from a *Philadelphia* paper.

Sammy Webb must describe it. About five hundred gentlemen sat down at once, and I will only say there was a plenty of every thing eatable and drinkable, and no scarcity of good humor and diversion. We had, besides the delegates, gentlemen from every province on the Continent present.

Saturday. I send the Resolves of this day,* which are applauded to the skies by the inhabitants of this city, so will say nothing more about them. When I shall return is as uncertain as it was on my first entering the city. I arm myself with patience, and determine not to desert the cause. I hope your health returns. J. Webb says it does, but I had rather see it under your own hand. Mr. Revere sets out in the morning early, and by him I send this letter which brings me to Sunday evening, having heard Mr. Deshay in the morning, and a Highland parson just imported the last week from the mountains of North Scotland, this afternoon. I saw W^m Goddard here, but he looks dejected, and I thought did not much choose being seen in public. He most certainly engaged two potent adversaries when he differed with Galloway and Wharton. My most affectionate regards to all of both families, and to the neighborhood.

I am, my dear, your most affectionate husband,

SILAS DEANE.

P. S. I shall possibly write again before I return, but not so lengthly, as I am really hurried and have many more engagements than I wish for, though they are agreeable; am engaged to dine out every day this week, once with Mr. Dick-

* On consideration of the Resolutions and Address adopted by the delegates of Suffolk county, in Massachusetts, Sept. 6th and 9th, copies of which were laid before the Congress, on Saturday, Sept. 17th. "This was one of the happiest days of my life,"—wrote John Adams; "In Congress we had generous, noble sentiments, and manly eloquence. This day convinced me that America will support Massachusetts or perish with her." (Diary.) Works, ii. 380. The Resolves were re-printed in the *Connecticut Courant* of Sept. 26th, from a copy of the *Pennsylvania Packet*, brought by Paul Revere, who reached Hartford, on his way from Philadelphia to Boston, on Thursday, Sept. 22d.

inson, and once with a Quaker just married. You will begin to suspect we do nothing else, but I assure you it is hard work. We meet at nine and sit until three, by which time we are unable to do anything but eat and drink, the rest of the day. Love to all. S. D.

Monday evening, 11 o'clock, 19th Sept, 1774.

I tell you on the other page that I shall not be so particular in my future letters. I shall not have time: for the business of the Congress having been at Committees, and the Committees I was upon* having the least difficulty, has given me time to scribble; but as both Committees are now ready to report, we shall attend night and day until we get through, or adjourn. I believe we shall adjourn until May next, but this is out door talk. If we do, I hope you will then have an opportunity of seeing this City, which I do think is a healthy one, and my countenance shows it, for every one of my Quaker friends I meet tells me, "Thee lookest very well, Friend Dean."

TO MRS. DEANE.

MY DEAR;—My last, by S. Webb, brought me down to Tuesday of this week, the 22nd, when he left us, much regretted by the younger lodgers in the family, and I assure you, not a little miss'd by a numerous and I may add a very genteel acquaintance in the City.

I told you in my last, that I could not in future be so particular; but as I gave you a sketch of the S. Carolina and Virginia delegates, and the North Carolina being now arrived, I will fill up the space by telling you there are three of them,—Mr. Hooper, Mr. Caswell, and Mr. [Hewes.] The first is a Bostonian bred, and educated at Cambridge College, classmate with Jos. Trumbull; a lawyer by profession; ingenuous, polite, spirited, and tolerably eloquent. The other

* The Committee appointed "to examine and report the several Statutes which affect the Trade and Manufactures of the Colonies,"—composed of one from each Colony. They brought in their report on Saturday, Sept. 17th.

two are men of about forty, to appearance; of sedate and settled characters, well affected to the general Cause, but have not spoke as yet, publicly.

On Tuesday we dined with Mr. Read, a gentleman of the law, very polite and sensible. He married the Boston agent Mr. Debert's daughter, in London; and though small is of a most elegant figure and countenance. She is a Daughter of Liberty, zealously affected in a good Cause. On Wednesday we dined with Mr. Biddle, a Friend, lately married to a young lady in Rhode Island; he brought her home but last week, her name I think was Cornel, of a Friend family,—though indeed the younger and politer part of that profession in this city are not distinguishable, but in a very few particulars, from other people. Mr. Biddle was a young widower; is a peculiar friend to the New England people, and seems to have even a great prejudice in their favor. It is not probable that a most beautiful young wife will alter his opinion. Mr. Galloway, Mr. Hooper, &c., dined with us, and yesterday we dined with the celebrated Pennsylvania Farmer, alias Mr. Dickinson, at his country seat, four miles from town; a description of which must be omitted until my return.

Our business, you begin to think, proceeds slow, but it is not in consequence of any divisions or altercation in the Congress, but from the vast, extensive, and lasting importance of the questions before us. I wish you could have come here with me. I think it is as healthy a place as any on y^e Continent, and otherways very agreeable. I fear I shall have too high an opinion of this City, it is so much to be preferred to New York, in point of civility and hospitality as well as frugality and economy; but the country round is vastly inferior to ours on Connecticut River, nor will any part, except the meadows I mentioned, bear any comparison with the towns of Middletown, Wethersfield, Hartford, &c. I expect a letter by tomorrow's post, so will not add until I receive that.

I am, &c.

S. D.

Friday, 23d Sept, 1774.

Saturday evening. The post arrived, but no letters, save one word from J. Webb, and but one. Have an opportunity of sending this in the morning, therefore add, tho' late at evening, that you or your friends for you must write me, more particularly. For here I have wrote into Connecticut more than one hundred pages, and can receive nothing in return, or what is worse than nothing, a perfect uncertainty as to your situation in point of health. Nothing but the business before us could detain me one moment, having seen and been acquainted with all I wish connection with in this City, either for curiosity or instruction; and to be detained three weeks longer is intolerable in thought. I will not therefore think of it,—but praying for your repose this evening and your happiness forever, subscribe,

Your most affectionate Husband,

SILAS DEANE.

P. S. Sally, Hannah, Jesse, &c., are in my remembrance.

[Addressed:] To Mrs. Elizabeth Deane,

Wethersfield.

TO MRS. DEANE.

[PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 9th, 1774.]

MY DEAR,—I wrote you per James, which I fancy you are this moment, Sunday, 10 o'clock, A. M., receiving. On seeing him return alone, you will be doubtless apprehensive of bad news, but on opening my letters will be convinced of the contrary. Just the reverse happened to me yesterday. While in Congress our servant call'd on me with a large letter by y^e post, from J. Webb. I opened it in haste, and with pleasure saw a long letter enclosed, wrote in your hand. My heart beat with joy at the sight, and before I had time to unfold the cover, suggested to me that you were now greatly recovered, if not quite well, or you would not write so much and so well. Mr. Mitchel and you write so nearly alike that

it is not easy to distinguish. In a word it was a narration of his Tour to the North, and agreeable enough at any other time, and not disagreeable *in itself* then, but in the disappointment it occasioned.

I left home the 22d of last August; it is now the 9th of October,—but my letter by Jemmy will show you the situation of my mind, no way relieved, I assure you, from its anxiety by the increasing that which first occasioned it, a total silence in you and the family and consequently an absolute uncertainty as to the state of your health. I have nothing new to write, worth sending this distance. The proceedings of the Congress are carried on slow, and I fear will detain us here through the month. My kind and affectionate regards to Hannah, Sally and Jesse, &c., &c. Shall add to this, if time and matter for writing offer.

I am, my dear, wishing you health and felicity,

Your affectionate husband,

SILAS DEANE.

SAMUEL B. WEBB* TO SILAS DEANE.

Monday Evening, Octo^r 10, 1774.

DEAR SIR,—By my Brother's letter from you, p^r Jemmy this evening, I notice you mention my not writing you, since my leaving Philadelphia; but I have frequently heard that a man without any business is the most busy man in the world; this I give as one reason why I have not wrote you since my return. But the principal reason is truly this, that my brother, as I suppose, has given you all such intelligence as would be necessary, amusing, or worth paying postage for. But as it seems you desire I should write, I risk the chance of its being acceptable or amusing, and wish I may find anything to say that may meet with the wished for approbation,—and I take this early opportunity for fear I may not have leisure again between this and next post. My continual uneasiness and anxiety on account of my Sisters, who are now in Boston, has

* The son of Mr. Deane's first wife, by her first husband.

determined me to pay them a visit, and if some unforeseen incident does not prevent, I intend setting off the last of this week; shall take Newport, Providence, &c., in my way, and will, if anything new or interesting, write you from each place, but more particularly from the present seat of noise and confusion, say Boston; the true situation of it, and fortifications which are now erecting at the only entrance of that large capital. My brother seems more at ease about our Sister, than *you* (by your letter) or *I* do. May all his conjectures be right. That "they as safe there as here," is my most fervent wish,—but much I fear. On the first hostility, such as blood shed by the Troops in Boston, this Colony will most undoubtedly be immediately under arms and march for Boston. The Light Infantry at Middletown, to which I two years belonged, have now a very fine stand of arms which I purchased for them in New York, on my return home from Philadelphia. They have given me an invitation to make one of the number, should any emergency call their appearance in the field, which with my whole heart I shall readily accept, if occasion. But Heaven forbid we may ever arrive to this unhappy Crisis! But all have drawn their arms, and myself among the rest.

On my return, I personally waited on Mr. Davenport at Stamford, and the Selectmen of every other Town which I pass'd through in that county, and have the pleasure to inform you that the Spirit of Liberty which has so long been buried in silence seems now to rear its head. Fairfield has had a meeting and entered into good and spirited resolves, and are now collecting grain for Boston. Greenwich, I am informed, and Stratford are doing the same; the latter I am uncertain of. Mobs, which I fancy you judge ruinous to all good government, will be opposed by every true Son of Liberty in this Colony. Other methods may be adopted more effectual to still our *very few* remaining enemies. A reason, and I think a very good one, is given, that all such riots should be stop'd in their first growth, viz., "A day may come, and in all probability soon will, unless a redress of our grievances can be ob-

tained, that we may be as destitute of all Law and Civil Government as the Massachusetts now is; then, if mobs are allowed to take hold of persons and private property, dissensions will follow, and we soon should be, instead of a United, a broken Body." These are the principles our warmest friends adopt and, as I before hinted, I think good.

Our Assembly set on Thursday, this week; many plans &c., &c., are formed for our Militia; the best I have seen is by Mr. Hosmer wth (I suppose) the help of some military genius of that town,* and he strongly wish'd you to meet him there, to put forward the thing. Some few remonstrances I hear are to be hove in, but I hope not to be noticed. Permit me, Dear Sir, to ask whether a letter from Col. Dyer, Mr. Sherman and yourself, on this subject, to some of your friends, Members of the Assembly, of the Council, &c., (as there is not a possibility of your being present), would not be of Service? I am not the *only one* that thinks it would. But as I am a young, and consequently an inexperienced politician, I shall for the present here drop the subject, and leave it to better judges and more experienced men; tho', young as I am, ever maintain my principles, which I think are justly fixed.

Letters which you mention to have sent by a private hand to New York, for the Thursday's Post, are not yet come to hand; I hope not stopp'd by ———, but I think not improbable, as all parties are on the *look out*. The safest conveyance seems to be by post. Should anything new come to hand I shall mention it. My most respectful compliments await on the gentlemen of the family, Mr. House, Mrs. Trist, and Miss Levy; Mr. Furgerson, I shall write—"The most Important Man,"—if time before I go.

I am, with most dutiful respects, Dear Sir,

Your very affectionate friend and most humble serv^t,

SAM'L B. WEBB.

WETHERSFIELD, Octobr 10th, 1774.

*Mr. Titus Hosmer was one of the representatives of Middletown in the October Assembly.

Wednesday, 12th. By Mr. Belding, who goes on to the Assembly this morning, I forward this to New Haven. Joe would write you, but yesterday and the day before were field days,—two companies of Foot and the Troop in the field;—which my Brother was obliged to attend; his respects to you; says he shall write you next post. Mrs. Deane is, she thinks, a little better since her return from Deerfield, and will probably write you soon. I would, as I have promised, write Mr. Furgerson, but time will not allow me at present.

Am as above, yours affectionately,

S. B. WEBB.

SIMON DEANE TO SILAS DEANE.

ROCKY HILL, 15th Oct., 1774.

DEAR BROTHER,—Your letter of 2nd Inst, I duly rec^d and note the contents. As to Mrs. Deane, (by what I'm inform'd), she is much the same as to health as sometime past, tho' much better than at a turn since you left home. Doct^r Fairnsworth tells me she has no fever at all, but he seems very apprehensive of her falling into a hectic disorder, as her cough still continues and he fears is fixed; however she seems to be in good spirits, tho' something weak. She has this day been at Rocky Hill, and frequently rides out.

I returned from Newfoundland about a fortnight since, and tho' I was something longer on the voyage than expected, hope not to loose any money for my employer; however, markets there were dull. The inhabitants in that Island are all West Country and Irish people, and there are few friends to America among 'em (in St. Johns), tho' here are a number of Ships of War and some soldiers to protect this very extensive business which is carried on here, which puts 'em more immediately dependent on Great Britain; and I am very sure if people there shou'd speak so freely on the present unhappy disputes as ours do, they might be obliged to visit England, whether willing or not.

However there are several among 'em friendly to our Cause, though the Gentⁿ of the Navy and Army speak only of holding themselves in readiness to go to suppress the New England Rebels, &c.

As to affairs of a public nature, you are undoubtedly better inform'd than I can possibly be. Enclosed you have part of a N. London paper,* with Parson Peter's letters sent by him from his exile. The affairs preceding I suppose you have heard of, and will thence judge how the parties merit his strictures. However, I'm for my own part very sorry to see so much petty mobbing and disorders of that kind, which may hurt the General Cause. However, people seem to be in high spirits, and are continually inquiring what the Congress have done, and when they are like to break up; of both which they are very anxious to be inform'd, and wonder at their being kept so long in suspense. This must be excused, from the natural impatience of mankind, and when you consider that their vessels &c. are now fitting out, their flax seed ready for market, together with other circumstances of which they want to be inform'd in order to regulate their affairs.

Barzillai is fitting out for the W. Indies in the sloop of Riley and Barn^a. I am much at a loss to know how to employ myself, this winter coming, but see no other prospect at present than tarrying at home on expence for so long a time, which is very disagreeable.

If Flax-seed is stopp'd exportation, it will be a very great stroke, and perhaps may operate much in our favor: however it will be attended with the least inconvenience, as that article is in many person's hands, and will fall but lightly (at present) on individuals.

* Copies of letters "from the Rev. Samuel Peters of Hebron, to his Mother," (from Boston, Sept. 28th), and "to the Rev'd Doct. Auchunuty of New York," (Oct. 1st), were published in the *Conn. Gazette* of October 14th, and reprinted in the *Conn. Courant* of the 17th, with the remark: "A number of other Letters from the same infamous Author, crowded with Vengeance against the good people of this Colony, were intercepted with the above, Copies of which we have not yet been able to obtain." See Force's Amer. Archives, 4th Ser. vol. i. cols. 711, 718.

Pray write me by the post, unless you expect soon to return; the latter I suppose most probable, and (if private interest might sway) the most profitable for your business.

Mr. Webb will likely go to Philadelphia, by whom you will be informed as to particulars, &c.

I am, Dear Brother, Y^rs,

SIMEON DEANE.

TO FISHER GAY.

WETHERSFIELD, Nov. 12th, 1774.

SIR,—It is disagreeable to me to have an altercation with any one, more especially in the present situation of public affairs, but on reviewing the letters I wrote you just before I set out for Philadelphia, and those I wrote to Gentlemen in Farmington at the same time, I find myself under a necessity of calling on you once more, on the report circulated to my disadvantage respecting the late New Importation Agreement. It is a plain and easy question to resolve, and certainly is not an impertinent one: Did you report that I violated the Non-Importation Agreement? I find the people expect, and that justly, that I clear up this matter, and the sooner it is done the better, in my opinion. You will therefore do me, as well as yourself and the public, so much justice as to give a direct and positive answer.

I am, Sir, your Hum. Serv^t,

SILAS DEANE.

EBENEZER HAZARD* TO SILAS DEANE.

NEW YORK, Feby 1st, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Rivington has not furnished me with your Acco^t yet, though I have repeatedly applied to him for it.

* Mr. Deane has filed this as "Eb^r Hazard's Letter," and the handwriting is the same as that of the letter of June 1st, 1774, and its inclosure. See pp. 133, 134, *ante*.

Our Assembly has not adopted the Proceedings of the Congress. The following is a copy of their printed Journal:—

“Die Jovis, the 26th January, 1775.

A motion was made by Col. *Ten Broeck*, in the words following, *viz* :—

Mr. Speaker, I move that this House take into consideration the Proceedings of the Continental Congress held in the City of Philadelphia, in the months of *September* and *October* last.

Whereupon Col. *Philips* moved, That the previous Question be first put, whether the question upon Col. *Ten Broeck's* motion should be now put? Upon which debates arose, and the said previous question being accordingly put, it was carried in the negative, in manner following, *to wit* :—

For the Affirmative,—Col. Woodhull, Col. P. Livingston, Col. Schuyler, Capt. Seaman, Mr. Clinton, Col. Ten Broeck, Mr. Van Courtlandt, Mr. Nicoll, Mr. De Witt, Mr. Boerum.

For the Negative,—Mr. Walton, Col. Philips, Mr. Rapalie, Col. Seaman, Mr. Delancey, Mr. Kissam, Mr. Brush, Mr. Wilkins, Mr. Jauncey, Mr. Billopp, Mr. Van Kleeck.”

So you see the Negative had a majority of *one*; which was sufficient to kick the question out of the House for this Session. It is expected, however, that something tantamount to what the Congress did will be done by our Assembly, but I don't like that way of managing matters; it is in fact disapproving of the Congress as such, and dropping the connection with the other Colonies by setting up for ourselves. Capt. Jauncey and Mr. Wilkins were the principal speakers on the Tory side. They called the members of the Congress (except our Delegates, who as they said disapproved of, or opposed their Proceedings) Rebels and Traitors; the former in particular was very high about the matter, but trembled like an aspen leaf all the time he was speaking. I heard a Gentⁿ say he never knew the meaning of “a d——d canting son of a b——ch” before he heard that Speech. I have been told a Gentⁿ in conversation with Capt. J. said he did not

know what the end of these things would be, but he thought it very likely the other Colonies would suspend their trade with us, and refuse paying what they owed us; to which the Cap^t replied, "I hope not, for I have a great deal of money due in Connecticut." It is certainly not asserted without reason, that our Delegates opposed or disapproved of the Proceedings of the Congress, for I am credibly informed that Mr. *Low* has told some of his friends so, in confidence. However, Mr. *Jauncey* asserted it in our House of Assembly, (the doors open,) and therefore if it was not so, the assertion ought to be contradicted; but our delegates say nothing about the matter; and it is not prudent to call upon them in the Newspaper, for fear of hurting the Cause by publishing to the world a disunion of the Colonies. I therefore propose this scheme: That the Connecticut and New Jersey delegates, being the nearest, and who may be supposed to have heard that such an assertion was made, write to our delegates, to know why our Assembly have not adopted the proceedings of the Congress, and what was the foundation of such an assertion.

The New Jersey Assembly have unanimously adopted the proceedings of the Congress, and our Assembly have entered their proceedings respecting this matter upon the Journals of our House.

I inclose you two Papers. The Remembrancer was published before our Assembly talked about the Congress affairs: the other is come to my hands since writing the above.

I want to say more, but have not time. Adieu.

AMERICANUS.

FROM SAMUEL BROOME.

NEW YORK, February 8th, 1775.

SILAS DEANE ESQ^r,

SIR,—Your esteem'd favor of the 3d Inst I have received. It gives the friends of Liberty here equal pain with yourself and the other good people of your Colony, that our Assembly should have acted such a part in this perilous time, when

the United Strength of the Colonies is necessary to ward off the cursed schemes of an abandoned Ministry to enslave this once happy People; but I have no doubt they will be disappointed in their attempts. Altho' our Assembly has acted such a part, *don't despair*; there are yet hearty friends to support the Cause, which the Tories are made sensible of by the fate of the Ship James,* Captⁿ Watson, which arrived last week, and was immediately ordered about six miles from this city, towards the Narrows, where she now lays, and is to sail for the West Indies in a day or two.† It would do you good to see the gloom on some people's countenances, at this event. Messrs. Murrays expect a Ship from London, with goods; she will undoubtedly share the like fate. Don't be disheartened; all will yet go well. I refer you and my other friends to the inclosed papers,

And am, with great respect, Dr Sir,

Your most obdt serv^t,

SAMUEL BROOME.

FROM GURDON SALTONSTALL.

N. LONDON, Feb. 9th, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of 6th Instant is before me. The King's Speech is not contrary to my expectation, nor do I think the consequence thereof will be bad. The Addresses are, also, nothing dreadful. The Dissentients in the House of Lords will be of great advantage. In one of the papers, the King's Speech is said to be damned, kicked about the streets and at Whitehall. I am pleased that American affairs are not taken up until 1st instant, as it will give time for the sentiments of the Nation on the Congress doings, &c., to be thoroughly canvassed. It's clear my Lord North intends to

* "Arrived only nine hours after the first instant."

† See Force's *Amer. Archives*, 4 Ser., i. 1243; *Conn. Courant*, Feb. 20, 1775.

make a drawn battle, and save himself by laying the blame on Hutchinson, &c.

The Parliament are told by Barre, that it's impossible to govern America by force; which is a great truth, in my opinion. I am still firmly of opinion, that Parliament will do for America what they ought; at same time, am fully of opinion we must prepare for the worst, and especially keep close the Union in America. The Seamen are reduced four thousand.

I give you joy on the powder expedition. It's very fortunate it fell out in Fairfield County, as it will raise their spirits and character.

My affections to you all.

G. SALTONSTALL.

Silas Deane Esqr.

FROM PETER VANDERVOORT.

NEW YORK, Feby 16, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 11th inst, and agreeable thereto have sent out and got one of the best Gun-Locks I could find, which I now send you by the post; cost 25s., as it's Water Pan, &c., of the best quality, and hope it will suit.

I fully agree with you in sentiments, that every man ought now to step forth and support the cause of our injured Country, and also that the eleven members of our Assembly* have done wrong, and ought to be despised for their conduct. Their names at large, with remarks thereon, are published in the Norwich Packet, and the friends to the Association of Congress (which are a great majority in this City) are much dissatisfied with their doings.

*In the New York Assembly, Jan. 26th, Col. Ten Broeck's motion, "That this House take into consideration the Proceedings of the Continental Congress held in Philadelphia," &c., was defeated, (under a call for the previous question,) *eleven* members voting in the negative and *ten* in the affirmative. See p. 193, ante.

I hope your people will not be too severe on us, for it's hard that the innocent should suffer with the guilty. A very great majority of our city are hearty in the Cause, and mean at all events to support the Association of the Congress; which all our friends of the neighboring Provinces must be convinced of, when they hear the proceedings of us towards a Ship from Scotland, with goods, which sailed last Sunday from this to Jamaica, without breaking bulk or landing any of her cargo. One more ship with goods is expected from London, and you may depend she will not be suffered to land her cargo here. Should your Province take a step to resolve against us for what our Assembly have done, it will totally destroy us, and the Association of Congress and all will be up at once; and I pray you will consider the doings of eleven ministerial men are not the doings of a majority of the City or Province; at which doings of the Assembly many are much dissatisfied, and are not without hopes something will still be done by [our] Assembly, as so much is said against their doings here and by the other Colonies.

The Inclosed would shew the men who proposed a Congress to the Bostonians, who was then of the Committee, some of which will not now act tho' chosen, and also Remarks on what the Assembly have done.

Have wrote you in great haste, the post just going, and keep this to yourself.

I am, with compliments to Mrs. Deane,

Your most Humble Serv^t,

PETER VANDERVOORT.

To Silas Deane Esq^r, at Wethersfield.

FROM EBENEZER HAZARD.

NEW YORK, Febr'y 18th, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—I have two of your letters by me which are unanswered; other business has required my immediate attention, and prevented your hearing from me so soon as I

intended. The letters for Phil^a and Virginia are duly forwarded to Mr. Mifflin of Phil^a, whom I have desired to send the packet to Virginia, *free of postage*. I beg you will not forget your promise of communicating to me such papers as you may receive from Virginia.

As you have among you such an amazing thirst for News, I should be glad to be able to furnish you with some, but we have almost a famine in the land. The vessel which arrived here with goods from Scotland, though the tories found means to detain her some days, was sent away last Sabbath, got to sea the same day, and had a fair wind and enough of it. The Beulah from London, which has been long expected, is at last arrived; she will soon follow the Scotch vessel. A vessel has arrived from Jamaica this week loaded with Rum, &c., among which is *Coffee*; this is to go back. In short, our committee are determined to be firm, and vigorously carry the Association into execution. This they will do, let the Assembly do what they will.

A copy of the Jamaica Petition to the King is come to hand. I have not seen it, but those who have, say it is elegantly written, and full of spirit. I am told it is much upon the plan of the Congress's Bill of Rights. It is said Barbadoes and Antigua are following the example of Jamaica.

Our philosophers have not yet determined whether N. York labours under the common grievances of America, or what the grievances of N. York are; but their Committee is still sitting upon the subject, and I suppose will hatch something before long; but I don't imagine they will enter as fully into the matter as the Congress have done. I am credibly informed that one of the committee (Mr. D—L—y*) moved, that Acts of the British Parliament passed for raising a Revenue among us by internal taxation *for the support of government*, are not a grievance, though passed without the consent of our Assembly. In this he was seconded by Mr. Wilkins,

* James De Lancey Esq. was chairman of a committee appointed by the New York Assembly, Jan. 28th, "to prepare a state of the Grievances of this Colony and report the same to this House," &c.

of West Chester, but they were opposed by all the rest of the Committee. When their proceedings come before a Committee of the Whole House, these transactions will be entered on the Journals of the House, and the public will see what sort of folks the "Friends to Government" are. The Whig members in the House are determined to expose the faction who opposed the consideration of the proceedings of the Congress, and for this purpose are continually making motions which tend to extract their political creed, which, I suppose, will be published all at once in the newspapers. I send you the last sheet of the Journal, in which you will see one of the Whig motions; I mean the one made by Col. Schuyler,* page 42, and beg you will send me (without fail) as soon as possible

* Feb. 16th: "A motion was made by Col. Schuyler, in the words following, viz:

Mr. Speaker: I move that a certain Letter, dated *Hartford*, June 4, 1774, directed, Honourable *John Cruger*, Esquire, *James De Lancey*, *James Jauncey*, &c., Esquires, Committee of Correspondence, *New York*, and subscribed by *Silas Deane*, in behalf of, and per order of the Committee of Correspondence, *Connecticut*, and also a certain Letter enclosed with the foregoing, dated *Hartford*, June 3, 1774, together with the copy of a Letter dated *New York*, June 24th, 1774, directed to the Committee of Correspondence of the Colony of *Connecticut*, and subscribed by *John Cruger*, *James Jauncey*, *Frederick Philips*, *James De Lancey*, *Jacob Walton*, *Simon Boerum*, *John Raplye*, *Daniel Kissam*, *Zebulon Williams*, late *Zebulon Seaman*, *Benjamin Seaman*, be forthwith entered on the Journals of this House and that the Clerk of this House be ordered to deliver copies of the same to the Printer of this Colony, that they may be by him inserted in the Publick Newspapers." The Question being put was carried in the Negative, Ayes, 9; Noes, 16.—Journals of N. Y. Assembly, Feb. 16, 1775; Am. Archives, 4th Ser., i. 1289.

The letters of June 3d and 4th, 1774, subscribed by Silas Deane, in behalf of the Committee of Correspondence for Connecticut, addressed (respectively) to the Committees of Correspondence for Boston, and New York, with the reply of the New York Committee, dated June 24th, were printed in the *Conn. Courant*, of March 13th, 1775, and may be seen in Force's *Am. Archives*, 4th Ser., i. 304, 305. In these letters, the Connecticut Committee recommend a *Congress*, as "absolutely necessary, previous to almost every other measure" for redress,—submitting the time and place to the opinion of the other Colonies.

exact copies of the three first letters mentioned in it, with the signers' names. You will hereby serve the common Cause, and contribute not a little to the confusion of the tory faction among us. They could be got out of our Assembly Chamber, but for particular reasons it is not thought best to use those copies. Pray don't fail of complying with this request.

The "Ayes and Nays" I sent you in a former letter, and I hope you will shew the "Heroes" the respect due to them, when they come into your parts. I am told that Crean Brush Esq. (member for Cumberland county) generally comes and goes *via* Connecticut, as the roads that way are the best. He goes through Hartford.

Your Committee behaved well. It is a pity to be obliged to take so much notice of such a scoundrel; but necessity has no law.

I add daily to my Collection,* but am sorry to say I have not received any papers from any other Colony than this, except Connecticut. Such as respect other Colonies, I have taken from printed books. If you have an opportunity to Boston, I wish you would write to one or other of their former delegates, and desire him to send me such papers as he has collected, for I am afraid of being obliged to stop for want of papers to transcribe. I am at present engaged in translating from the Dutch, Megapolensis' acc^t of the Mohawk Indians, written in 1644.† This Megapolensis was at that time a Dutch Minister at Albany. His account is curious; I have almost done it. I cannot yet fix any time for publishing; it will not do to publish any before the collection is complete, for should I publish a volume as soon as it was collected (which, by the bye, is more than done already,) some papers of a later date might be published before those that are older, which would break up that order which I intend strictly to observe with respect to *time*.

* The first volume of Mr. Hazard's well-known "Historical Collections" of State Papers, &c., was not published before 1792.

† "A short Account of the Maquas Indians," &c. See Hazard's Hist. Collections, i. 517-526.

I am glad to hear the Susquehannah settlement goes on so well. When you speak of "young Gentⁿ going there, with views of employ and honour," do you mean to give me a hint? Pray explain the matter. I cannot yet answer your question respecting Lake Erie, but shall try to procure intelligence about that matter. I wish *Colonel* Parsons was not so dilatory about sending back your plan; I want to see it.

The silence of our delegates is accounted for, by saying that they have done already, by signing the proceedings of the Congress, all that any reasonable man can expect, and those who will not be satisfied by so deliberate an expression of their approbation, cannot be satisfied at all. There is weight in this. A member of our Assembly informed me the night before last, that Mr. Galloway of Phil^a told the Speaker of our House, that when he signed the proceedings of the Congress he would rather have cut his hand off. I am told that some of Cap^t Jauncey's friends apologize for his Speech in the House, by saying, that when he called the Congress "Traitors," &c., he did not mean the Congress which met at Phil^a, but that which met at Cambridge and drew up the Suffolk Resolves. I don't know whether this is true, but wish it may be, as it will expose the man most effectually. I don't know what Demon has possession of him, but some one has, "sarting."

You know I told you in my last, that I wanted to say more but had not time. I wanted to tell you that I had called upon Rivington for your acco^t (which I cannot get yet), and he told me that though Mr. Deane would not take his paper, yet he made a practice of stopping the Post, and said he must see Rivington's paper, and the Post told him then he must buy it.

Pray what occasioned the extraordinary Call of your Assembly?*

I forgot to describe *Crean Brush* to you. He is about my size, not so full in the face; has a sharp nose, and his face is full of red or crimson pimples, like a drunkard's. He wears

* A special session had been called at New Haven, for March 2d.

his own hair, curled at the sides, and (while in this city) with a rose or small bag to it, behind. His dress I cannot particularly describe, as he may probably change it. He wears while here, blue, with gold vellum button-holes. Adieu.

AMERICANUS.

[Filed:] Ebr Hazard's Letter.

FROM DR. BENJAMIN GALE.

KILLINGWORTH, 27 Feby, 1775.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I was in hopes you would have informed me of Mrs. Deane's health, and whether she could, consistent with her being a Daughter of Liberty and her own natural good sense, submit to either of my prescriptions for diverting that catarrhus affection which so grievously affects her: and I shall acknowledge it as a favor if you can spare one moment of time, now the season is advancing when Kings go forth to battle, to let me hear from her; and if you will please to let me know the news and politics of the day, it will much oblige.

You must be fully convinced by those scrawls sent after you to Philadelphia, which by yours I perceive came to hand, that I am firmly attach'd to the cause of Liberty, and that the only thing in which we differ is the mode of opposition. That, and that only, threw me into the opposition with regard to the present Administration, during the contest respecting Gov^r Fitch, &c. But we are now come to that period when different sentiments of the *mode* of opposition must not divide us in making opposition; the mode which shall universally be agreed upon, must be universally adopted and pursued.

But, my friend, what methods will Administration adopt? Will they make use of arms, if none are made use of against them? Certainly they will not, unless God has given them up to draw down ruin on their own heads. I conjecture therefore, they must pursue one of these two measures: either to seize persons who have rendered themselves most obnoxious,—or to join issue with us, and say if we will not trade

with them we shall not trade at all, and shut up all our ports. The first, I fear, would bring us immediately to blows; the consequences of the latter, you are better able to say than I can inform. I have ever been of the opinion the debts we owe the British merchants would prevent either of those measures, and that the merchants and manufacturers would interpose in our behalf. If they should not, nothing but the interposition of Heaven can save this country from being involved in blood; as it once did, defeating the designs of the French and our own Ministry, who no doubt intended that the fleet under the command of the Marquis D'Anville should have ravaged this Coast,—blasting the designs of both, by sickness in the fleet and army under his command.

I am much perplexed and distressed for the present situation of America, and more so for the four N. England Colonies, who must bear the heaviest weight of ministerial vengeance. I bless myself that I have no hand in consulting public measures, as that would double the weight of my anxiety of mind. Nothing will ever tempt me to enter the political stage of life, so long as I can have protection, and an equitable and impartial distribution of justice agreeable to the laws of my country, in common with the rest of mankind. Nothing can be a greater oppression than to have courts of justice made the property of a party, where the men and not the cause are judged and condemned,—and nothing could sooner or more effectually rouse an Old Warrior than just cause of complaint on that head. For my own part, I only wish to be esteemed a Friend of my Country, and a Lover of all honest, good and upright men, and an Enemy to all sorts of Tyranny, civil, military, and ecclesiastical; the latter of which I have in perfect abhorrence, of which in all popular governments there is too great a proportion, and where it is not in some degree suppressed and discountenanced, Truth and Virtue can never flourish. The Clergy are always too busy in political matters; they ever have, and ever will be so, where they fancy the Kingdom of the Messiah wants to be strengthened and supported by the Laws of the Kingdoms of this World. Indeed,

I can by no means reconcile the laws of Xtian States with the laws of Messiah's Kingdom. The sanguinary laws of Civil States,—imprisonment for debt when unable to pay,—and Christians cutting one another's throats to enforce obedience to the laws of Civil Society, or to enlarge their Territories, can by no means be reconciled with the Gospel Revelation.

I have no thoughts or suspicion that absolute Tyranny will ever be established in America, as it is now practiced in the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland; nor will *they* ever emerge from their present vassalage; there is not public virtue enough in the Nation to save them; they are doomed to remain a kingdom of Tyrants and Asses. But how much this Country must suffer in the conflict, God only knows! By this time you are tired with my undigested thoughts, thrown together too hastily. When I consider it wrote to one who always writes correctly, I have a good mind to burn it; but I will send it to provoke you to write me. I am, dear Sir,

Your most ob^t humble serv^t,

B. GALE.

Silas Deane, Esqr,
Merchant, at Wethersfield.

FROM COL. SAMUEL H. PARSONS.

Feby 28th, 1775.

SIR,—In the present critical situation of America, I hope no one will hesitate about the propriety of taking effectual measures to defend against an open attack upon our Liberties, and to prepare to repel Force by Force.

I confess I fear the timid part of the Colony will prevail; yet I cannot think prudence or danger ought to prevent an effectual Preparation. In this view of the matter I would solicit your friendship for me in your turn, that in case any forces are raised or measures taken, that I may not be forgot in appointments. I know my intentions are as good as any

man's, and I have vanity enough to believe I have not failed in acquiring a tolerable degree of skill in military knowledge, since the circumstances of the times have called for an attention thereto. As to my fortitude, I know it has never been put to the trial, but I think I could fight in *this* Cause, whatever I might think in another Cause. I hope to have your friendship for an appointment for an office at least as good as that I now sustain, and better if it can be procured. If any appointments should be made, give my Com: to Mr. Hosmer and Col. Seymour and request their friendship for me.

I am, Sir y^r friend,

SAM^l H. PARSONS.*

[Addressed:]

To Mr. Silas Deane,
Now at New Haven.

FROM COL. GURDON SALTONSTALL.

NEW LONDON, March 30, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Your fav^r is before me, and note its contents. The sentiments you give relative [to] American Affairs are very important. When we are contending with a people for our just rights, in whom we can have no dependence, that reason will have due weight (as is our present case); it's hard to draw just conclusions from any premises; therefore my dependence that the sentiments of King, Ministry, and Parliament being altered in our favor, is from the distresses the British manufacturers and merchants will (as matters now stand) be in, without an immediate repeal of the grievous Act, otherwise fatal to that Realm. It's evident no more troops are at present destined for America; however, we must by no

* Col. Samuel H. Parsons was, at this time, residing in New London, and was one of Mr. Deane's associates on the Committee of Correspondence for the Colony, in 1774 and 1775. April 26, 1775, he was appointed Colonel of one of the Regiments to be raised for the defence and safety of the Colony.

means relax our utmost preparation to be ready, if called to defend by the sword.

If the Parliament will repeal all Acts but the declaration of their omnipotence, we may be content to let that remain, always to be understood, that we do not consent to their Authority in imposing that Act. The Acts and Repeals you mention as the Ministerial System, are utterly inconsistent, and indeed the whole may be summed up in the first; for if the Congress is insisted on to be treasonable, there's no room for farther deliberation between the parties, and our business will be only, in the first place to preserve our Union, and defend as Providence will enable us. To give up the principle of Liberty, can never be in the heart of a true American, let the contest be ever so sharp, or of ever so long duration. It is observed by some that as the Circular Letter bears date Jan^y 4, and Earl Dartmouth's informatⁿ to Doct^r Franklin, &c., of the King's graciously receiving the Congress' petition, was 24 Dec^r, therefore the Ministry are determined to pursue the mode as expressed in the Speech from the Throne; but to consider it in that light is so preposterous, that I cannot give it credit, and suppose that the Circular letter was in fact drawn before 24 Dec^r, and probably before the 14 Dec^r, when the Petⁿ reached London, and s^d letter lay in office until 4 Jan^y; and being then dispatched, had that date without attending to the contradⁿ to his Majesty's Declaration on 24th Dec^r.

Altho' a people have long flattered themselves with their omnipotence, yet when they are contending with a people of importance on whom they would fain exert their power, altho' we may not expect they are concerned to do us justice, yet self-interest will lead them into consideration of the consequence that such contest may be to them, and thus to reflect, if we commit hostilities on Americans, and destroy their sea-ports, our trade will be ruined as to America, and their hatred rise to that degree as never again to become our friends; and then their ports will be open to all foreigners, and we have no reason to suppose the powers in Europe have an affection to us Brittons greater than we have to Americans,

but that those powers will highly rejoice if Great Britain's glory shall decline; and moreover, the American trade will be open to them; and many other things will be suggested, such as manufacturers, &c. &c., leaving the Kingdom, the W. India islands falling into the American scale, and even Americans growing more and more united, which they must certainly from time to time discover, as they daily receive American papers, and controversial disputes.

As to their gaining their point by *finesse* in negotiation, am not much concerned about that, provided the Congress consists of the old members, as I presume it will almost totally. I don't recollect any change of men except one at New Hampshire, for reasons I know not, but presume they were good ones.

Altho' history don't furnish an instance where any Province became independent of the Mother State without blood, it may be observed that no Mother State could ever lose so much by their provinces being victorious in the dispute, as Britain would by the loss of America; which I presume their self-interest will make them realize. Should the Colonies maintain infallibly their Liberty without bloodshed, yet I am far from expecting to behold the commencement of *Millenium*, whatever you may expect. Be that as it may, let us lie down and rise up with a fixed determination to maintain Liberty for ourselves and posterity.

Should the Ministry in open Parliament attempt to get the Acts you mention pass'd, there could be nothing in their power to do that would more cement the American Union; therefore am not under fear from that quarter. As to repealing the Act for sending Criminals to Britain for trial, and enacts that Gen^l Gage shall try them in a summary way, it is so preposterous it needs no answer. I presume the Parl^t met 19 Jany, and doubtless the King was induced to accept the Petⁿ, not from any affection to America, but let me suppose, when the Ministry considered the consequence of a refusal, am of opinion they imagined the Crown would not be free

from danger. I agree Treasury Board and Parliam^t are but synonymous terms.

Fortunate indeed it is that the nation has had time to peruse the Congress' doings so long before the Parliament meets on adjournment. And when met, they will be obliged (if not inclined) to attend the voice of the Nation, on which, under Heaven, I depend for relief; and that must surely produce a new Ministry and instead of *Millenium*, the Era of American Liberty in its full splendor.

You mention Mrs. Dean's wanting my mare. What to say, can scarce determine. She has not been used these two months, and is put in fine order for sale on the W. India market, where I intend sending her very soon, if not sold. I have given out the price, namely 140 dollars, as I was offered three months since, when determined not to sell her; and you know why I altered my sentiments. If you had her in your stable, Pomp would be put to difficulty in saddling her, and that would be the case at every stage; and where persons were strangers to her, it would be very hazardous; and now she is in such spirits that if your spouse had her, it would be very tedious to ride her, as she presses harder on the bit now, than when before constantly in use. Doct^r Moffatt's horse went to Boston by post this week; therefore imagine he is convinced the Campaign won't open this spring.

Col^r Stewart returned. The talk was, he and family were instantly on his return to move to Boston; but that manuvre is to be omitted, for an excellent reason, namely, Mrs. Stewart lies-in May next, and it's not safe to move before that event; but doubtless the same principle that brings Moffatt hither will keep Stewart here.

I can't agree in your sentim^t that the Bostonians had better have removed, that we might reduce &c. Such a measure would have produced bloodshed, which I strongly hope we shall be preserved from.

Your opinion of this Colony's conduct is just. Am grieved to find you are jealous of many that to save interest will depart from the best of Causes. The only excuse I can make

for some of them is, that their Souls are much less than their Bodies,—and destroys the principle sometimes advanced that all Souls are equal (tho' I must own in that hypothesis, it's said, the habitation in which the Soul dwells is altered by its connection with that habitation).

Let's know when any of the Bunces come hither, that we may send you potatoes (still under ground), white-currant shoots, and gooseberries. I must bid you a good-night, and am
Your most obl^d

G. SALTONSTALL.

Whilst I am writing, Molly pretends to say the little brown horse she rode is the easiest she ever rode. He is certainly gentle, well mouthed with snaffle, sure footed, and effectual to all intents on the road. If he will do the business, I will gladly send him for your spouse's use, when, and for as long, as she pleases.

Yours,

G. S.

FROM COL. ELIPHALET DYER.

NORWICH, April 4th, 1775.

SIR,—I see no way at present how we can avoid the drudgery of going to Philadelphia, the second time, in the service of our country. Nothing but a sincere regard to that interest can be any inducement to either of us, when, however our conduct may be approved where the benefit and advantages are received, yet every farthing we spend, or is paid to us, tho' much short of the immediate disadvantages we suffer, is begrudged by many. It is really discouraging; but I hope the love of our country will make us despise all these low cavillings. Then what remains is, in what manner we shall travel? If I cannot have a conveyance with you in your carriage, I know not of any way I can go but by water to York; therefore should be glad to hear from you as soon as may be, whether I can

travel with you as before, which will be most agreeable on many accounts; otherwise must shift for myself, the best way I can.

Mr. Sherman tells me Dick will go again as one servant. I have a very clever fellow at Windham, by trade a barber, as neat shaver and hair-dresser as any in York or Philadelphia, who wants to go and see his sister in Philadelphia, and offers, for only horse found and expenses bore, he will serve in two capacities, as waiter servant or barber, which will be very convenient; tho' should be willing to make him some allowance over and above. Believe those two will be quite sufficient. If it will be agreeable to you, let me hear from you soon; and am, Sr, with sincere respects,

Y^r very humble serv^t,

ELIPH^r DYER.

Mr. Dean.

FROM GURDON SALTONSTALL.

NEW LONDON, April 6th, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor I rec^d. Your reasoning is just; however I trust your's and my opinion will coincide anon. Wilkes you'll see has behaved in character, in House of Commons, and he calls upon the people that I rely on to convince the Minister of his error even by the destruction of his person. He wishes, doubtless, for impeachments. What signifies 10 M. land-men and the additional Cruisers, if matters come to extremes? It's amazing that when Wilkes tells them of the thousands in Massac^{ts}, that they pay no attention to it. If they remain in office, and in this infatuation, Britain will be undone, and perhaps *America saved* as tho' by fire.

I had but a transient view of Boston papers; one only is arrived. T. Green* will give you the news. It's unfor-

* Timothy Green, publisher of the (New London) *Conn. Gazette*.

tunate in my opinion, that our Assembly is adjourned without day.

I write in such haste you'll scarce be able to read it.

Y^r most oblig^d,

G. SALTONSTALL.

I don't yet despair that matters will have a sudden change at home, for advantage of America.

FROM EBENEZER HAZARD.

NEW YORK, April 7th, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Upon the arrival of your packet containing three letters and an extract, I was absent from home, but last night found them waiting my return.

We agree exactly in sentiment respecting a removal westward. I think it very probable that a valuable, important, and profitable settlement might be made there, if a good plan of operations were concerted.

I could not help laughing at your idea of the surprise which must seize a future collector of State Papers, upon finding your plan of a western settlement among the Court Records. The poor fellow will doubtless be much puzzled about it, and should he be possessed of even my assiduity and perseverance, I think it would after his utmost pains, appear unintelligible to him.

Enclosed I send you our Assembly's list of grievances. Their Petition is not to be had yet, not being published, but I believe it will appear in the newspapers soon. One of the members told me it would not be printed before the packet had been gone eight days. A friend of yours intends, if he can get leisure, to take a public Review of their conduct during this Session, expose the inconsistency and absurdity of it, and shew that they have betrayed their constituents.

The *Candid Examination* is speciously written, but the least

attention will be sufficient to detect its fallacy. Mr. G——y* has spent (I think) his first 20 pages in laying a wrong foundation, and the superstructure he has raised on it falls of itself. He has taken for granted a very principal part of the dispute, viz., our being *within the Realm*;—a monstrous proposition, which has been frequently refuted. A writer in Bradford's Philadelphia paper of March 8th has very judiciously and at some length remarked upon him. I wonder the Tory writers are not ashamed so frequently to repeat trite, refuted arguments.

Murray's *mental* sufferings must be great, and I much question whether £5000 will make good his *pecuniary* damages in consequence of his imprudent, rash, mad conduct.

Our Assembly have passed a Militia Act this session, but as it is not yet published, I cannot tell what it is.

I cannot help thinking some dependence may be placed on the prospects at home; for though we have a subtle and determined enemy in Lord North, yet I think he must be pretty well convinced by this time that all his subtlety will not effect his purposes, and if he is determined, it must be to despair of success. They certainly never expected the Congress would act in such a spirited manner, and Lord Dartmouth's circular Letter plainly shews they are frightened. If they are not, why are the American Governors so strictly enjoined to prevent, if possible, the meeting of a second Congress? I have good reason (though I may not quote my authority,) to think American Complaints will very soon be properly attended to. But had we the strongest assurances of this, I think it would be right to be prepared, well prepared, for violent opposition.

Rivington is become almost *Vox et præterea Nihil*: even the Tories seem to disbelieve his publications; he is treated with sovereign contempt, and makes no noise among us.

Proper attention shall be paid to the *Extract*.

* Joseph Galloway, the presumed author of "A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great Britain and the Colonies," &c. (New York, Rivington, 1775.)

I did not doubt your Assembly's discovering a suitable spirit towards the Newtown and Ridgefield folks. They deserve punishment for their daring opposition to Government.

I cannot account for L^t Dartmouth's conduct.

Shall be glad to see your Western Plan as soon as finished. Whatever you do, don't let any business interfere with your attendance at the Congress: America demands your aid. Had I the honour of being appointed a Member of that truly august Assembly, (whose memory latest posterity will revere as that of the Saviours of their Country and Liberties,) I would not give it up for a Kingdom. You will do injustice to your own posterity if you omit attending there. I like your letter to Jamaica.

Holt had talked of re-printing *Nov-Anglus* in a pamphlet, but I don't think the sale would repay him his expense.

We have no News among us, only that the Tories appear quite discomfited, and chop-fallen.

I am, dear Sir, Y^{rs} affectionately,

EBEN^R HAZARD.

P. S. I should have sent you the enclosed Hand Bills before, but my being out of town prevented. 1lb. best wax, 16s.

FROM SAMUEL BROOME.

NEW YORK, April 13, 1775.

SILAS DEANE, ESQ.,

SIR,—I have received your favor of the 9th Inst., which gives me pain that you are not better prepared with the Articles you mention.* The very strict watch kept here by the Man of War and Custom House Officers, has deterred many from being adventurers in these articles. We are inform'd that there is no possibility of getting them immediately from Holland, as English Cutters are at the Texel. The only chance is, from the West Indies, and a voyage might be at-

* The General Assembly had ordered the purchase of 3000 stand of arms, for the Colony, "to be procured as soon as might be."

tended with much better success from your Colony than from this. Therefore think your Government would do well to send a small vessel to St. Eustatia, without delay. I am told Powder may be bought there at £10, N. Y. currency, per Cwt., and not for less. I mention the price to convince you that altho' £18 per Cwt. is extravagant, yet £15 per Cwt. is no more than equal to the expense and risk of such a voyage. I am however informed that a parcel of Powder is soon expected here; if it arrives, no doubt the most of it will find its way in Connecticut. By Holt's paper of this day you will find some good news. Besides what the paper mentions, there are many other circumstances that convince me that Administration are giving way. I hope soon to be able to give a confirmation of the intelligence.

I am, Sir, Your most obed^t Serv^t,

SAMUEL BROOME.

TO CAPT. JOHN CHESTER, AND THE VOLUNTEERS FROM
WETHERSFIELD.*

WETHERSFIELD, April 24th, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,—The New Haven Company and the Kensington detachment have taken up almost the whole of my time, and to my perplexity I can get no one to keep up, and attend to the business, with that spirit which I still think the occasion requires. I mention this, to excuse for myself your not having the baggage horses sooner. I yesterday saw certain intelligence received by the post, confirming the general acc^t before received. Their own acc^{ts}, or at least the greater part

* An endorsement shows that this letter was "never sent." Captain Chester commanded the company of volunteers that marched from Wethersfield for Boston on receipt of the news of the engagement at Lexington. A few days after the date of this letter he was appointed, by the General Assembly, captain of a company in the Second Regiment, (Col. Joseph Spencer,) raised "for the defense of the Colony." Barnabas Deane was his Lieutenant.

of their letters, own their loss to be upwards of two hundred, and some even say five hundred missing, among which are many officers, but they carefully conceal their names. You will excuse the incorrectness of the enclosed, and if you reject the whole of it for a better plan, it will give me pleasure, for I have drawn it up with drum and fife in my head and my house full of people, so that I dare not answer for propriety or correctness. But you know my inclination is to be doing all in my power, constantly.

I am, wishing you a success equal to the justice of the Cause,
Gentlemen, Yours,

SILAS DEANE.

Excuse the droll appearance of this, as well as of the enclosed. Mr. Butler waits.

[Addressed:] To Captⁿ John Chester, of the Wethersfield Independ^{ts}, on their March to Boston.*

Enclosed in the foregoing letter :—

[AGREEMENT OF THE WETHERSFIELD COMPANY OF VOLUNTEERS, CAPT. CHESTER, APRIL 3d, 1775.]†

To all Christian People believing in, and relying on, that
God to whom our Enemies have at last forced us to appeal,
Be it known :—

* See an "Extract of a letter from Wethersfield, in Connecticut, to a Gentleman in New York, dated April 23, 1775," in American Archives, 4th Ser., ii. 362, 363. The writer,—Mr. Deane, probably,—says :

"We are all in motion here, and equipt from the town, yesterday, one hundred young men who cheerfully offered their service; twenty days provision, and sixty-four rounds per man. They are all well armed and in high spirits. *My brother is gone with them*, and others of the first property. Our neighbouring Towns are all arming and moving," &c. "We fix on our Standards and Drums, the Colony Arms, with the Motto, "*Qui transtulit sustinet*," round it in letters of gold, which we construe thus: '*God, who transplanted us hither, will support us.*'"

† A copy of this Agreement (drawn by Mr. Deane,) was "subscribed by Captain Arnold and his Company of fifty persons, when they set out from Connecticut as Volunteers to assist the Provincials at Cambridge." See Am. Archives, ii. 383, 384.

That We, the Subscribers, having taken up arms for the relief of our Brethren, and defence of their, as well as our just rights and privileges, do declare to the world that we from the heart disavow every thought of Rebellion to his Majesty, as supreme head of the British Empire, or opposition to Legal Authority, and shall on every occasion manifest to the world by our conduct this to be our fixed principle. Driven to the last necessity, and obliged to have recourse to arms, in defence of our Lives and Liberties, and from the suddenness of the occasion deprived of that Legal Authority whose dictates we ever with pleasure obey, [we] find it necessary, for preventing disorders, irregularities, and misunderstandings, in the course of our march and service, solemnly [to] agree to, and with each other, on the following Regulations and Orders, binding ourselves by all that is dear and sacred, carefully and constantly to observe and keep them.

In the first place, we will conduct ourselves decently and inoffensively, as we march, both to our Countrymen and one another, paying that regard to the advice, admonition, and reproof of our Officers which their station justly entitles them to expect; ever considering the dignity of our own character, and that we are not mercenaries whose views extend no farther than pay and plunder, and whose principles are such, that every path that leads to the obtaining these is equally agreeable, though wading through the best blood of their Countrymen; but men acquainted with, and feeling the most generous fondness for the Liberties and unalienable Rights of mankind, and who are, in the course of Divine Providence, called to the honorable service of hazarding our Lives in their defence.

Secondly,—Drunkenness, Gaming, Prophaneness, and every vice of that nature, shall be avoided by ourselves, and discountenanced by us in others.

Thirdly,—So long as we continue in our present situation of a voluntary Independent Company, we engage to submit on all occasions to such decisions as shall be made and given by the majority of the Officers we have chosen; and when any

difference arises between man and man, it shall be laid before the officers aforesaid, and their decision shall be final. (We mean by Officers, the Captⁿ, Lieutenants, Ensign, Serjeants, Clerk, and Corporals; the Captⁿ, or in his absence the commanding officer to be the Moderator, and have a turning or casting voice in all debates; from whom all orders shall from time to time issue.)

Scorning all ignoble motives, and superior to the low and slavish practice of enforcing on men their duty by blows; it is agreed, that when private admonition for any offence, by any of our Body committed, will not reform, public shall be made, and if that should not have the desired effect, after proper pains taken, and the same repeated, such incorrigible person shall be turned out of the Company as totally unworthy of serving in so great and glorious a Cause, and be delivered over to suffer the contempt of his Countrymen.

As to particular orders, it shall from time to time be in the power of the Officers to make and vary them, as occasion may require, as to delivering out provisions, ammunition, rules and orders for marching, &c. The annexed Orders, for the present, we think pertinent, and agreeable to our minds; to which, with the additions or variations that may be made by our said Officers, we bind ourselves by the ties abovementioned to submit.

In witness whereof, We have hereunto set our hands this 23d of April, 1775.

FROM LIEUT. BARNABAS DEANE.

MANSFIELD, 6 o'clock, Monday morning.

DEAR BRO^R,—We arriv'd here last evening, after a smart march. Are now preparing to go on, in high spirits. We hear no later news, I conclude, than you have; it's said the party of troops at Marshfield are cut off, and the Tories houses burnt.

Capt. Kellogg says that he would have no pack-horses sent, as the carts and waggons are sufficient. It is desired that all the families who have friends here may know that we are all well. Cap^t Chester has not joined us as yet. I can write no more, for my paper is scarce, and I write this in the street. People are civil and kind on the road, as far as able. We lodged at the Parson's house last night. My compliments to all friends.

I am, Your Bro^r,

BAR^s DEANE.

[Filed:] April, 1775.

FROM GURDON SALTONSTALL.

N. L., April 25th, 1775.

A. M. 7 o'clock.

DEAR SIR,—Daughter Mumford just arrived; have not seen her. Wrote you by friend T. Mumford, at 4 o'clock. Desire you would prevail on Mr. Strong to be my friend at May session. Edward Mott* will give you a delicate account of the manuevers below.

The three armies are encamped exactly to my mind, namely, Cambridge, Charles Town, and Dorchester Neck; no doubt to attack Ships, Town, and Castle: from Charlestown batteries, I imagine they can annoy the ships so that from Charlestown Ferry to Cambridge River will be open for a descent on Boston, without being interrupted by the Ships; and probably, batteries at Dorchester may annoy the Ships so that

* Of Preston. He had been with the volunteers, to the camp at Boston. At the special Session, April 27th, he was appointed captain of a company in Col. Parsons' Regiment. He set out from Preston on the morning of April 28th, arriving in Hartford the same day,—and after an interview with Christopher Lefingwell, Col. Parsons, and Mr. Deane, he was appointed to the command of the expedition for the surprise and capture of Ticonderoga. See his Journal in the first volume of the Historical Society's Collections, pp. 165-172.

troops may land at Boston on south side, at same time, tho' this distance I am not so certain of; and if we are once possessed of Boston, Batteries there will certainly distress all ships in the Road; and if we are possessed of the Castle, it will be difficult for the ships to retreat. Flat-bottomed large Flatts may be soon constructed, to transport ten thousand men at one embarkation, and be bro^t out of the adjacent towns on carriages, at an appointed hour, and battering cannon from Providence, New Hampshire, and Salem, soon, and in a month from even Crown Point.* Altho' you'll laugh at my knighterrantry, I care not. The manuver touchg Gen^l Gage's letter to N. Y. gives me sensible pleasure. The encampment of the 3 armies convinces me a grand manuver is determined on.

Your obliged,

G. SALTONSTALL.

Since writing the within, your letter by daughter Mumford came to hand. The arrival of the troops is news. That the men halted is doubtless best, that the army may get in proper encampment, and then as many recruits as may be wanted to march down with expedition. Whatever vessels are bound to the W. Indies, shall have advices sent by them. We without Gov^t Orders are not able to send vessels on purpose. Touching the small arms, the smiths are hard at work on them, and they will be complete, to amount of one hundred and fifty King's and Queen Ann's arms. A Volunteer Town Watch of seventy and upwards this day enlisted to watch six months without reward, save the virtue of so doing; all my sons on y^e roll. Is it not best to dispatch a vessel to W. Indies for more powder? I apprehend Gen. Haldaman is fallen, but not Lord Piercy. I shall attend to all you write for the common safety. If orders are sent from Assembly to make car-

* Col. Saltonstall had perhaps already discussed with Capt. Mott, the possibility of securing the cannon and military stores at Crown Point and Ticonderoga.

riages and a battery,* I must hope it will not be encumbered by too great limitations. The more I think of the Battery on the Neck, the more convinced I am of its utility in time of distress. G. S.

I shall see daughter Mumford before I close this letter.

Wednesday, 11 o'clock, A. M.

Inclosed you have dispatches rec^d last night from Col. Parsons. We had one from the Prov^l Congress, and from Lebanon; the two last you'll have at Assembly. The manuver recom^d from Lebanon and Norwich, the Com^{te} of Correspondence think not prud^t for them to engage in.†

Your Humble Serv^t,

G. SALTONSTALL.

Mrs. Rebecca Mumford's family and stuff, this minute loading Bradick, and will go for Norwich bodily this day.

Silas Deane, Esq.

GURDON SALTONSTALL TO MRS. DEANE.

N. LONDON, May 4, 1775.

DEAR CHILD,—I rec^d Mr. Deane's letter of 2nd inst. with all my papers safe, which came seasonably. I rejoice that he set off yesterday for the Congress, and the first good news you may expect from him will be that the Congress recommend

* At this session of the General Assembly, Col. Saltonstall, Samuel Mott, and Capt. John Deshon were appointed a Committee, "forthwith to provide Carriages, and other necessary apparatus for the Cannon at New London in this Colony, so that they may be put into the best order for use, in case of necessity for defence."

† Did the 'manuver,' thus guardedly mentioned,—recommended from Lebanon (the home of Gov. Trumbull,) and from Norwich (by Christopher Leffingwell or Capt. Mott?), but which the Committee of Correspondence thought it "not prudent for them to engage in,"—have any reference to Ticonderoga?

to the Continent raising an army of 100,000 men; which, by the blessing of Heaven, will be the salvation of America and Great Britain. We are tolerably easy, and don't apprehend great danger. I dined Tuesday with your sister Mumford, at Norwich. She wanted to know whether best to return hither. I advised her to stay till Doct^r Johnson and Col. Wolcott returned from Gen^l Gage,* whom I expect will bring some terms like a cessation until advice can be had from Great Britain. I trust from the manuevers here and in Britain all things will turn out for the immortal honor and advantage of America, by Heaven's permission.

I am, Your affect^e Father,

G. SALTONSTALL.

Mrs. Elizabeth Deane.

TO MRS. DEANE.†

MY DEAR,—You know with how much pleasure I write, and I therefore make no excuse for not writing to you

* Dr. Wm. Samuel Johnson and Col. Erastus Wolcott had been appointed to "wait upon his Excellency Gov. Gage with the Letters written to him by his Honour our Governour by the desire of this Assembly, and confer with him on the subject contained in said Letters, and request his answer." Gov. Trumbull's letter and Gen. Gage's reply are printed in *Am. Archives*, ii. 433, 439.

† This letter was written from New York, (May 7th,) the day after Mr. Deane and his colleagues arrived there on their way to the Congress at Philadelphia.

"New York, May 11. On Saturday last, [May 6th,] arrived here from the eastward, on their way for Philadelphia, to attend the Continental Congress, the Hon. John Hancock, and Thomas Cushing, Esquires; Samuel Adams and Robert Treat Paine Esq^{rs}; delegates for the Province of Massachusetts Bay; and the Hon. Eliphalet Dyer & Roger Sherman, Esqrs. and Silas Deane, Esq.; delegates for the Colony of Connecticut."—*Conn. Courant*, May 15th.

"This year," says John Adams in his *Diary*, "Mr. Hancock was added to our number. I overtook my colleagues before they reached New York."—*Works*, ii. 406.

earlier. The second night, we lodged at Fairfield. Mr. Hancock not coming up, proceeded at eight on our journey, and dined at Stamford, with a company met at a wedding, which honest Mr. Cushing took for a company convened to wait upon us; and in he stumped, and led us to the head of the table, where, toward the close of our dinner, we found out our mistake, and were merry eno' on the occasion.

Twelve men appeared with bayonets fixed, and formed our guard, swearing they would see us safe on our way until relieved by another guard. We arrived at Haviland's, in Rye, that night, with our guard, and the next morning they were relieved by twelve more from Greenwich or Horse Neck, extremely well mounted and armed, and their two officers in scarlet and gold. Eight preceded us; Jn^o Webb as Aid-de-camp, followed singly; then the carriages; then the other four of the Guards, and our servants in the rear of the whole; so that we cut a considerable figure. At the bridge we were met by Judge Morriss, Capt^t Campbell a half-pay officer in the regular service, Capt. Sears, and others.

Just after dining, Mr. Hancock and Adams came up, and at four we set out in the same form and order as before, for town; only the gentlemen who met us fell in directly after our rear guard, and Capt. Campbell with two other gentlemen gave the directions of the procession. By the time we had got two miles from the Bridge we found the road lined with carriages, and all ages and sexes, and the atmosphere one cloud of dust. Great order was however, tho' with difficulty, observed. Jn^o Webb kept directly behind our guard, and Jn^o Deane rode next behind our carriage, which was in the rear of the delegate's carriages, as Mr. Hancock's led.

Before Mr. Watts's door, a battalion of about eight hundred men in uniform and bayonets fixed, with a band of music, received us with the military salute, from the right, as we pass'd them in front, and when pass'd, we halted and they filed off before us, our guard falling into the rear. You can easier fancy than I describe the amazing concourse of people: I believe well nigh every open carriage in the city, and thousands

on foot trudging and sweating thro' the dirt. At the Fresh Water, the Battalion halted, and we again passed their front and received a second salute from the left, and were received by our friends, the delegates of the city. Then we halted, and the battalion again passed us in the same manner as before, and led us down the Main Street, to the corner of Wall Street; up that, and down the Broadway by the Fort; then up to *Fraunces's* Tavern, where the battalion halted, and we pass'd them again to the right and received the parting salute, with the Huzzahs of the assembly, which by this time was much the largest I ever saw.

The doors, the windows, the stoops, the roofs of the piazzas, were loaded with all ranks, ages and sexes; in short, I feared every moment lest some one would be crushed to death; but no accident. A little dispute arose as we came near the town,—the populace insisting on taking out our horses and drawing the carriages by hand. This would have relieved Mr. Hancock's horses, for they were well tired, but mine were with difficulty managed amid the crowd, smoke and noise. Instantly a Guard of Grenadiers was set at each door where we lodged, and relieved regularly, in the usual way. They are in a blue and scarlet uniform, and make a genteel appearance. We dine &c. at *Fraunces's*, but lodge at separate houses.

I have found a kinswoman, who married Parson Mosely, and lodge at her house; she, with a sister of Capt. Campbell's, having taken a genteel house for lodgers. Our horses and carriages are gone over the River, and we follow, in company with the delegates from this place, to-morrow morning early.

Tell my brother Bars &c., that I have seen Mrs. Trist, also Mrs. Fowler, who came to my lodging after meeting, and who tell me the soldiers here are deserting every day and are extremely uneasy, being confined like prisoners in the barracks, none venturing out save to relieve guards at the Fort and the Governour's, which is within a few doors of ours. Tories are silent, but not quite dead, but a most critical watch is kept over them, and every letter intercepted. The people

are in suspense as to seizing the Fort as yet, and wait the advice of the Congress, but a most surprising spirit prevails, and New England men are extolled to the skies.

An anecdote I will give you. The Fairfield Company on their return from Hartford marched to New York and assisted in getting out the cannon to King's bridge. In the Company was a deserter from the troops here, who by carelessness fell into their hands again. Capt. Deming, who commanded the Fairfield Company hearing of it, instantly drew up his men before the Barracks, and demanded his man. They replied, he was a deserter from them. Capt. Deming answered, "I care not who he deserted from; he put himself under my protection, and by G—d I'll *have* him, or level the Barracks over your heads." What reply, think ye, these heroes of five companies of the invincible Royal Irish, gave to this *pesky Yankey*? Why they delivered him up, in the face of the whole city, and Deming carried him off in triumph. Deming is still here, and part of his men.

Let no copies be taken of any of my letters, but shew this anecdote to *Mr. Hosmer*, and tell him this Captⁿ must be remembered. Dr. *Auchmuty* has been busy, his letters intercepted, and he this day had the satisfaction of preaching to almost naked walls. It is with difficulty I have wrote this much, as I have been all day at meeting, and the house is now full of company; so — [The rest is wanting.]

FROM COL. GURDON SALTONSTALL.

NEW LONDON, May 8th, 1775.

A. M. 6 o'clock.

DEAR SIR,—Last Saturday noon, I rec^d orders to send two news carriers hence to Woodstock and N. Haven, to change mails with the Eastern and Western riders. They'l set off at ten o'clock this forenoon and return on Saturday, and perform the stages weekly until rising of next Assembly. Doubtless the Congress will establish a Post Office, and should

be glad to serve, by myself or son Gilbert, as you think most proper, as Post Master, or in any thing else that occurs.

Thursday last, no fresh troops from Britain at Boston, and I dare say no more will arrive, yet shall rejoice to hear the Congress have recommended the raising one hundred thousand men, ere that matter is ascertained ; which would immortalize America.

Capt Coit writes from Cambridge, Thursday last, that the late battle was of vastly greater importance to America, than our most sanguine hopes ; that they have found many dead bodies in barns and hedges where the wounded secreted themselves and died ; and that the first brigade were so overdone with their march &c., that seven hundred of them were in the hospitals.

Mr. Browne of Providence was treated civilly by Gen^l Gage, rec^d pay for his flour, and is safe at his own home.

Your spouse was bravely, Friday evening.

The Assembly sat until Saturday noon, waiting for Doct^r Johnson and Col. Wolcott, but [they had] not arrived. The Governor and Council remain at Hartford to receive them. An Act on Saturday, enabling the Gov^r to march three thousand men to Boston, the moment he thought necessary. It appears by the papers that Capt. Faulkner left London in February, and no doubt you'll see him.

Direct and deliver the inclosed to some proper person, when sealed.

Cannon, shells &c. were transported by land from Providence to Cambridge, the latter end of last week. You'll soon have, I dare say, a good acco^t of the Northern Cannon ;* the party were joined above in the most hearty manner.

I have orders in conjunction with Sam. Mott and Capt. Deshon to prepare carriages for cannon here ;† and am with T. M^d Esq^r ‡ and Capt. Deshon appointed to report, next Assembly, what is in our opinion needful to be done for defence

* That is, from Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

† See page 220, ante. ‡ Thomas Mumford.

of this Harbor and y^e navigation; and other Comt^{ees} appointed from Stonington to N. Haven, for like purpose. Perhaps these Resolves were before you left the Assembly.

I have by letter advised John Holt, Hugh Gaine, Edes and Gill, and Isaiah Thomas, as is contained in the inclosed, that intelligence may be circulated in the speediest manner.

Hurd says, this day, Mr. Foxcroft* won't employ him any longer, as the Revenue will not support him. Amen.

Your most affect^e

G. SALTONSTALL.

My papers you sent last post, came safe to hand.

Silas Deane Esqr.

TO MRS. DEANE.

[PHILADELPHIA, May 12th, 1775.]

MY DEAR,—I wrote you a long letter from New York, which I conclude you received. On Monday morning, the Company of Grenadiers under Capt. Lasher formed before our headquarters, and the principal gentlemen of the City, with their delegates, being assembled, a procession was made to the Ferry, where the Rhode Island Packet lay to receive us.† The crowd had become almost as great as on the Saturday before, and we passed the Ferry (after three huzzas from the shore)

* "John Foxcroft, one of the two Postmasters-general of the Crown in the Colonies."—Sabine's *Amer. Loyalists*. Hurd was a post-rider.

† On Monday morning, May 7th, the delegates for Massachusetts and Connecticut, "with *Philip Livingston, James Duane, John Alsop, and Francis Lewis*, Esquires, Delegates for this City [New York]; Colonel *William Floyd* for Suffolk, and *Simon Boerum*, Esq., for King's County, in this Province, set out for *Philadelphia*, attended by a great train to the *North River* ferry, where two or three sloops and a number of other vessels were provided; and it is said about five hundred gentlemen crossed the ferry with them, among whom were two hundred of the Militia under arms."—*Am. Archives*, vol. ii. col. 517,—from a N. York paper of May 9th.

just above the Man of War; music playing on board, and armed boats on each side. When arrived, the Grenadiers landed first and formed, then we landed, and parted.

On our arrival within three miles of Newark, a Troop of Horse and a Company of Grenadiers met us,* but to Mr. Hancock's and the people's extreme disappointment, he in his haste took another road and pass'd the Ferry direct to Elizabeth Town. At Newark, we were received in the most polite manner and by as genteel a company of gentlemen as any I have seen, with whom we dined, and rode to Elizabeth Town; joined Col. Hancock, received a salute from four companies of militia, and went off for Woodbridge, where all were in arms,—though these were very rough troops, and afforded us some diversion; but they meant well, and we spent half an hour with them. After which we rode to Brunswic, crossed the ferry, and lodged, but with a strong guard.

Early in the next morning, the militia mustered and guarded us to Princetown, where we were received by a Company under arms, the president and students, &c. Hence we rode to Trenton, and dined; thence to Bristol, and lodged, with a guard.

The next morning, set out for Philadelphia, and were met at about six miles on this side the City by about two hundred of the principal gentlemen, on horseback, with their swords drawn; here we alighted, and baited. Thence began a most lengthy procession; half the gentlemen on horseback, in the van; next to them, ten men on horseback, with bayonets fixed; then Hancock and Adams, then Payne, next Mr. De Hart, next Col. Floyd and Mr. Boerum, in a phaeton, with two most elegant white English horses; then your humble servant and

* "The Delegates were received at the ferry by a number of gentlemen from Newark, in New Jersey, Captain Allen at the head of his troop of Horse, and Captain Rutgers, at the head of his company of Grenadiers (which were allowed by the gentlemen present to be as complete companies as they had seen). The whole proceeded to Newark, where an entertainment was provided," &c.—Am. Archives, vol. ii. col. 517.

Col. Dyer ; then Father Cushing and Jno Adams ; Mr. Sherman next ; then Mr. P. Livingston, who took Jno. Webb in his carriage, as one of his servants had tired his horse and took John's. Mr. Alsop tired all four of his fine bay horses and was, with Mr. Duane, put into other carriages. Our rear closed with the remainder of the gentlemen on horseback, with swords drawn, and then the carriages from the City. At about two miles distance, we were met by a Company on foot, and then by a Company of Riflemen in their uniform, which is very curious. Thus rolling and gathering like a snow-ball, we approached the City, which was full of people, and the crowd as great as at New York ; the bells all ringing, and the air rent with shouts and huzzas. My little bay horses were put in such a fright that I was in fear of killing several of the spectators ; however, no harm was done, and after much fatigue we were landed at the New City Tavern. Happily a rain had laid the dust, and we were not so troubled as at New York.

We found all our friends from the southward (Mr. Henry excepted,) arrived ; he is hourly expected. Cesar is well, and as handsome as ever.

Thus I have given you a circumstantial relation of our march in state, for two hundred miles ; not through any vanity, but to give your curiosity satisfaction, and to show you how high the spirit of the people is in these parts. In this city they say they have three thousand of the principal young men exercising twice every day ; among whom is a large number of the Friends or Quakers.

Dr. Franklin is of the Congress ; the proceedings of which, as before, will be kept a secret. Galloway is fled, as they say. You think your spirit is high ; believe me, it is as much warmer here as the climate, and every kind of preparation goes on rapidly ; and I seriously believe Pennsylvania will, in one month, have more than twenty thousand well disciplined troops ready to take the field. They exercise here twice every day, at five in the morning and five in the afternoon, and are extremely well armed. Mr. Mifflin is a Captain of one Com-

pany, Mr. Wykoff his Lt, and Mr. Mifflin's brother, Ensign. The Commons west of the City is every morning and afternoon full of troops, and spectators of all ranks.

The delay of the Rhode Island delegates as to coming up prevents our entering at once deeply on business, but you may depend all will be well; that is, if I may judge from appearance; but believe nothing you hear reported of us, for our doings will not be published but by authority of the whole. The scenes before us are so vast that I can give no kind of judgment as to the term we shall be detained here, and I tremble when I think of their vast importance. May the God of Wisdom preside!

Mr. Dushay [Duché] made a most pathetic and pertinent prayer at our opening. Pres^t and Secy, the same as before.

I pray you send me a paper (Mr. Hosmer has a copy), *Articles of Confederation of the United New England Colonies*; it will help me in an important matter; it is dated 1642, I think, but Mr. Hosmer will know. I have one in my desk, but it may be misfiled, in the confusion.

I have no time in this letter to write on business. The drum and fife are hourly sounding in every street, and my brainpan is this moment echoing to the beat, parading under my window. The Southern Colonies are also all in arms, and, if I may venture a conjecture, on the whole, America has now more than one hundred thousand ready to take the field.

Pray let good care be taken of my letters; and of those sent me, all must go under cover to Mr. Hazard. You may shew my letters, but let no copies of any paragraph be taken. I had determined to write of sundry matters on the road, but the bustle of attendance prevented, and I am not yet so settled as to recollect them; but a part of each day shall be spent in writing to you, and I may add to this before it goes.

I am, &c.,

S. D.

Friday, May 12th.

P. S. D. Mumford is well, and I believe agreeable to his master; but of this hereafter. All the brothers are hearty in the great and glorious cause.

Saturday, y^e 12th. The Post waits. Tell Mr. Hosmer I rec^d his letter, and will write him next post, if anything material occurs. I rec^d S. Webb's letter.

THOMAS MUMFORD, TO SILAS DEANE.

WETHERSFIELD, 14th May, 1775.

MY DEAR SIR,—I came over here last evening to keep Sabbath with your good family, and have the satisfaction to tell you that Mrs. Dean is as well as when you left her, and in good spirits.

I have the satisfaction to find the whole delegates bound to the Congress received marks of approbation and applause in every town &c., thro' which they passed; and it gives me much pleasure to find people of all ranks have so just a sense of the obligation we owe to you all for the important service rendered America, when you were together before. I sincerely pray Almighty God to continue his Divine presence and assistance to the completion of the glorious (tho' arduous) Cause you have engaged in. We look up to the Congress for direction, and I make no doubt you will assist us as our necessities require. Am glad you have Mr. Franklin to assist you in counsel.

From all the late intelligence we have from Great Britain, we must depend on our own virtue; if we continue united as we seem now to be, I cannot apprehend much danger. We have no late intelligence from our northern expedition. Capt. Benedict Arnold of New Haven is employed by the Massachusetts Congress on the same errand; he has a Colonel's commission, and the command of four hundred men.

Doct^r Johnson and Mr. Wolcott were politely rec^d by General Gage, who gave them great assurances of his pacific disposition. As our House have ordered a copy of his letter to the Assembly to be sent to the Congress, I think it needless to repeat it. We shall pay no regard to his fair promises.

Four of our Regiments (viz^t, Spencer's, Putnam's, Hinman's, and Parson's,) are ordered to march in Companies to head-quarters at Cambridge; which does not seem to suit Col. E. Wolcott. He desires *of the House*, to know whose direction they are to be under; whether to act on the offensive or defensive. Upon the whole he endeavours to embarrass matters, and I think he is for doing nothing. God be praised, we have very few such in our House, tho' we much want you, Mr. Wales and Col. Seymour, as speakers. I think the House are firm, and will not relax in the least. No difficulty in getting soldiers, they are chiefly enlisted already. I hope the southern provinces will assist the New England ones with money, if not men.

I conclude you will now regulate the Post Office. I take the liberty to recommend Gilbert Saltonstall at New London, for a deputy post master. Mr. Miller, while he remains in the custom house *at least*, will not be agreeable to the people.

My hearty service to Col. Dyer.

Mr. Hilhouse is left out of the Council, and Mr. Sam^l Huntington is in his place. Doct^r Johnson had but about two hundred spare votes.

If you find a leisure moment pray write me a line, and inform me if I may send my son. I wish to get him to business. I wish every good to attend you all. Do tell Col. Hancock and Mr. Samu^l Adams, I wish the Divine presence to accompany them. I shall write you again as occasion offers, and am, Dear Sir,

Your sincere and affect^e,

THO^s MUMFORD.

Silas Deane Esq^r.

LIEUT. BARNABAS DEANE TO SILAS DEANE.

WETHERSFIELD, 15th May, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,—YOURS from New York to Mrs. Deane came to hand last Friday. Agreeable to your desire, I have

made enquiry after the men on the Northern Expedition, but cannot hear a single word from them. Capt. Arnold has taken a Colonel's commission from the Provincial Congress, and has set out on a secret expedition. It is supposed that he is gone to the Northward. I am in hopes some of them will succeed. Gen^l Gage keeps very still in Boston; he allows a few persons almost every day to leave the town without their merchandize: he has had a small reinforcement of marines from Halifax. You will hear all that transpires at Boston more direct than I can write you.

Mr. Mumford will write you by this post what is doing in the Assembly. Inclosed I send you an account of our Election, which stands as it did last May, except Mr. Hillhouse, who gives place to Mr. Huntington.

Capt. Chester has concluded to accept of his commission, and has got his Comp^y almost full. The Assembly have not appointed an officer in my room as yet, but suppose it will be done very soon. I suppose that some of our troops will march this week, as several companies are full.

Capt. Stillman is arrived from Surinam; he says that Capt. Riley will sail in three weeks after him. We are anxiously waiting for news from every quarter, but none as yet. Please to get me in Phil^a half a dozen of good thread stockings for my own use, that are manufactured there, for there is no getting a single pair here that is fit to put on. Pray don't fail of writing every opportunity, as we are all anxious to hear what is doing at the Congress. Also, Johnny will wait your determination, before he leaves Mr. Tetard's.

Please write me what the opinion of the gent^a at Phil^a is respecting the capture of our vessels this summer; and if they send out their vessels as usual there. Give my best compliments to Col. Dyer and my acquaintance in Phil^a. Your family and friends are all well.

I am, your affectionate Brother,

BAR^s DEANE.

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, May 21st, 1775.

MY DEAR,—My last brought me to our arrival here, and the military situation of this city, or rather its military spirit, which will I fancy lay the foundation for surprising future effects on a certain System so long predominating here.

I have bought me a suit of clothes and put them on for the first time this day; a sample I send you p^r John, whom I might easily get a berth for in the Militia, but can find at present no other.

I mentioned adjourning to Hartford, but no motion has as yet been stirred or made public on the subject, and all is uncertainty. If we do not adjourn, am not in expectation of returning soon; for however great the sacrifice is, it cannot be greater than all, and I can by [no m]eans desert the Cause in which I consider my [life] itself embarked. The Congress did little more the first week [tha]n form themselves; and the Rhode Island members not coming until late last week, little more has been done than just to enter on the great subject before us.

Capt. Chester I hear is going into the service. Pray secure my gun and let no one have it, as *Beckley* was to make it on purpose for my use, and I choose not to be taken unarmed. If gone your journey, hope you have told somebody to let me know it, and what time you will expect to return.

May 24th. Our discourse about adjourning is somewhat abated. Our President left us yesterday, on acc^t of attending as Speaker of the House of Burgesses now called in Virginia, and Mr. Hancock presides in his room. I need not say how agreeable a letter from you would be. My love to Sally, Jesse, &c. &c.

I am Yours,

SILAS DEANE.

24th. I have detained Johnny, in order to carry some letters of importance to New York, and he sets out this day. I have nothing new to add, and write thus much to shew you I am not unmindful of you.

THOMAS MUMFORD TO SILAS DEANE.

HARTFORD, 22d May, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you last Monday, p^r post and Capt. Mott. The latter I hope will soon return, with directions of the Congress what shall be done with the important post and fortress of Ticonderoga.* The prisoners taken there, with Major Skeene &c., are arrived here and taken care of by our Third House (viz^t, such of us as are here,) as our Assembly decline taking any part in the affair until we have the resolution of Congress thereon. Our Colony Committee of Correspondence sent an express *from here* to Albany, requesting their Committee to keep the prisoners taken at Ticonderoga until the sentiments of the Congress were known, and informed them our Assembly had sent an express to Philadelphia for that purpose; but they declined having anything to do with them, but wrote to New York for advice, but received none; † so poor Connecticut must stand in the front.

For my own part I am still doubtful of the defection of New York; indeed I don't like the note of their Delegates, in construing the Congress' Resolutions respecting their city. ‡ I think the Congress must come to some further Resolution respecting that city and province. Our Assembly are so doubtful of the sincerity of New York, and apprehensive some of the troops expected from Ireland will be sent there, that we have stationed 2,500 of our troops in the western part of this Colony (about Stamford); viz^t, Gen. Worster's and Col. Waterbury's

* See "Papers relating to the Expedition to Ticonderoga," in the First Volume of the Society's Collections, pp. 163-188.

† See, in Am. Archives, 4th Ser., ii. 605, 606, Ethan Allen's letter to the Albany Committee, from Ticonderoga, May 11th; and letters from the Albany Committee to the New York Committee, May 12th, and from the New York Committee to the Continental Congress, May 15th.

‡ Congress had recommended to the city and county of New York, "that the warlike stores be removed from the Town." The New York Delegates, in communicating this advice, suggested that it should *not* "be construed to extend to the Military Stores belonging to the Crown." Am. Archives, 4th Ser., ii. 618.

Regiments and half of Col. Hinman's, to be ready to march to New York when wanted.

Give me leave to suggest a thought to you as a member of the Congress. Suppose the troops from England should be accompanied by a number of men [of] war and cutters, and they be stationed up the North River, to prevent the communication and intercourse between the northern and southern Colonies, I think they would disconcert us much: to remedy which, I should think stationing about four thousand men from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, somewhere near Kingsbridge on the west side of North River, would be effectual, as ours stationed at Stamford &c. could soon march (by land) to their assistance; besides, it will strengthen the hands of the Sons of Liberty in New York, and deter the tories (at least) from acting against the glorious Cause we are contending for. We look up to Congress for direction, and it is my opinion our present Assembly will proceed to any lengths they shall recommend.

The six thousand men ordered to be raised by this Colony are already enlisted, and daily marching in companies for Cambridge and that neighborhood. Generals Spencer and Putnam's regiments, with two companies of Col. Hinman's, and Capt. Coit's company of Col. Parsons' regiment, are all the troops we have ordered that way. Three companies of Col. Hinman's regiment are stationed at Salisbury, to be in the way for Ticonderoga if necessary. Col. Parsons' regiment is stationed on the sea coast at and near New London.

Our Assembly will adjourn as soon as we hear from the Congress, and comply with what they recommend. We have appointed a Committee of Safety to advise and assist his Honour the Governor, in the recess of the Assembly, viz^t, Col. Dyer, Jabez Huntington, Samuel Huntington, Benjamin Huntington, Nathaniel Wales, Jedediah Elderkin, William Williams, and Mr. West of Lebanon. Col. Erastus Wolcott, on his return from Boston, delivered his sentiments in terms disagreeable to a great part of our House, viz^t, whether our troops destined for Massachusetts Bay were to act on the de-

fensive or offensive,—who was to command and direct them; and insinuated we were sending our troops there to be entirely under the direction of the Massachusetts officers. He was answered, we had two general officers and our proportion of all field officers, who would undoubtedly act in council with those of the Massachusetts Bay, &c. &c. Upon the whole he could get no one to second him, tho' he renewed his motion repeatedly; finding it of no effect, he is now almost silent in the House, and I believe he will never have so many votes again for Magistrate in this Colony.

I conclude and expect the Congress will recommend to the Southern Colonies to assist us this way with money, if not men. As you are well acquainted with calculations, I am sure you will find we shall expend this year near £200,000 our money, equal to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. I am quite willing and desirous Connecticut should bear a full proportion of all the burthens and expenses of attending the glorious Cause we are contending for, and if I can leave my posterity free from Ministerial Tyranny, I shall think my interest well expended.

I cannot be silent to you, as a member of the Congress, without earnestly recommending that the most effectual method be devised and proposed to all the Colonies, to furnish (at least to attempt it) a large quantity of powder, lead and arms.

I imagine by this you will think I have wrote enough; if it is not correct I know you will excuse it, knowing it comes from an honest heart and one zealously engaged in our glorious Cause. I spent the Sabbath *again* yesterday, at Wethersfield; have the pleasure to inform you that Mrs. Deane is quite as well in health as when you left her. I am much pleased to find the members of the Congress were everywhere received with the same marks of esteem and reverence as in this Colony. Adieu, for the present.

Yours, &c.,

THOMAS MUMFORD.

JESSE ROOT TO SILAS DEANE.

HARTFORD, May 25th, A. D. 1775.

DEAR SIR,—On the 13th inst, we rec^d letters from Romans* representing the garrison at Ticonderoga in a feeble state, both as to men and provisions, requesting men and money. At the same time the Gov^r rec^d a letter from Allen, of like import. Whereupon we rallied, sent Col. Charles Webb and Col. Joshua Porter and Mr. Barn: Deane, with £500 money, escorted with eight marines from this town, well spirited and equipped; with directions to proceed to Albany, to procure from thence what assistance they could, and then to proceed to Ticonderoga with all possible expedition, and do everything to secure and preserve the acquisition.

About four days ago, the officers and soldiers from Ticonderoga and Crown Point were brought into this town, consisting of about sixty persons, and are here kept at the public expense.

The troops are continually marching for Boston. Unanimity and firmness continue to reign here. You cannot conceive what universal joy diffused itself through every breast, and triumph in every countenance, on publication of y^e glorious resolutions of the Continental Congress, by Mr. Mott. May that unerring Wisdom that guides the rolling spheres through the unmeasurable tracts of ether—that mighty Power that sustains the stupendous frame of Nature, inspire your venerable Body with all that wisdom and firmness that is requisite to guide and direct the important concerns of the American Empire, for its safety and preservation against all craft and power of Tyranny, the Pope, and the Devil.

In haste, as y^e Post is waiting. With y^e greatest esteem, I am Sir, Your sincere friend and most obedient humble servant,

JESSE ROOT.

P. S. Inclosed is a copy of a letter from Col. Porter and Webb since they went from here. Of y^e further acquisitions to y^e northward, the post will inform.

* Bernard Romans. See vol. i. p. 166, note; Am. Archives, ii. 585, 645.

FROM TITUS HOSMER.

MIDDLETOWN, May 22d, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Since my last we have waded through two weeks of a new Session. Our first manœuvre was to turn every known Tory out of the Commission of the Peace, and supply their places with men on whom we could depend. Capt. Glover and two more in Fairfield County, Capt. Stiles in Litchfield County, Mr. Chandler, Howell, Benj. Hall and Maiock Ward in New Haven County, and a Mr. Hyde of Norwich, were omitted on this account.

Our next object was to provide for our Troops; and here you might have been entertained with very various debates, whether the soldiers should take their chance to find lodgings in deserted houses, barns and hovels, or whether tents should be provided for them; whether they should have spoons to eat their pease with, pails to draw water, bottles to carry it with them, and many such important subjects; on which the gentlemen on the saving establishment shone with peculiar lustre.

The state of the Lead Mine in this town has likewise engaged our attention. Upon enquiry, we find the ore is plenty and reputed rich; the vein is opened, seven tons of ore is now raised and ready for smelting, and any other quantity may be had that may be required. The only desideratum is, how to smelt the ore and separate the metal. This may unquestionably be done if skilfull workmen can be obtained. Mr. Wales, who is now at New York (of w^h more presently,) has orders to make enquiry there for such workmen, and gain every information necessary on this subject. If you could give us any light, from enquiries you can make where you are, either with regard to workmen, or the process, you will render an acceptable service to your country, as there can be no reasonable doubt, if we can succeed in refining, that this mine will abundantly supply, not only New England, but all the colonies with lead, in such plenty as to answer every demand of war or peace.

A Mr. Niles of Norwich* has laid before the Assembly specimens of iron wire, of different sizes, from about one-fourth of an inch diameter to sizable card-wire, which he manufactured himself at Norwich. These specimens were highly approved, the card-wire especially, and £300 is advanced to Mr. Niles out of the Treasury, to enable him to prosecute his plan, which proposes no less than a full supply of this necessary article to all the Northern Colonies.

A committee of war is appointed. It consists of the Governor, Col. Dyer, Col. Elderkin, Mr. Wales, Mr. Speaker, Col. Jabez Huntington, Judge Huntington, Benjamin Huntington, and Joshua West, Esq^{rs}. By casting your eye over this list you will see that their situation near the Governor was one principal consideration in determining the choice.

The critical state of the Province of New York, has given us the greatest anxiety, and Hughs and his friends by repeated letters full of dark and melancholy forebodings have kept it from subsiding. Our troops were first ordered to march to Greenwich and Fairfield. On Saturday, fifteen hundred were ordered to march into the neighborhood of New York, five hundred more to take post at Greenwich, five hundred in New Haven county, nine hundred at New London and parts adjacent, and three hundred at Salisbury; the remainder are on their march to Boston. I fear this visit will not be agreeable to some of our friends in New York, and am not able to satisfy myself what effect it may have upon the state of that province, but hope the best.

Mr. Wales, Sheriff Burr, and Mr. Edwards of New Haven, are sent to the Provincial Congress at New York to explain

* Nathaniel Niles, at this time a resident of Norwich,—a licensed preacher, but engaged likewise in other pursuits. He was connected with his father-in-law, Elijah Lathrop, in various manufacturing interests, and was himself the inventor of a process for making iron-wire out of bar-iron, the machinery for which was first put in operation at Norwich. Mr. Niles subsequently removed to Vermont, where he became a Judge of the Supreme Court, and a member of Congress, 1791-95. Miss Caulkin's Hist. of Norwich, 470: and see Am. Archives, 4th Ser., ii. 575.

our measures, prevent heats, cultivate harmony &c., and hope they will be able to reconcile that Congress to the steps we have taken, and convince them of their necessity.

Col. Webb, Col. Porter, your brother Barny and other gentlemen, are gone to Ticonderoga, with cash. The taking that place seems to have given our brethren at Albany some umbrage: it was near them; they ought to have been consulted and permitted to take the lead: but believe it will blow over, without any further notice.

You have the full account from Mr. Mott. It is expected here that the Continental and New York provincial Congress will determine the fate of that fortress and Crown Point, and we only hold them till relieved by you. Major Skene, John Brook and the garrison at Ticonderoga are at Hartford, and will be secured (I believe) till further advice from you.

This week, we are to struggle for the carrying two points: regimenting and regulating the Horse, and detaching another quarter of the Militia, to stand ready as minute-men. The people out-doors loudly call for these steps to be taken, but they will meet opposition from the œconomists within.

Our men enter into the service with great ardor. Most of the Captains have enlisted more than their complement, and some who came too late have bought in, rather than be disappointed of a share in the service. Samuel Webb is Lieut. in your brother's place. Mr. Whiting goes General Spencer's Quarter Master. Everything out-doors is spirit, activity, and determined bravery. The outside of the sepulchre is fair, but within—the Scripture will tell the rest; tho' we have not so many devils as Mary Magdalen had; indeed the Devil of Avarice is all that we have to complain of. I am, with the warmest friendship,

Your affectionate

TITUS HOSMER.

[Addressed:] To Silas Deane Esqr, Philadelphia. To the care of Messrs. Bradfords, at the London Coffee House.

FROM TITUS HOSMER.

MIDDLETOWN, May 28, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor without date I received by the post, and am greatly obliged for the account you give me of the spirit that prevails in the country near you. Mrs. Deane had been kind enough to shew me the history of your journey. The attention paid you, and the ardor of all ranks to testify their respect and present their congratulations, reminded me of the description given by the Roman historians of Cicero's return from his banishment: my reading has furnished me with no other scene that may be compared with it. In both cases, private Virtue and the love of Liberty and Country, animated a whole people to testify their unfeigned and ardent gratitude, in a way most honorable to themselves and the objects of their veneration and applause. The triumphs of power are generally founded in servile or mercenary motives, but in these cases they were founded in virtue, and flowed from the heart.

I hope the military spirit may spread among the *Friends*. They have made a good beginning, and indeed unless all the Colonies, and all ranks, sects and denominations of men in them, are united, we shall have much to fear and much to suffer.

The removal of the Congress northward is, as you observe, a very delicate point. The Union of the Colonies is our safety; should it endanger that, although remotely, it would countervail any proposed advantage. I own, I fear were you near us you would have too many questions referred to you, and too much business cast upon you by the New England Colonies, to leave you the leisure you ought to have to digest and perfect matters of greater importance; but if a station nearer the present scene of action should be thought eligible; might it not answer some very good purposes were it chosen in or near New York? Wherever the Congress is, there will be the Spirit of Liberty. We have had great fears on the account of that province, but they now begin to subside. The

flame is kindled there ; and with gentle fanning, we flatter ourselves it will spread and increase, till it burns clear and strong, as in the other Colonies.

I presume you receive all the intelligence we have here, from every quarter, and among the rest an account of dangerous designs on foot in the province of Quebec. We had yesterday advice, and took some steps upon it, of which you will receive an account in a letter from his Honour the Governor ; and in that you will find all the material Resolutions the Assembly have taken, that you was not before possessed of.

The Articles of Confederation of the United Colonies were sent last post, and the Heads of Enquiry, with the Answers, I now enclose, agreeable to your request ; which I wish safe to your hands. If there should anything else occur that may be of use, you may freely command my endeavours to furnish you with it.

Our Assembly draws fast to a close. Several plans for putting the Militia in a better posture of defence have been under consideration ; among the rest that of Regimenting and disciplining the troops of Horse, and detaching a part of the Foot as minute-men ; but they met with great opposition, and are postponed, and eventually of doubtful event.

We have resolved to give a bounty of five shillings on a stand of arms complete, and one and sixpence for a good gunlock manufactured in this Colony. Also a bounty of ten pounds on every fifty cwt. of Saltpetre and £5 on every 100 lbs. of Sulphur manufactured from materials found in this Colony, and manufactured here, within one year from the rising of this Assembly. I believe you must be advised of this before, and I only mention them to introduce a request that you would inform yourself as well as you can, at Philadelphia, how the earth impregnated with nitre may be known and distinguished, and by what process the saltpetre is separated ; also, how the ore or bed in which Sulphur is found may be known, and how it is separated : which may be of service towards maturing and setting on foot the manufacture of gunpowder. I am informed Sulphur is found in Maryland ; if so,

perhaps the delegates from that colony may give some intelligence that may be material.

The Governor's Council of War are settled. I was not in the House, either when the measure was prepared or the Committee appointed, but understood it was previously determined they should be taken out of Windham, Lebanon and Norwich, to save expense in meetings, &c.

Our friend Mumford is returned home, to attend his duty as a Commissary. Mr. Sam^l Webb marched on Thursday. Mr. Whiting left me to join his regiment, this evening. Mrs. Deane was well, and in high spirits, last evening. All friends well. Let me hear from you as your leisure will permit, and believe me,

Your Cordial Friend and Humble Servant,

T. HOSMER.

Silas Dean Esqr.

FROM COL. GURDON SALTONSTALL.

NEW LONDON, May 31, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor p^r Champlin, with the deed and map, have rec^d, and am much obliged. The deed is signed, but the mode of acknowledg^s and enrolling somewhat varies from that I before had, yet bear the same date. The only way to reconcile my idea of the signer is, that it was acknowledged] at Chancery in 1746, taken back and carried to be enrolled in 1747, after decease, and then the defect was supplied. I have this day wrote Mr. Vandervoort, to prevent getting a second, as it was designed for a duplicate, and that I have rec^d a copy, which will save his friend trouble and me expense.

I was early in court here at Wethersfield, but no private business being done there, I soon returned. Found your spouse surprisingly better. She had gained flesh, and had a fresh countenance, more than I have seen her have for many

years; and learn she continues well. I congratulate you on the harmony of Congress, the success at Ticonderoga, the peculiar sagacity of your members in the late minute advising the city and country of N. Y. and Albany to secure the cannon &c. at south end of Lake George,—which if they would, by this method they are prevented ever attempting to shirk out of that part of their duty.

Our Assembly set over Saturday last, purposely to receive the resolve of N. Y. Provincial Congress, and am told that Monday last they rec^d answer, namely, desiring this Colony to secure the acquisition until they have time to relieve them, meaning to do it as soon as they can; and conclude they'll exert themselves in this colony in this as on every other occasion.*

Our troops are, some regiments gone to Boston, and others stationed on the sea-coast and to y^e northward, as you have doubtless heard. Col. Parsons being by Assembly stationed in this town, he was disappointed much, having had before the Governor's order to march to Cambridge. Thereupon he applied to Assembly that he might march to Cambridge, by a memorial. The Upper House were disposed in his favor; the lower House tho't it [was] most proper he should attend to the orders of Assembly, as he was in government pay, and proposed thereupon to move him from N. L. towards Crown-point; which it is said raised a second memorial (but this is only common report); however he is this day about to encamp on Winthrop Neck, save Capt. Coit's Comp^y marched for Cambridge, and Capt. Mott's to the Northward. We have no late news. There was a late report that a thousand troops were arrived at Boston from Britain, but now it don't pass for a fact.

We hear nothing of the Irish troops and am persuaded they never will come to America.

* See Letter from New York Congress to Gov. Trumbull, and Gov. Trumbull's letter of May 29, to the Massachusetts Congress, in *Am. Archives*, ii. 728, 730: and letter from the Connecticut Assembly to the Albany Committee, *Ibid.*, 731.

I want to hear you have recommended to the colonies embodying a round number of troops, say 100,000, and proportioning them to each, which will make about 7000 for Connecticut. The hard treatment the Bostonians have from time to time met with, and the murder at Lexington, have raised the American troops' resentment to such a degree that it's said by all, they appear desperate. However, hope they will not by their zeal make any rash attack, but rest till prepared in the best manner.

The Provincial Mass. Congress set this day. They have invited all the Ministers to attend in convention, as was the antient practice, for the good of Civil and Religious Liberty; this makes me apprehend they design this day to choose Gov^r, Dy Gov^r, &c.; but this you will know better than I can what is intended. They have resolved the 22nd inst^t that no mandamus or other constitutional enemy shall make any deed, lease, or other conveyance, of any estate in that Province.

If the controversy with Britain must continue, I see no means to carry on the dispute to effect, but that the governments that cannot convene their Assemblies at discretion must give themselves a new form; and the nearer they are in such model to each other, and to the Charter colonies, so much more (I think) the Union will be consolidated. The system of this Colony appears to me the best upon the continent.

Col. Parsons tells me he expects orders to march in a few days, but that I suppose is mere conjecture, since it must depend on unseen contingencies.

My compliments to Col. Dyer & Esq. Sherman.

Your most obliged,

G. SALTONSTALL.

Silas Deane Esqr.

I wrote you lately to remember me and son Gilbert, in the Post Office, if any door opened. Whether you rec^d my letter, know not. The Assembly has appointed me during this session: whether they continue it, know not.

In one of your family letters formerly, you hinted that if you changed pr[ofession]s you should join the Quakers; and since they are now become gallant soldiers, there's more danger of your going over to that interest than before.

TO MRS. DEANE.

May 31st, 1775.

MY DEAR,—I am sensible that you may think odd of the brevity of my letters, and unaccountable that want of time should be offered as an excuse, by a man who, to the world, may appear too idle and insignificant to urge any such reason. The truth is, I have been beyond measure taken up, and have not had time so much as to pay even complaisant visits to those who before and now treat me with all civility. Mr. Edwards goes to-morrow, when I design a circumstantial letter if possible, and after all this apology have really nothing more to say than that this is to convince you I miss no opportunity of writing, tho' it be only to say,

I am Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

FROM BARNABAS DEANE.

ALBANY, 1st June, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,—I returned here last evening from Crown-point, which place I left on Monday last. I went in company with Col. Webb. We found matters in a very critical situation there, arising from the difference between Col. Arnold and Col. Allen, which had risen to a great height. They had just returned from their excursion to St. Johns, when we got there. Col. Allen is cooled down since his unsuccessful attempt at St. Johns, in which he lost one man, taken prisoner. Col. Arnold was very busy in fixing the Sloop and Schooner

in the best manner for guarding the Lake. He has mounted in the Sloop six six-pounders and fourteen swivels, and in the Schooner four four-pounders and eight swivels, and is fixing swivels in two Perriaugers. He destroyed all the water craft at St. Johns that could not be bro^t off. There are scouts kept on Lake Champlain, to observe the motion of the troops in Canada. There are three Stockbridge Indians, and one white man that can speak their language, gone from Crownpoint to Canada, in order to make discoveries and to engage the Indians there to take no part in the present dispute.

Col. Webb and myself had an arduous task to reconcile matters between the two commanders at Crownpoint, which I hope is settled for the present. Col. Allen made a public declaration that he would take no command on himself, but give it up entirely to Col. Arnold until matters were regulated and an officer appointed to take the command. Col. Arnold has been greatly abused and misrepresented by designing persons, some of which were from Connecticut. Had it not been for him every thing here would have been in the utmost confusion and disorder; people would have been plundered of their private property, and no man's person would be safe that was not of the Green Mountain party. It would be tedious to give you a narrative of their conduct. Col. Arnold has been twice fired at by them, and has had a musket presented at his breast by one of that party, and threatened to fire him through if he refused to comply with their orders, which he very resolutely refused doing, as inconsistent with his duty, and as directly contrary to the opinion of the Colonies. Their design appears to me to hold those places as a security to their lands, against any that may oppose them, and to push on as far as the Isle of Nore in the river Sorell, and make a post there for the security of their lands on Lake Champlain and Onion River. Which plan of theirs we entirely disapproved of, as it would alarm the Canadians and Indians and be wholly against the opinion of the Colonies. We told them that they would not be supported by the Colonies if they went any further, and would fall into the hands of Gov. Carleton.

There are now about 150 men at Crownpoint, 18 men at Ticonderoga, and 25 men at Fort George; which is not one quarter of what is actually necessary for holding those important posts until the cannon &c. can be removed. Everything is in the utmost decay at Ticonderoga and Crownpoint. It struck me with horror, to see such grand fortifications in ruins. Crownpoint is one heap of rubbish, and the wood-work of Ticonderoga not much better. Fort George is a small stone fort, and secure against small arms, but would not bear cannonading.

You no doubt have had an exact acct of the ordnance taken at Crownpoint and Ticonderoga. There are four iron mortars and three brass howitzers sent down to Fort George, which came in the boat that I crossed Lake George in. I met 70 men on their march to Crownpoint to reinforce that place, and believe there will be 500 men there in ten days' time.

The people of this county have sent a considerable quantity of provision up, and are now sending off men; but they don't act with that spirit and life that the N. England men have on such occasions. Wherever we find a number of *them* settled down, we find men who are ready and willing to go immediately in defence of their country, which is not the case with people here in general, altho' they seem well disposed in the Common Cause.

I met the Express with the Resolutions of the Congress to remove all the artillery to the south end of Lake George, which gives the greatest anxiety to the inhabitants back, as it leaves the whole of them exposed to the inroads of the Canadians and Indians if they should take up against us, as Fort George is no barrier against them; but if we hold Ticonderoga, which is the key of the whole communication between Canada and the English settlements, it will effectually secure the whole of our frontiers and keep us masters of the Lake. I am really in hopes the matter will be reconsidered in Congress, and that Ticonderoga may be held, as it is a place of the last importance in this critical juncture. There will be a sufficiency of artillery for the fort at Ticonderoga when we have removed

100 pieces to Fort George. This will be handed you by an Express, who carries the opinion of this city and county to the Congress, on this important affair.

I expect to leave this place in a day or two for home, as I can be of no further service here at present. I never have had so fatiguing a journey in my life as this has been. The intolerable heat in crossing the Lakes in open boats, and being out all night exposed to the cold fogs that arise from stagnated waters, gave me a violent cold, which bro't on a fever for two or three days, but is now in some degree moderated. I can say nothing new to you from home, as you have likely heard from there since I have.

[Filed:] Barnabas Deane's Letter.

Albany, 1st June, 1775.

TO MRS. DEANE.

MY DEAR,—This comes by express, this moment setting out; have therefore only to say that I am well, but the City grows extreme warm and I wish for the northward air, but must wish for a while in vain. I am in hopes that the Congress will, in their adjournment, appoint a large Committee of their body to sit constantly at Hartford or elsewhere near the scene of action. I send you a newspaper of to-day, &c.,

And am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Friday, June 2d, 1775.

“COPY OF A LETTER FROM SIMEON DEANE TO JOSEPH WEBB.”

DEAR SIR,—This my second letter may inform you my safe arrival, tho' to a very dull market; the particulars of which refer you to my first letter for. Had the news of the late disturbance in America arriv'd two days sooner, it would have

made difference of £100 or upwards in my flour only; other articles, except pork and beef, are much the same, tho' the latter do not rise as flour, which is here about 32 p^r C. and rising, for the common, and higher for superfine.

In the next place, to say what I shall do with the good old vessel I cannot tell; but were she really trusty, could get a fine freight to Liverpool, by advancing a little money. The vessel is this afternoon or to-morrow to be view'd for sale, and if possible (as times are) shall sell; if not, my next adventure will be I know not where, but will depend on what news we have from America. Every one here is in amaze and suspense, and knows not what to do or where to go, as 'tis said the American ports, especially N. England, are shut up. My other letter I wrote by the Sch^r, Capt. R., from Paramaribo, which I sent to him at St. Eustatia, where I suppose he is now.

All the salutation is here (after, how d'ye,) "What news from America?" What Americans are here are mostly of the right side, and many of the Creoles are equally warm for the Cause, and 'tis difficult at all times to keep peace among us. Perhaps I may register here, to secure from seizure, but am at a loss in this as well as every other particular. Expect to take produce, and when you'll see, or hear from, the poor Mississippian again, I know not,—thro' want of safe conveyance. As to my property, let it be risked with myself, and for the other part of the vessel, do as I do, is all I can say, for I know no other way to speak of at present. Am now much in haste, which I hope will excuse my odd kind of letter, and not knowing but it may be intercepted to my harm, excuses my naming the Island, on acc^t of a new Brigⁿ if I get one; but inquire where Jn^o Warner Jun^r sold his cargo last winter, and you'll know where I am.

The Creoles are in some places planting Yams and other ground fruit, in the stead of Canes, and God send they may have nothing else to eat till America is set again at liberty; at least this is my wish for the most of 'em. It is with the most perplexing anxiety that I reflect on the unhappy situa-

tion of America, now in a civil war; but hope that Almighty God will protect the just cause in which we are embarked, and that Americans will live like freemen, or die like heroes. In the Club where I dine on shore, which [is] considerably large and polite, the toast is, "Success to the brave provincial arms;" to which about seven or eight of the company readily chime.

I expect to convey this letter on board Capt. Rogers, who I hear sails from Monserrat, bound for N. York.

My sincere regards to all friends, whom please to inform of me and my circumstances, and tell 'em I want to get home if it could be with safety. Till a prospect of which, must continue abroad, and remain,

Dear Sir, your and their very affectionate friend,

D.

P. S. There are now many American vessels loaded at the French ports with molasses, but dare not sail till further intelligence from America.

2d June, 1775.

We are all well on board.

FROM GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER.

NEW YORK, June 3d, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—I thank you for your letter of the 27th. I have just wrote to the President on the subject of the resolves of that day. I hope Congress will suffer me to take General Wooster's Corps. I shall be too weak to do any thing decisive with the handful that is up there. I wish also for some riflemen.

I have paid particular attention to the object we had in view,* and have had two good hands on board, who did not

* This object was, probably, the capture of the British man-of-war *Asia*, then lying at New York. A fortnight after this, June 18th, Mr. Deane wrote to his wife, that he and Col. Schuyler were consulting about "an-

know of each other. They report much alike, that the strictest attention is paid; barricaded fore and aft, strong nettings, that are capable of being run up half-mast high; matches burning all night, boats ahead and astern, and the utmost vigilance, and now immediately occasioned by a report that something was intended against her. I fear an attempt to possess her would be fruitless, and all circumstances considered I believe destroying her would answer no good purposes, against which they have also taken precaution.

Your troops are a fine body of men. I wish they were in uniform; and *entre nous*, that the good old General was at home or near Boston. Many of your officers would second me in bringing them to a proper discipline, which they much want. Adieu.

I am, Dear Sir, Yours very sincerely,

PH. SCHUYLER.

Could you not get Arnold appointed Deputy Adjut. General in this department? I dare not mention it to Congress, and would not have it known that I had ever hinted it, as it might create jealousy. Be silent therefore, with respect to me.

To Silas Deane Esq^r, in Continental Congress, Philadelphia.

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, June 3d, 1775.

MY DEAR,—Your favor of the 28th is before me, and upbraids the shortness of my two last letters, as I promised you as well as myself they should be longer and more particular. For the greatest pleasure, even in this city where hospitality itself resides, is in receiving agreeable accounts of the happi-

other bold stroke, like the Ticonderoga affair." He tells her to show his letter to no one, and adds: "If our plan (for no mortal as yet but he and myself are privy to it) is adopted and succeeds, you will hear of it." A letter from Capt. Isaac Sears to Mr. Deane, July 8th, apparently refers to he same project.

ness of our absent friends and, in return, to convey the same to them.

The Congress, tho' not numerous, are yet a very unwieldy Body, in their very nature, as no motion or resolution can be started or proposed but what must be subject to much canvassing before it will pass with the unanimous approbation of Thirteen Colonies whose situation and circumstances are various. And Unanimity is the basis on which we mean to rise; and I thank God, it hitherto prevails to a most surprising degree. Besides, our business has run away with us, as I may say, for though the Northern Expedition met with a warm approbation, yet the Resolutions necessary to be formed respecting those posts put by the forming a general plan of operation, which, had it been previously laid, every such manœuvre would of course have been provided for at once.

You have an indifferent opinion of the spirit of some in our Assembly. You know my sentiments of them in general, and no man living, I am bold to say, knows them better; but though caution has ever been and is predominant, yet when matters come to a push, no Assembly or Government has behaved better; and indeed, not only the name of a *Yankee*, but of a Connecticut man in particular, is become very respectable this way, and Governor Trumbull is highly applauded by the Congress, for the letters he has wrote us, and the measures he has pursued as Governor. Indeed now, the Constitution of Connecticut appears in its full lustre, and the whole continent are sensible of its superiority to any other, and must I believe, after all, adopt one similar in each Colony.

John Webb is, I presume, before this, returned, and by him you will see in the first place, what kind of a coat I have got; and in the next place, learn by the letters he carries, and by what we have since dispatched, that the Congress are determined at all events to hold Ticonderoga, and to pursue with vigor every defensive measure.

The militia are constantly out, morning and evening, at exercise, and there are already thirty companies in this city in

uniform, well armed, and have made a most surprising progress. The uniform is worth describing to you; it is a dark brown (like our homespun) coat, faced with red, white, yellow, or buff, according to their different battallions; white vest and breeches, white stockings, half-boots, black knee-garters. Their coat is made short, falling but little below the waistband of the breeches, which shows the size of a man to very great advantage. Their hats are small (as Jesse's little one, almost,) with a red, or white, or black ribbon, according to their battallions, closing in a rose, out of which rises a tuft of fur of deer, made to resemble the Buck's tail as much as possible, of about six or eight inches high. Their cartouch boxes are large, with the word LIBERTY and the number of their battallion, wrote on the outside in large white letters. Thus equipped they make a most elegant appearance, as their cartouch boxes are hung with a broad white wash-leather strap or belt, and their bayonet &c. on the other side, with one of the same; which two, crossing on the shoulders diamond-fashion; gives an agreeable appearance viewed in the rear.

The Light Infantry are in green faced with buff; vests &c. as the others, except the cap, which is a hunter's cap, or jockey. These are, without exception, the genteelest companies I ever saw. They have besides a body of Irregulars, or Riflemen, whose dress it is hard to describe. They take a piece of Ticklenburgh, or tow cloth that is stout, and put it in a tan-vat until it has the shade of a dry or fading leaf; then they make a kind of frock of it, reaching down below the knee, open before, with a large cape. They wrap it round them tight, on a march, and tie it with their belt, in which hangs their tomahawk. Their hats, as the others. They exercise in the neighboring groves firing at marks, and throwing their tomahawks; forming on a sudden into one line, and then, at the word, break their order and take their posts, to hit their mark. West of this city is an open square of near two miles each way, with large groves each side, in which each afternoon they collect, with a vast number of spectators

Next Monday is the day of their general review; after which, I will write you more on the military subject. Mr. Dickinson commands one battallion, Mr. Roberdeaux another; Mr. Cadwallader, (a gentleman of immense fortune,) a third; I know not the others, only that my friend Mifflin is one of the Majors. They have a body of Horse in training, but I have not as yet seen them out.

I dined yesterday with Mr. Cadwallader, whose furniture and house exceeds anything I have seen in this city or elsewhere.

My time is all taken up, for—at Congress at nine,—out no day earlier than four,—then on committees frequently,—leaves me no spare time, and tires me effectually. Well as I love the busy scenes of politics, in your and my friends' opinion, I had rather not be appointed to committees quite so often as I am; for since my being at this Congress, I have had more than my share of such business.

The Colony of Connecticut having their men ready has been of service, and I trust we shall get great share of their expense refunded by the Continent. I have wrote so much on politics that I have neither time nor room to add more, than love to all of both families and a kind remembrance of the neighbors, &c. &c. Am sorry to hear of Mr. Merriam's situation; his loss will long be felt by that people. *Mr. Peircy* is returned from London, and is preaching away here, for the first time last evening. I went to Mrs. Roberdeaux in the afternoon, to drink coffee with the celebrated beauty Miss Keys, of whom I spoke to you formerly. She is really handsome. But Mrs. Roberdeaux is a zealot in religion, which I am far from, at home or abroad. She must needs go to hear Mr. Peircy, at the further end of the city. I told her I had my pocket-book in my pocket and must be excused, and, in plain English, did not approve of evening lectures of any kind. She marked me down as an heretic, and what is almost infinitely worse, a man of no sensibility or taste, that could at any rate decline walking near two miles and sitting a whole evening to hear a man preach, to have the inexpressible

pleasure of being in company with so much beauty. But I shipped Col. Dyer on the voyage, and gave them the slip in the best manner I could. On my return, I fell in company with two young ladies, neither of them handsome, yet so free, merry and diverting, that I must honestly say I had rather spend one hour in their company than four in that where so much formality must be attended to, even were I to gaze at an angel. The ladies I last spoke of are daughters of a very good friend of mine in the city, and are very much like our *Sally*; only they sing well, which she does not, or *will* not.

What a mess have I wrote! I promised you a long letter, and here you have it; a perfect farrago of politics, military, &c. &c. And here let it end, by my wishing you every felicity which human nature is capable of enjoying, and by assuring you, I am

Your most affectionate Husband,

S. D.

[In continuation:]

Tuesday, June 6th, 1775.

After finishing the inclosed on Saturday, and missing the conveyance, I took up my horses and in company with Col. Dyer, Father Cushing and Mr. J. Adams, made an excursion as far as *Wilmington*, in the lower Counties, twenty-eight miles from this place, down the Delaware. Unfortunately, the rains, (which I hope you have had plenty of) prevented our viewing critically as I could wish this charming country, which is hardly exceeded by my beloved standard, *Connecticut River*.

Wilmington is situated on a small river called *Christiarn*, running to the south of it through a rich, beautiful and extensive meadow. This little river is navigable up about two miles above the town to a bridge called the *Christiana*, and empties into the Delaware about three miles below, or to the east of the town, tho' one immense body of [fine] meadows, in which there is scarce a single tree to intercept the view of

every vessel sailing up and down the Delaware, became very wide at this place.

The town is compact; has as many houses as Hartford; descends towards the river Christiern and the meadows east, in much the same manner; is well built with brick; has two Presbyterian, one Quaker, and one Swedish church in it; and the quantities of flour manufactured there would render it a large place, were it not too much in the shade of Philadelphia, to which they ship all that article, at least forty miles by water, to be re-shipped by the merchants there. To give you an idea of the greatness of this business, a gentleman at Wilmington told me, that one coaster carried annually thirty thousand barrels to Philadelphia. How many such they have, I know not; but their Mills are thick as a little town, and large as meeting houses; larger indeed, than most. We returned yesterday, thro' the rain, which has prevented their review for the present.

This instant I have a letter from brother Barns at Albany and from Col. Porter of the 1st instant, by which I hope matters will go right at last. The Congress are now out on Committees, by which I hoped for leisure, but am forced on one of them,* from which I have slipped a minute, to write this morning, having [set] up with them almost the whole of last [night] on business. Hope soon to be able to give the public an agreeable account of our proceedings, and alleviate the fears and distresses of our parsimonious Senators, by exhibiting to them specimens of Continental firmness, union, and spirit, on the present occasion.

I am, my Dear, as ever, Yours, &c.,

S. D.

The affair at Hogg and Noddle Islands, coming on the back of the expedition to Grape Island, gives our people a high character here.

* In Congress, June 3d, "Mr. Washington, Mr. Schuyler, Mr. Deane, Mr. Cushing, and Mr. Hewes," were appointed a Committee "to bring in an estimate of the Money necessary to be raised." This Committee brought in their report, Wednesday, June 7th.—Journal of the Congress.

Wilmington is the spot where the New Haven people landed in 1640, and began a settlement, but were afterward drove off by the Dutch and Swedes. The posterity of the latter are still here, and the River and bridge bear the name of Christiern and Christiana, after the King and Queen of Sweden at that time. I could not help sighing to think what a country we lost at that day, but all is right.

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, 4th June, 1775.

MY DEAR,—I send you the Magazine for June: conclude you have received the preceding ones which I sent on, which must on no account be lent to any one. Let those who want, subscribe for them. Also, Doct^r Smith's Sermon, the Articles of War, and Bradford's paper of this day. There is nothing new stirring. I am, my Dear,

Your most affectionate Husband,
 SILAS DEANE.

FROM COL. CHRISTOPHER LEFFINGWELL.

NORWICH, 4th June, 1775.

DEAR Sir,—This moment, the bearer, Mr. Joseph Howland, tells me he is bound for Philadelphia. I have but a few minutes allowed me to write, but cannot omit improving the opportunity of congratulating you on the success our troops meet with wherever they have been engaged,—at Lexington, at Grape Island, Noddle's and Hog Island,—the particulars of which you will see in the papers. But more especially I congratulate you, on the success of our Northern Expedition. That I look upon as a very important one. I sincerely wish there had been men enough, and properly prepared, to have pushed on to Montreal and Quebeck. For my part, I should not hesitate a moment about the expediency of such

an expedition. If we once had that Province secured, we should soon convince the people of England of the weakness of the ministers' plan. And I imagine it might be completed with great ease, and without much opposition. Sir Guy Johnson and the Tories in that quarter ought immediately to be taken proper care of. They may possibly have it in their power to do much mischief.

By Doct^r Fosdick, who left Cambridge on Friday evening, am informed that the communication to Boston by land is entirely cut off, by a large ditch cut quite thro' the Neck. They most certainly are afraid of an attack from us that way; but I believe our people had no intention of attacking the Town any way, soon. Since the affair at Winnesimmet our people have taken off from Deer Island 500 sheep and fifty or sixty head of cattle,—the Doct^r tells me.

We are still somewhat doubtful about N. York. Wish a few companies of our Connecticut troops were ordered immediately there. They are in much greater fear of *them* than of the Regular troops expected there. If they are indulged in shipping away their flour and provisions from York, it will create such an uneasiness in the other Colonies it will be of bad consequence. I really think it will be absolutely necessary to lay an embargo on all provisions from the Continent.

Mr. Howland is going. I have not time to read what he wrote,—I shall leave that for you. Hope you will be kind enough to write me by him, and let me know what is doing; and believe me, with great esteem, Dear Sir,

Your most Humble Serv^t,

CHRIST^m LEFFINGWELL.

Mr. Howland is a good kind of man,—heartily engaged in the Grand Cause of Liberty.

Silas Deane Esq^r.

FROM BARNABAS DEANE.

WETHERSFIELD, 5th June, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,—I returned last evening from Crownpoint, after a very fatiguing journey. I wrote you from Albany, by Express, which I suppose you have received; in which I gave you an account of affairs at the northward. I suppose by the time you receive this, there will be fifteen hundred men at Crownpoint and Ticonderoga, so that if Gov. Carleton is not very quick in his attack he will be too late to succeed.

I hope the Congress have reconsidered their Resolution of abandoning Ticonderoga; which if they do not, it will expose the whole of our frontiers to the ravages of the Indians and Canadians if they should take up against us.

The south end of lake George is entirely on one side of the route from Canada to our frontiers. All the forces from the county of Albany, which are four or five hundred, are ordered by the Committee to be under the command of Col. Arnold until a Commander in Chief is appointed.

I am, your affectionate Brother,

BAR^S DEANE.

To Silas Deane Esqr, Philadelphia.

On the service of the United Colonies.

TO MRS. DEANE.

Thursday, June 8th, 1775.

MY DEAR,—Capt. Riley arrived this morning, which, with the review, and the arrival of Major *Skene* the elder, from London, has so engaged me that I cannot describe the review, and can only say I wish you had seen it. Capt. Riley, when arrived, will describe it at large. Mr. Bowen, the bearer of this, will call on you, and can describe the situation of affairs here. Major Skene is close prisoner, with the officers arrived with him. I am to have an interview with him this after-

noon by order,* and may write you more on this subject, as I have opportunity and liberty.

The 20th of July will be kept as an universal Fast thro' the Colonies, as I expect you will soon see in the papers. I am, with compliments to all Friends,

My Dear, yours forever,

S. D.

FROM THOMAS MUMFORD.

GROTON, 12th June, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of 24th ultimo, I rec^d under cover from Mr. Hosmer, *only* two days ago; otherways I should have answered it before. Mr. Hosmer writes me he would forward you acco^t of the pay of our officers and soldiers raised this year. According to your desire I now enclose you a sketch of the expenses I apprehend this Colony will sustain this year in defence, and to secure the privileges of America. I am sensible I have omitted many contingencies; that at least our expenses this year will amount to £200,000 L. Money, equal to £150,000 Sterling.

I likewise herewith enclose you copy of the Act of Assembly ordering the necessaries for the campaign, allowance to the Soldiers, &c. &c. The men ordered by the Colony to be raised (*vizt*, 6000) were enlisted in ten days, and every necessary furnished immediately. Upon the whole we have exerted ourselves *in this Colony*, properly, this year.

* Thursday, June 8th. "The Congress being informed that a Major Skene, with some other officers, were arrived last evening in a vessel from London, and were with their papers, now in custody of the Troops of this City; that the said Major Skene had lately been appointed Governour of the Forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to examine, in the presence of said Skene and the Lieutenant, all the papers in their possession. That the Committee consist of Mr. J. Adams, Mr. Deane, and Mr. Mifflin."—Journal of Congress.

You have undoubtedly been informed, Mr. Sam^l Webb is appointed a Lieut^r under Capt. Chester.

Our Militia have improved since last fall vastly to exceed my expectation, and I really believe many of them would distinguish themselves were they called into action.

As you have information from every quarter, I am unable to give you any that is interesting, yet must let you know that every Resolution your August Body publishes, is eagerly pursued by all denominations, this way. We look up to the great Council (of which you are a member) for direction in our future conduct; and while you plan, we shall not fail to execute. May He that governs the universe assist you with His Divine Presence, and make you instruments of saving America from Slavery, and continuing to us our invaluable privileges! I will not attempt to point out for you the terms for a reconciliation with Great Britain, but I hope and trust, as they did not accept of the generous terms proposed by the Congress last year, that you will now insist on many additional privileges to be secured to America.

As gunpowder is a capital article and like to be very scarce with us, I should like to see the Congress recommend the manufacture of it in this country. We are sure Nitre can be collected here in large quantities, and I believe Sulphur too. If supplies from abroad fail us, we must depend on cultivating what nature has furnished us with. It does now appear that the controversy between Great Britain and us *Americans* will not be settled for some time, and I would choose to be prepared for the worst. I am sure we cannot be more completely enslaved than by accepting the terms Great Britain has proposed to us.

Can you learn what New York is doing? (I doubt, nothing.) I own I am jealous of them. I think it time to speak out our full sentiments: those that are not for us *now*, surely must be against us. It will be time soon to distinguish the true patriots from the Junto of Ministerial Slavery, and put a mark on the latter, that they may be treated, *if possible*, equal to their deserts.

I have wrote you largely and repeatedly since you left here. When you can spare time, I should like a return of that civility. We are much pleased this way to find the Congress have appointed the Honorable John Hancock their president, in the absence of Mr. Randolph. Your conduct plainly says you will appoint a person for your president that is declared by Administration to be one of the greatest Rebels in America. Perhaps now he is at your head, the ministry will negotiate. You stand forth nobly.

My best wishes and prayers attend you all, and none more than Col. Hancock and Mr. Sam^l Adams. Tell them they are continually in my mind, and I really respect and reverence you all. May God Almighty protect and preserve you, as instruments to save this Bleeding Land from the cruel hands of Tyranny and Oppression, and continue you a rich blessing to these American Colonies!

No more at present on politicks. I soon expect Capt. Mumford to arrive at Virginia. He will return from there by land, and call on you in his way home. If you would write him (Messrs. Whartons will inform you how to direct for him,) and let him know of any resolutions you may have come into respecting trade, you will much oblige him and me. We expect two cargoes of molasses to arrive then, and if trade stops soon, *as I expect*, it will be in demand all over America, and I shall advise him not to sell at present, but store it. I have several vessels at home; have thoughts of fitting out one or two. Please inform me if you apprehend the Congress will resolve to stop exports before the time prefixed last year (*viz.* the 10th of September next), as you know we export horses chiefly, and to have them on hand will be chargeable.

I shall write you again as occasion offers; let this suffice for the present, and believe me, Dear Sir,

Your sincere and affect^e

THO^s MUMFORD.

P. S. Remember gun-powder. We must have it at all events. I cannot rest easy while it is wanted.

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, June 16th, 1775.

MY DEAR,—I received your's of the 11th inst, and by it find you had not had my last long and particular letter of my tour to Wilmington, of the review, &c. This when received will atone for my short letter, of which I allow you to take notice, or even to complain; tho' did you know my situation, you would rather wonder that I can write at all. The history of this day is,—rose at five, breakfasted and dressed by seven; at half past, met a Committee in the State House on business, and never left the house until past five this afternoon, when I went to dine with a stomach, or appetite—so, so: immediately after which, other business called, but your letter and other packets arriving, I have got some excuse, and am now writing this at twelve at night. Let this be my apology *to you*, but do not mention it in public, as they may think I am making an apology for wages and expenses extra.

Gen' Washington will be with you soon; elected to that high office by the unanimous voice of all America. I have been with him for a great part of the last forty-eight hours, in Congress and Committee, and the more I am acquainted with, the more I esteem him. He promises me to call, and if it happen favorably, to spend one night with you. I wish to cultivate this gentleman's acquaintance and regard, not from any sinister views, but from the great esteem I have of his virtues, which do not shine in the view of the world, by reason of his great modesty, but when discovered by the discerning eye, shine proportionably brighter. I know you will receive him as my friend, and what is more—ininitely more—his Country's friend; who, sacrificing private fortune, independent ease, and every domestic pleasure, sets off at his Country's call, to exert himself in her defence, without so much as returning to bid adieu to a fond partner and family. Let our Youth look up to this man as a pattern to form themselves by; who unites the bravery of the soldier with the most consummate modesty and virtue. I will say no more.

You will hear of other regulations soon; I hope to satisfaction. I know you will shew this letter to friends; remember my former caution, and let no *extracts* escape you. By the General, I shall write more particulars. You speak of our adjourning. You must know "*This is an event most devoutly to be wished for,*" on some acc^{ts}, by me; but what am I? Nothing to the great Whole, and I fear the consequences of an adjournment, on more grounds than I incline to mention. The subject is delicate, and on it am silent; but do believe that an adjournment, if any take place, will undoubtedly be for Hartford.

Mr. Lynch of South Carolina desires me this day to engage him lodgings for himself, lady and daughter, near Hartford, conditionally. I told him I would procure him an house in Wethersfield, which would be more agreeable to him, if we went that way. The members talk more and more every day of a removal to Connecticut. Should it take place, will give timely notice for due preparation in Hartford and Wethersfield. Probable it is to me, and I think it necessary, and shall in due time move it, that a part of the Congress remove to Hartford, as a Committee of the whole, to direct and superintend the movements.

Should a number of the Riflemen described in my last pass you in their way for Boston, do not be affrighted. I see that the Wethersfield Company, under Capt. Chester, appeared with honor on a recent occasion. This has made me an inch taller, though I am prouder, as I may say, of Connecticut than I dare express, not a Colony on the continent standing in higher estimation among the Colonies.

Politics engross everything; private business is at an end, in comparison. Shall give you a line before the General sets off, if possible; if not, he will notice you of his approach, but he is a man of no ceremony or parade.

Remember me to Doctr Fairnsworth, Capt. Goodrich, &c. &c., and all the world, if they think of me; particularly to the families of both houses. The sheet is out, and the watchman cries past one o'clock.

I am, Yours affectionately,

S. D.

TO MRS. DEANE.

[PHILADELPHIA,] June 18th, 1775.

MY DEAR,—I wrote you the other day a short letter, after receiving your's of the 11th inst, in which referr'd you to a long one, date forgot, giving an acct of my tour to Wilmington, and a description of the dress of the troops here, the review, &c. &c. ; or rather I referred you to Capt. Riley, who was present at it, for a volume would not describe it at large, with the queer figures of mortality which any public occasion here exhibits. You have often beheld a German countenance, and the lower order or Western Irish one. These made up so much the greater part of the spectators, that a lady of but tolerable beauty shone like a star in the midst of universal gloom surrounding.

General Washington sets out on Thursday this week. I have a strong temptation to accompany him quite to the Camp, for I am more in danger of death here (if it is an evil to be dreaded) than in an ordinary battle. Yesterday I was at Committee* in State House, at six o'clock ; took one dish of coffee, at Friend Marshall's ; the Congress opened at ten ; and I never left the House until five in the afternoon. Eleven hours at a sitting is too much for my constitution. It would be hard enough to attend the Congress hours, but Committees take up all my spare time.

The heat is extreme at present. This morning (Sunday) I ordered up my horses, and *Col. Schuyler* and I rode out as far as the Falls at Schuylkill, five miles, and breakfasted. This proved a cordial to me, but politics still attended, for our ride was to consult a plan we are forming for another bold stroke like the Ticonderoga affair, and no sooner had we arrived than calling for pen ink and paper, we fell to planning and scribbling, and cut out so much work that on our return

* June 14th. "Resolved, That Mr. Washington, Mr. Schuyler, Mr. Deane, Mr. Cushing, and Mr. Hewes, be a Committee to bring in a draught of Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Army."—*Journal of Congress.*

it has taken me all day to complete it, which we have just now done, and sent off our dispatches 2 o'clock P. M.* This gentleman is the soul of Albany county, and tho' he may have faults, he is sincere, well bred, and resolute, and I think a valuable acquaintance. Shew this letter to no mortal. If our plan (for no mortal as yet but he and myself are privy to it,) is adopted and succeeds, you will hear of it ; if it fail, I will tell you of it hereafter.

Since the affair at *Ticonderoga*, (which is become my nickname, at times,) people here, members of the Congress and others, have unhappily and erroneously thought me a schemer ; this has brought on me rather more than my share of business, out doors at least, in the Committee way. I find however that he that has the least to do in public affairs, stands the fairest chance for happiness.

If General Washington set out on Thursday, he will be in New York early on Saturday, where affairs will doubtless detain him until Monday, or Tuesday, and in that case he will be with you on the Friday following. He is no lover of parade, so do not put yourself in distress. If it happen conveniently, he will spend one night with you ; if not, just call, and go on. Should he spend a night, his retinue will, doubtless, the chief of them go on to Hartford.

As to an adjournment, it is still a matter of doubt. I hear Mr. Henshaw is in town ; may write again by him. Tell Mr. Hosmer I received his favor of the 6th, last evening, and will write to him by Henshaw. May add to this ; if not, farewell until the next opportunity ; not one of which have I let slip, since my leaving home.

I am, my Dear, Yours,

S. D.

P. S. Love to all. Tell J. Webb there is no [tinn?] in the city.

Brother Barn^s has not answered my last ; remember me to him. Brother Barz^a has forgot to write ; and John, I suppose, understands French only, and cannot write. Sister

* See note on page 251, ante.

Hannah, Sally, dear Jesse &c. are before me, as are all my friends, at this silent hour more forcibly; tho' never absent from me, but constantly the objects of my warmest wishes.

Don't forget brother Buck, nor any of the family.

Saturday morning, 5 o'clock. After a few hours restless tossing on my bed, I am knocked up by Col. Schuyler, to go on business again; and having left my letter unclosed, take up my pen just to tell you that Mr. Hosmer and some others owe me a letter; and that our people [at the] Camp are not careful to write us the particulars of their situation. If their whole attention is taken up in guarding against the enemy, I rejoice; for they may depend they have an Argus to deal with, in General Burgoyne.

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, June 22d, 1775.

MY DEAR,—This will be handed you by his Excellency General Washington,* in company with General Lee, and retinue. Should they lodge a night in Wethersfield, you will accommodate their horses, servants, &c., in the best manner at the taverns, and their retinue will likely go on to Hartford.

We this moment received advice of a battle at Bunker's Hill, but the account is very confused. It is said to have happened on Saturday last, and the news arrived here this morning.

I have wrote you so lately and so particularly [that] I have nothing in the small way to add, and on business, I dare not think other than is before me. May God preserve us!

I am, my Dear, Yours &c.,

S. DEANE.

* In Congress, June 21st, 1775. "Mr. Deane, Mr. Henry, Mr. J. Rutledge, Mr. S. Adams, and Mr. Lee," appointed a Committee, to take into consideration sundry queries presented by Gen. Washington to the Congress, and to report their opinion with regard to the answers proper to be given. Their Report was made, June 22d.—Journal of Congress.

Mr. Mifflin, of whom I have often spoke, is a Major in the militia here, and is Aid-de-camp as I hear to the General. He is my particular friend, and I am happy in the thought that you will be able to return some of the many civilities I have received from him in this city. If ever there was true spirit and patriotism in man, he possesses them.

Inclosed is more of North Carolina composition. I gave your compliments to them, and told them of your opinion of *Cesar*, at which we laughed very heartily.

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, June 23d, 1775.

MY DEAR,—I parted with Gen. Washington yesterday, at about six miles from this city, and conclude before you receive this you will have had the pleasure of waiting on him. On last evening Dr. Smith preached a sermon to the Second Battalion of this city, and a vast concourse of people. I went, as I knew the Doctor's ability, though you know I had none of his principles, and was most agreeably entertained with a discourse of about thirty minutes, from Joshua 20th & "The Lord he is God of Gods," &c.* It will appear in print; therefore will say no more than this,—it exceeded in style and sentiment anything I ever heard on the subject. As the Doctor has been called an High Churchman, and one that had a Bishopric in expectation, I hope his thus publicly sounding the pulpit alarm on the subject of Liberty will be an example to the church clergy elsewhere, and bring them off from the line of conduct which they have hitherto ingloriously pursued. You will write me in your next, the reception which the Gentlemen met with in Connecticut, and what your opinion is of them. I may not add, as the post waits.

I am your most affectionate husband,

S. DEANE.

* Joshua' xxii, 22 ?

Monday, June 25th. I missed the opportunity of sending the above. We are at present in the most uneasy of all situations, that of suspense. News of a battle is arrived, but the particulars are very confused. I hear Capt. Chester was in the hottest part of it,* and lost three men. Write me I pray you all the particulars.

Tuesday morning. Nothing further has arrived. Gen. Sullivan sets off this day for the army. He is appointed a Brigadier, and is of New Hampshire. My last letter from you was of the 10th inst, and it is now the 26th. My compliments to all friends. If my brother fits out his vessel at all, he cannot make too great dispatch.

FROM BARNABAS DEANE.

WETHERSFIELD, 23d June, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,—I wrote you a long letter from Albany, and one since I returned, but have had no answer to either of them. Yours to Mrs. Deane, p^r Mr. Bradford, she rec^d yesterday. The news of Mr. Washington's being appointed Commander in Chief of our forces gives great satisfaction this way. Our army stood in great need of a Head. I am afraid business has suffered for want of an able General.

* A letter from Capt. John Chester, written from the Camp at Cambridge, July 22d, gives a general account of the battle, and a more particular one of "his own concern in it, with that of his company." This letter was first printed (from the original, in the editor's possession,) by Mr. Frothingham, in the Appendix to his "History of the Siege of Boston," pp. 389-391.

In the *Courant* of July 31st, "A friend to Truth" calls attention to the distinguished services of "Major John Chester of Wethersfield, now Captain of a Company in General Spencer's Regiment, and Lieut. Samuel Webb, who marched up to the lines with their men, and re-inforced the troops, [and who] by their undaunted behaviour, timely and vigorous assistance, it is universally agreed, are justly entitled to the grateful acknowledgments of their Country."

I make no doubt you have heard of Gen. Gage's burning Charlestown, and of his attack of our forces on Bunker Hill, and of the loss of the good Dr. Warren, who fell in the fight. Our Company from Wethersfield was in the fight, and lost four men killed and two or three slightly wounded. The killed were Gershom Smith, Willson Rowlandson, — Sullivan,* and — Fox of Glastenbury. I shall not attempt to give you a particular account of the engagement which I doubt not but you hear before this time, as it was on Saturday last. The King's troops were in possession of Bunker's Hill, when the last accounts left it. They have brought over their horses, and are feeding them in the lots in Charlestown. It is said that the loss fell the heaviest on the King's troops, notwithstanding their gaining the ground of us. Our men are in high spirits, and wish for their coming out into the country. The alarm brought down such numbers of men to Cambridge, that there were orders sent to stop them on the road.

We are in daily expectation of hearing of another battle. The last news was that they kept up a continual fire from the men of war and the batteries, and of their throwing bombs into Roxbury from the Neck. The poor wretched inhabitants of Boston, Charlestown, and Roxbury are in a cruel situation. Some of them have seen their houses in flames, and the others are in daily expectation of meeting the same fate. Oh, the horrors of Civil War!

You have likely seen Gen. Gage's proclamation or manifesto, which is a new thing under the sun, and a foolish one. We have no domestic news. Gov^r Trumbull has sent to all the towns in the Colony, to have returns made of all the arms fit for service, and of the ammunition that each private man has, as well as the town stocks. I conclude Mrs. Deane and Mr. Webb will write you by this opportunity. Capt. Riley got

* Lawrence Sullivan, of Wethersfield, was taken prisoner, not killed. His name appears in the list of prisoners confined in Boston jail, in September, 1775, "for no other crime than that of being friends of their Country."—*Conn. Courant*, Sept. 18th.

home yesterday. Mr. Talmadge and several others are gone to the camp at Roxbury.

We have a new Company formed in this town, which comes on very fast in exercising. They are made up of seamen and persons who were excused from the standing Militia.

They have raised a Company in Middletown of old men;* Major [] is their Captain. I shall be glad of a line from you, whenever you can spare an hour to write.

I am your affectionate brother,

BAR^S DEANE.

FROM GURDON SALTONSTALL.

NEW LONDON, June 26th, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Inclosed you have Mr. Sam. B. Webb's letter and the Essex Gazette, which will give you the most particular account that we have yet received of the famous engagement at Bunker's Hill, the 17th instant; though doubtless you'll receive a more accurate narrative of the facts, before this reaches you. All circumstances considered, it appears to me that the Provincial troops made as gallant a defence as ever was known. Major Sheriff is among the dead.

Yesterday morning Capt. Gale's Company (the last of Col. Parson's Regiment) marched for Cambridge. On Saturday last arrived here Capt. Rathbone (of this town) from Machias, who was there, very lately, robbed of his boom and gaff, by a Schooner cutter cruising on that coast. Thereupon the people manned two vessels, the property of Mr. Jones, a reputed tory, one with 70, the other 20 men, pursued the cutter, ran her aboard, and, after an engagement in which the Captain of the cutter and one other person was killed, and six missing, with the loss of two men on the Provincial side, they made prize of her, and carried said schooner into port.

* The *Courant* of August 7th gives some account of this Middletown Company of "respectable senior gentlemen." "Their drummer is upwards of 80 years of age, and as much engaged, and alert, as any young lad."

General Gage has turned the lame and miserable out of the work and alms-house in Boston and drove them in a flock over the Neck, to make room for his wounded, which are doubtless very numerous.

The state of the Post Office is in N. London, at present, without any regularity. For some weeks the N. Y. and N. H. riders changed their mails with me, and seemed desirous that I should take pay for the letters for their benefit, which I declined, supposing as this Colony had, so the other Colonies would, maintain news-carriers at their own expense, to carry all newspapers and letters free, until the Continental Congress took up the matter. Mr. Wm. Goddard being in town about three weeks since, I conclude has influenced said posts to carry and exchange their mails at my son Roswell's, for the purpose of getting pay for letters as aforesaid. My son mentioned the matter to me instantly after Mr. Goddard left N. L. on his way to N. York, and I endeavored to convince him of the impropriety of his meddling in the case, under Mr. Goddard, as I could not learn he was authorized by any person whatever. The Committee of Correspondence in this town was not consulted in the case, nor did Mr. Goddard mention the matter to me. The N. Y. post tells me Mr. Holt is connected with Mr. Goddard, and the last mentioned is to be Postmaster General for Philadelphia, but admits that Mr. Hazard is appointed by the Committee Postmaster at N. Y., and that there is a difference between him and Mr. Holt touching the premises. As matters are now conducted, the news-carrier from hence to N. H. doesn't by any means answer the design of the Colony, and that you may have some knowledge of the matter, I inclose you my letters to Mr. Burr and the Act of Assembly in the case.

Whether this information may be of any public service or not, cannot say; if not, all the trouble you have will be only reading it.

We are informed that Washington, as Generalissimo of the forces, is on this side N. York, with his ten Comp^s of Riflemen, marching for Cambridge, and that thirteen hundred

barrels of powder is arrived at N. York and two other vessels with powder hourly expected there ; and that it is much wanted at our camps.

I am, with esteem, your humble servt,

G. SALTONSTALL.

Silas Deane Esqr.

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, June 29th, 1775.

MY DEAR,—I hope before this you have seen General Washington and friends, on their way, in health and spirit.* The bearer of this is General Gates of Virginia, a gentleman of great experience in war, and who leaves an affluent and independent situation, for the service of these Colonies. If he call on you, you will receive him with the respect due to his character. He is appointed Adjutant-General, to rank as Brigadier-General.

I have no time to write Mr. Webb a particular letter ; wrote him last night on business ; my respects to him and the whole of both families. You will introduce him to the General, and ask him to give him directions on the road, and assist as far as possible in forwarding his journey.

I am, my dear, yours,

S. DEANE.

The General's name is *Horatio Gates*, an Englishman ; served as a Major, in the regular army, through the last war.

Anecdote. The Riflemen are raising fast. A commission is given to one *Mr. Cresop* to command, from Virginia. He being absent when it arrived, his father, the brave old *Colonel*

* "On Friday [June 30th,] passed through this Town for the Camp at Charlestown, His Excellency General Washington, appointed by the Hon. Continental Congress, Commander-in-Chief of all the Provincial Troops in North America. He was accompanied by General Lee, and a number of other gentlemen."—*Conn. Courant*, July 3d.

Cresop, now ninety-two years of age, took the command, and determines to join the army at their head, if his son should not arrive in season. I saw a letter from him this morning, which exceeded anything I ever read. I will if possible get a copy.

Remember my caution as to my letters.

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, July 1st, 1775.

MY DEAR,—I wrote you yesterday by Gen. Gates, on his way to join the army. Received yours of the 26th inst, but have not time to be particular, as the bearer, Major Morgan, is in haste to join the army, only that Col. Schuyler has left us to take command of the forces in New York Government, and whether our scheme* will be carried into execution or not is at present uncertain; on this rely, I shall ever be mindful of you, my friends, and my country, and labor to serve them.

Doct^r Franklin is with us, but he is not a speaker, tho' we have I think his hearty approbation and assent to every measure. But, my dear, times like this call up genius which slept before, and stimulate it in action to a degree that eclipses what might before have been fixed as a standard. The war will not last seven years, if I have any judgment in matters; and as to powder, I hope the measures we are taking will procure a supply; but I do not approve of wasting it on batteries, ships, &c., however much I approve of and applaud the bravery of our men. I hope General Washington answered the character I gave him; I only wish he had a better regulated and provided army to command, but hope for the best; if we can worry them thro' this campaign, resources will be procured or relief obtained. I have the fullest assurance that these Colonies will rise triumphant, and shine to the latest posterity,

* See note on pages 251, 252, ante; and Capt. Isaac Sears's letter of July 8th, page 278.

tho' trying scenes are before us, which our wise Father is in mercy exercising us with at this day. Towns wrapt in flames, garments rolled in blood, the fields of the husbandman loaded with military preparation and parade, and parents, wives, children, in anxious and soul-torturing expectation for, or weeping over, the fate of their dear connections,—these are scenes distressing, but they are necessary for the good of the whole, and it is for us to encounter them with cheerfulness and alacrity. For my own part, I believe the cabinet will be my station, but am equally free to take the field, if occasion call for me.

Parson Jarvis may be expected to speak what he wishes for, but thank God he and other wretches of his stamp will be disappointed; the Congress unanimously resolving to stand by the General, with their lives and fortunes.

You must tell J. Webb I cannot write him: I sent him four dozen gun locks yesterday, and can send him more if he wants. The riflèmen are, part of them, on their march, and I wish our troops would imitate their uniform, as it is cheap and light.

I am, with love to all of both families and a kind remembrance of neighbors,

Your most affectionate Husband,

S. DEANE.

Tell my brother to get his vessel away as quick as possible, somewhere or other, if he sends her at all; this is what the merch^{ts} are doing here. Whether the ports will be stopped before September is quite uncertain, but his vessel can do no good here, unless he make a privateer of her; and indeed I hope to see vessels of war on our side soon.

FROM THOMAS MUMFORD.

WETHERSFIELD, 2d July, 1775.

MY DEAR SIR,—I came over here last evening from Hartford, to keep Sabbath with your good lady and Col. Salton-

stall. The Col. came here in hopes to have seen General Washington, &c., but he was a few hours too late.

Our General Assembly met yesterday at Hartford, by special direction of his Honor our Governor. The occasion of our being so suddenly called is the earnest solicitation of the Congress of the Massachusetts Bay, desiring an immediate augmentation of our Troops to be sent to their assistance, to make the army near Boston more formidable than at present; indeed they think we ought to have thirty thousand men at the two camps near Cambridge and Roxbury, as it evidently appears General Gage is collecting his whole force at Boston. For my own part, I thought Connecticut had this year exerted herself so nobly, that nothing more could have been expected or desired; however, I find I was mistaken, and that we are as willing as ever to afford further aid and assistance to our brethren and the general cause. I find the colonies this way *all* depend much on Connecticut; I hope and depend they will not be disappointed.

In the present Assembly are at least forty new members, chiefly warm Sons of Liberty. After the Assembly met yesterday, they considered the expediency of augmenting our army near Boston, and generally agree it is necessary. Some thought half our troops now stationed at New York might be removed without prejudice to the general cause, but as the Honorable Continental Congress have resolved them necessary there, we are unwilling to counteract their Resolution, which I have the satisfaction to find no one *with us* attempts to call in question; indeed we have almost got to believe you can scarce err. I trust these sentiments *of ours* will not relax your vigilance in the public cause.

We appointed a committee to take up the matter of raising more troops, and which I expect will report in the morning, and I make no doubt we shall raise them.* Two thousand is

* Two regiments were ordered to be raised (1400 men,) for five months' service; and Charles Webb and Jedediah Huntington were appointed Colonels. See the Proceeding of this Session, in American Archives, 4 Ser., vol. ii., cols. 1579-1590.

talked of. I wish the Congress was where we could consult them on the expediency of keeping those two regiments at New York. I should think one or both of them might be removed to headquarters; and if troops were still necessary in New York, they might be ordered from the Jerseys, or as you may judge best. We find some disadvantage in the husbandry, by sending off too many of the laborers.

All true friends to liberty rejoice at your appointment of general officers.

I sent you some time ago, *as desired*, the best estimate I could make of the expense of raising the six thousand men &c., which I hope you received. Am glad to find you was furnished with another from the Pay Table, which I imagine was much more correct than mine. Remember, if we raise more men (which I conclude we shall,) to add their expense to the former estimate.

I promised myself before this to have had a circumstantial letter from you, but knowing you have an arduous task I readily excuse it, but still promise myself that pleasure when you can find a leisure hour. I have the satisfaction to find Mrs. Deane better in health than when you left here. May God Almighty continue her a comfort to you, and you a blessing to us all! This is the sincere and hearty desire of him who is unfeignedly

Your real and affectionate friend,

THO^s MUMFORD.

Silas Deane Esqr.

FROM CAPT. ISAAC SEARS.

NEW YORK, July 8th, 1775.

MR. SILAS DEANE. SIR,—I received your favor of the 3d instant, and am sorry to inform you that the scheme will not take with Captⁿ McDougal: I did not believe it would when you mentioned it to me. General Schuyler went to Albany soon after I got here; I had some talk with him on the sub-

ject; he said he did not think it could be carried into execution. I am not of his opinion, and am looking for the *Coun-tryman*, which is difficult to find, and if I can get such a person shall communicate the secret to other persons and try to put it into execution.

Governor Tryon has called the Council, but can't learn that any business was done. Our Mayor and Corporation had prepared an address for him; last Monday, he was served with a copy. On Wednesday night about 11 o'clock I heard of it, and went immediately to the Mayor and desired him not to address Mr. Tryon as Governor of this Province, until the sense of the Provincial Congress was known. The next day I brought it before our Board, and with hard labor by the Whigs in Congress we got an order passed to the Corporation not to address him; which has given great uneasiness among the Tories, but they are under, and dare not say much. God keep them so!

Mr. Tryon has been at General Wooster's camp, and has privately inquired, what state they were in; whether they had their muskets in good order; how many men, &c. This is a fact. I wish he could be taken off. He is a subtle man and may do us great harm when he has strength; and that may not be long, for we have certain accounts of four more Regiments coming from Ireland soon. He would [have] been taken off a few nights ago, had not General Schuyler told me he had orders from the Continental Congress not to touch his person unless he took some steps as to government. He has detained the packet; why will not the Continental Congress order all his papers searched? Our Congress will not do it. Good God! we are all asleep, and I fear shall be so until our hands are tied here.

General Wooster is within about one mile and a half of this city, and well provided; soldiers in good health. We have had no powder in yet, but every day expect it. I believe the Kingfisher is gone in search. She sailed yesterday, to cruise off Long Island, (I wish I had the four briggs under command,) but I hope will not come across our powder vessels.

Eight hundred barrels has certainly arrived at New London. We are enlisting men fast ; I believe our companies will soon be full.

I hope you will give close attention to the naval force. I want to be at it much, and shall be glad to hear about that matter soon.

I am, Sir, with due regard,
Your most ob^{at} humble serv^t,
ISAAC SEARS.

TO MRS. DEANE.

Saturday, July 8th, 1775.

MY DEAR,—I have wrote you many letters. My last was by Gov. Skene, who set off yesterday for Wethersfield, who carried letters from me. His companion, *Lunday*, is a specious, stupid, profligate fellow.* I caution you and my friends against taking any particular notice of him. His finances are, as I understand, as low as his character. J. Webb &c. ought to take care of him, in the credit way.

You ask when I return. This is a hard question. If we do not adjourn, I see no prospect of returning before October. If we agree to adjourn, you may expect me in three weeks or thereabouts. I sent you one of Dr. Smith's sermons ; had the pleasure last evening of hearing my favorite *Duché*, on the same subject, preached to Col. Dickinson's (the *Farmer*) Regiment, and a vast concourse of people. It will be published ; so need not say anything more, than that you will never, by reading, have the same idea of it as those who heard it.

Your letter of the 3d is now come to hand, and I find your opinion of the Generals and Mr. Mifflin agrees with mine. The latter is greatly missed in this city, as he was the soul of everything either civil or military here ; not that the military

* The Congress, July 5th, "resolved, that Mr. Lundy be sent under guard, along with Governour Skene, to Hartford, in Connecticut, there to be confined in the same manner as is ordered with respect to Governour Skene, until further orders from this Congress."—Journal.

fails, but it does not increase as it would under his animating and indefatigable endeavors.

Pray why is Barzillai gone to the camp? Does Barna^s intend his Brig^a for sea? I advised him to make dispatch, and shall write him again by this post.

The Congress are in good health, notwithstanding their confinement to business without the least intermission. If we tarry until fall, nothing but your want of health will, I trust, prevent your seeing this city and returning with me.

I am, my dear, yours,

S. D.

I think it a pity that Middletown was disappointed. I gave the General letters to Mr. Hosmer, but I wish his Excellency had wholly missed Hartford, since they exerted themselves so faintly to wait on him. I hope Jos. Webb's going to camp with the General will enable him to procure a berth for Samuel Webb, which I recommended him to; an honorable though a dangerous one, but I think that must now be his course of life for the future.

[In continuation:]

Sunday, July 9th, 1775.

MY DEAR,—Yesterday I wrote, or rather blotted the inclosed, at table in the Congress, which send you without apology. Mr. Wykoff invited me in the morning to take a ride with him, after Congress, on horseback, into the Jerseys. The Congress held until after five o'clock; returning to my lodgings found him, with horses ready; ate an hasty dinner, and mounted. Five miles of our road lay through the rich and beautiful meadows of this town, when we crossed the Delaware to the *city* of Gloucester, (ten degrees inferior to Rocky-Hill, but all are cities here, that have corporate privileges;) thence six miles to Woodbury, where night overtook us, or met us, for all was a wood beyond. Here a Company of one hundred had been closing the labor of the week with military exercise, in their rifle dress, and were now washing away the remembrance

of their fatigue at the tavern. Woodbury affords but one tavern, even where every man may have a license for asking and forty shillings per annum.

My friend meeting the man he had business with there, we agreed to ride four miles further and lodge with him. He conducted us through a wood not unlike *Suffield* plain, until we arrived at his mansion, on the brink of a creek and good meadow. He most hospitably called up his wife, who, making no apology, filled her pan with bacon and eggs, put a skillet of chocolate on the fire, and prepared for supper, while he made a bowl of toddy. Our supper was of the above preparation, with cucumbers, butter, and cheese. I drank a bowl of chocolate, while my delicate citizen plied the bacon and eggs close,—which I avoided, knowing by experience the effects on my head. We lodged together, and in the morning, (Sunday,) had coffee, cucumbers, and gammon, and egg rum; all which, complaisance as well as hunger urged us to partake of. After breakfast we walked out to view his farm. He milks upwards of twenty cows; has a fine English horse, called *Liberty*, (to which *Wildair* is not equal,) which cost him more than two hundred pounds, though the whole furniture of his house would be a bad bargain at thirty pounds.

We set out at about nine o'clock, and returned. The country here, were it not for now and then a creek which has a little meadow on its bank, would be no great way superior to *Suffield Plains*. It bears good rye, but cannot support wheat. I am thus particular to give you some idea of the country adjacent on every side; in doing of which I must not forget my ride to *German Town*, five miles from hence, famous for stocking manufacture. I cannot describe pompous villas or elegant gardens where there are none, unless I meant a romance, and as I mean only to divert you with honest chat, I describe the country as it is. Between this city and *German Town* there is not one elegant seat, and the greatest improvement on Nature is that on their groves, owing by no means to luxury, but to penury and want. The growth is red oak, interspersed with black walnut, &c. The poor are allowed to cut up the brush and trim the lower limbs; this leaves the groves in the most

beautiful order you can imagine. All is clean on the ground; removing every shrub and bush, leaves the wind free play to sweep the floor, and the soil, by no means luxuriant, shooting up the trees rather *sparingly*, so much grass starts as to give a pale green carpet; while the trees are trimmed up ten to fifteen feet on their trunks, and give the eye a prospect far into the grove, and the footman or horseman free access. This is the state of the groves near this city,—by a stranger supposed to be natural entirely, which (this trimming and gleaning of the poor excepted,) is really the case. I am the more particular on this, as the London or Gentleman's Magazine mentions this appearance of their groves as the simple effect of nature, in which opinion I joined, until ocular demonstration convinced me of the contrary.

German Town consists of one street, built entirely of rough stone, two miles nearly in length; and the houses correspond to the appearance of the inhabitants, rough children of nature, and German nature too. I cannot add on this subject: a handsome lady might be shown here as a monster, and had the women (or what they call such,) any spirit, they would hunt her down as a phenomenon in nature, portending evil to society. Satire apart, in sober truth, I can give you no description but what must beggar the real appearance of the countrywomen near this city. Yet my landlady in the Jersies, by her hospitality and simplicity (for she was young and a Quaker,) made me almost think her handsome; though I found that her husband putting on regimentals and exercising, grieved her conscience not a little.

New England, with all its foibles, must be the glory and defence of America, and the cry here is, Connecticut forever, so high has the universally applauded conduct of our Governor, and the brave intrepidity of old Gen. Putnam and his troops, raised our Colony in the estimation of the whole continent. I am sorry I did not know of Col. Read going on, or I should have mentioned him to you most particularly, as he is a gentleman of a most amiable character in private and public life, and from whom I have received every mark of civility; but I supposed him only going on to New York.

FROM CAPT. ISAAC SEARS.

NEW HAVEN, July 10th, 1775.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am now to inform you that there is a 20 gun ship and two tenders in the Sound. They have begun their work, that is, to intercept the trade of our vessels. Yesterday they run a vessel ashore off Seabrook, which had duck, &c. on board, but [this] was hove overboard before the Barges boarded her. She is now south from this harbor. Capt. Trobrige told me that a man of character and truth told him, that he saw a brigantine off Watch Hill engage one of the sloops of war, and it appeared the brigg got the better till she lost her boom; they then parted, and the sloop of war got into Newport, and could but just keep above water, and was obliged to heave down immediately. I think it shows the necessity of a small squadron to be fitted out immediately. The adjournment of the Congress has given me an opportunity to be here.

I am, with esteem,

ISAAC SEARS.

[Addressed:] To Silas Dean, Esq., at Philadelphia.

FROM SAMUEL B. WEBB.

CAMBRIDGE, June 11th,* 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Since the close of my other letter, I find the Express is like to be detained half an hour. I had entirely

* So in the original,—‘June,’ having been written, by a slip of the pen, for ‘July.’ The reference to Burgoyne’s letter to Lee, (July 8th,) which was answered, July 11th,—fixes the date, nearly. It was probably sent by the Express messenger who carried to the Congress Gen. Washington’s letter of June 10th, enclosing a General Return of the Army, &c. (Am. Archives, 4th Ser., ii. 1624–30.)

An “Extract of a letter from Wethersfield, to a gentleman in Philadelphia, dated June 22, 1775,” giving some account of the battle, “gathered by letters from the camp,” is printed in Am. Archives, 4th S., ii. 1060. The writer was, probably, *Joseph* Webb, brother of Samuel B. He says: “Captain Chester writes me, that before it was possible for him to get there, the battle had begun in earnest,” &c.: “Chester and my brother were both in the engagement:” “My brother says we were obliged to retreat to Prospect Hill,” &c.

forgot to mention [to] you the conduct of Gen. Spencer,—which I doubt not you'll hear from several quarters. After intelligence of Putnam's being appointed Major-General, (which, by the by, gave universal satisfaction,) Spencer appeared much chagrined and disappointed; he began to speak very freely, and finally persuaded the officers to remonstrate to the Assembly of Connecticut;* and set off immediately for home, without leave or licence from Gen. Washington, which displeased him much.

I cannot imagine our Assembly will be guilty of so great imprudence as to take any notice of the matter. I am sorry to say, your friend Col. Parsons was forward in this matter. I have since been to Roxbury, and find the officers, many of them, heartily sick of what they have done; in particular, Major Meiggs,—who says he had rather serve under Putnam than Spencer, and says he was forced to sign what the others did, to keep peace. You'll find the Generals Washington and Lee are vastly fonder and think higher of Putnam than any man in the army: and he truly is the Hero of the day. They have given him the command of Prospect Hill. I find the intention of Spencer was to get our Assembly to remonstrate to the Continental Congress, and beg a re-appointment; but little did he [think†] that this could not be done without cashiering Putnam,—as he [is in] possession of his commission;‡ and better for us to lose four S[pencers] than half a

* Their remonstrance, dated at Roxbury, July 5th, and signed by Col. Samuel H. Parsons and 48 other officers, of the Second (Spencer's,) and Sixth (Parson's) Regiments, is printed,—with the report of a committee of the General Assembly thereon,—in *Am. Archives*, 4th Ser., ii. 1585. The Assembly requested the Governor to write to the Connecticut delegates in Congress, “and acquaint them with the estimation in which General Wooster and General Spencer are held by this Assembly, and the officers and troops under their command,” &c., “*at same time testifying their sense of the singular merit of General Putnam,*” and requesting them, if practicable, to devise some method of obviating the difficulties apprehended.”

† Two or three words are lost, by the wafer.

‡ “The great dissatisfaction expressed on this subject [the appointments

Putnam. I think it my duty to write thus freely to you, though perhaps not prudent to have it seen in public.

Opposite to Putnam is placed Gen. Howe, on Buncker's Hill. Gen. Burgoyne commands on the Neck, at Roxbury. He has wrote a long letter to Gen. Lee, in which he proposes a meeting: whether this will be complied with or not, cannot say. A certain something runs through the whole of his letter, which shews they are sick at the stomach. He says: "If the right of taxation is all we are contending for, he is empowered to say, Great Britain will give that up." Why did not they say that six months ago? They must now remember, that we have an undoubted right to ask for the expense we have been at in raising an Army,—and the loss of the beautiful town of Charlestown, which is now a heap of rubbish. We doubt not Burgoyne means this so as hereafter to say that he made us generous offers, with a view to compromise matters. He is as cunning and subtle as the Devil himself; he writes (if 'twas on the right side of the question,) like a man of abilities; but his wickedness is to be seen in every sentence of his letter.

We have had one of our sentries desert over to the enemy; and a Frenchman, who came here in the character of a gentleman, was detected in stealing; the next day he deserted to the enemy; but he's of no consequence, being—a simple, foolish fellow.

We heartily wish for the Riflemen to arrive, and instead of 1,000, we wish it was 3,000. We really want them, and we are in hopes you'll make an addition.

I am in the utmost haste,

Yours most affectly,

SAMUEL B. WEBB.

Mr. S. Deane.

of the General Officers in the Province of Massachusetts Bay,] and the apparent danger of throwing the Army into the utmost disorder, together with the strong representations of the Provincial Congress, have induced me to retain the Commissions in my hands, until the pleasure of the Congress shall be further known, *except General Putnam's which was given the day I came into camp*, and before I was apprized of these uneasinesses." Am. Archives, 4th Series, ii. 1626.

TO MRS. DEANE.*

MY DEAR,—I have only time to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 11th, and to assure you that I am so far from thinking hard of you for not writing oftener, that I have to return you my warmest thanks for so many of your agreeable letters, and in particular for that in which you inform me that you are better in health than the last summer.

The weather has for the last week been extreme, though a little moderated by showers; yet the air is excessive bad, which added to our close confinement to business, is almost too much; for from the 10th of May, we have not had, Sundays excepted, one day's respite from nine in the morning to four P. M.; and then, at times, by Committees, on to ten or eleven at night. Judge what an easy time we have.

You know (tho' I pay no compliment to your taste, by reminding you,) that I am the most indifferent in female, or ladies' company, of any man in the world; yet I try now and then to chat away an hour in a mixed company, merely to chase away the spleen, for as to my description of the ladies here, at which you hint, refer you to my description of the Review, my ride to Germantown &c.; or if that will not answer, take the following anecdote. A brother delegate remarkably fond of fine ladies, at a late Fair, when the whole country was collected, asked me if I saw one pretty girl? I replied in the negative. He was then very free (as he is well acquainted in N. England, tho' not an inhabitant of it,) in praise of your ladyships there, and taking a guinea out of his pocket, says: "Deane, here is a vast crowd of girls; I will follow you, and the first that you shall say has a pretty face, I will give the guinea to." We stroll'd thro' the whole Fair, and though I sincerely wished to make him lose the guinea, yet I could not in conscience say that I found one handsome face. From this, judge of the general complexion of females here.

* Without date. Written about July 15th.

I am informed that the late arrangement of affairs is highly displeasing to *Wooster* and *Spencer*, and that high words have passed on the occasion; that *Wooster* talks high of his *thirty years' service*, and that *Spencer* left his forces to shift for themselves, though expecting hourly to be attacked, to return home and pray an alteration. I see the bottom of the whole, and am well aware that the storm is raised, or at least blown up by others, and am at no loss to foresee the direction of it; but am determined to do my duty, and will on no occasion sacrifice the good of my country to the whim of any old man, or old woman rather, or their sticklers.

When *Wooster* was appointed, I washed my hands of the consequences, by declaring him, in my opinion, totally unequal to the service. This I did openly in the face of the Assembly. And if I thought him unfit for a Major General of Connecticut forces only, could any one think I would oppose the voice of the Continent and my own sentiments, by laboring to prefer him to *Putnam*, on whom by every acct the whole Army has depended, ever since the Lexington battle? I wish all such men would leave our army at once. As to *Spencer*, I once had a good opinion of him, but his leaving the forces in the manner I hear he has, shocks it very greatly, and if true, I wish him to resign at once and let another take his place.

Pray listen to these reports, and inform me how far I am charged with being active in this arrangement. I have various reasons to expect their friends will father it all on the old *scape goat*; as *Sherman* is known to be in favor of *Wooster*, and *Dyer* and *Spencer* are brother Councillors. If the war lasts, I hope matters will come into a more regular and decisive course than they — [The rest is wanting.]

TO COL. GURDON SALTONSTALL.

HON^D SIR,—A continual application to business, and the absolute necessity of a large correspondence I have lain under, must stand my apology for not writing to you oftener. Your last was from Wethersfield, where am sorry you missed Gen. Washington, whose company for even so short a time is agreeable. Pray write me what Naval preparations are making in Connecticut: refer you to Mr. Mumford's letter, to whom have wrote. General Spencer is universally censured for resenting the promotion of Putnam—universally applauded and unanimously elected. I have wrote my sentiments to Mrs. Deane, who may show you my letter. I am, with compliments to all of the family and connections,

Dear Sir, Yours,
S. DEANE.

21st July, 1775.

P. S. The Post Office is not yet completed. The Congress have now sat, without a day's respite, since the 10th of May, and consequently are much fatigued; believe they will have a recess for a few weeks, after a fortnight more.

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, July 20th, 1775.

MY DEAR,—Yours of the 13th I received last evening, and am glad to find the good and virtuous of Connecticut are willing to stand by the Resolutions of the Congress, who, in the appointment of Gen. Putnam, acted on principles as much superior to those which actuate the dissatisfied, as Heaven is superior to earth. Putnam's merit rung through this Continent; his fame still increases,—and every day justifies the unanimous applause of the continent. Let it be remembered, he had every vote of the Congress;* and his health has been

* Roger Sherman wrote, from Congress, June 23d, to Gen. David Wooster: "I am sensible that, according to your former rank, you were entitled to the place of a major-general; and as one was to be appointed in Con-

the second or third, at almost all our tables in this city. But it seems he does not wear a large wig, nor screw his countenance into a form that belies the sentiments of his generous soul; he is no adept either at political or religious canting and cozening; he is no shake-hand body; he therefore is totally unfit for everything but fighting; *that* department, I never heard that these intriguing gentry wanted to interfere with him in. I have scarce any patience. O Heaven! blast, I implore thee, every such low, narrow, selfish, envious manœuvre in the land, nor let one such succeed far enough to stain the fair page of American patriotic politics!

General Washington writes, that *Spencer* left his post without so much as waiting on him, or sending him a single word of his intentions.* You can be at no loss to infer what opinion is formed of him from this conduct, in doors and out. Suffice it to say, the voice here is, that he acted a part inconsistent with the character either of a soldier, a patriot, or even of a common gentleman. To desert his post in an hour of danger,—to sacrifice his Country, which he certainly did as far as was in his power,—and to turn his back sullenly on his General, a General too of such exalted worth and character,—will, I can assure you, unless he take the most speedy and effectual measures to atone, draw down upon him the resentment of the whole Continent.

I am daily and hourly making as fair weather as possible of this transaction, and a painful task it is. It is one I am unused to, and therefore labor hard, to gloss over what I condemn from the bottom of my soul. But my principles are

necticut, I heartily recommended you to the Congress. I informed them of the arrangement made by our Assembly, which I thought would be satisfactory to have them continued in the same order. But as Gen. Putnam's fame was spread abroad, and especially his successful enterprise at Noddle's Island, the account of which had just arrived, it gave him the preference in the opinion of the delegates in general, *so that his appointment was unanimous among the Colonies.*" Davis's *Memoirs of Aaron Burr*, vol. i., p. 59.

* Washington's letter to the President of Congress, July 10th; in Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, iii. 17, and *Am. Archives*, 4th Ser., ii. 1626.

(the Eye of my God knows them, and the most envious eye of Man or the bitterest tongue of Slander cannot find anything in my political conduct to contradict them,)—they are, to sacrifice all lesser considerations to the service of the Whole, and in this tempestuous season to throw cheerfully overboard, private fortune, private emoluments, and all partial or interested views, even my Life,—if the Ship with the jewel *Liberty* on board may be saved. This being my line of conduct, I have a calmness of mind, I thank God, resulting from such resolutions, which more than balances every external trouble; of which I have not a few, and of which the late conduct of a part of our officers, in support of Spencer, is not the least. Inclosed I send a letter for Parsons, which please to read, then copy, seal, and forward. I will say no more on the very disagreeable subject, than that the copy and this letter may hereafter shew my sentiments at the time.

I am glad our Assembly did not interpose in favor of Spencer. They have hereby acted up to the high character they sustain with the Congress; and the only consistent part he, Spencer, can now act, is to throw up his commission and give place to men who do not think it degrading to serve their country though they have not the highest feather in their cap. Let them look at Major Mifflin, who is a member of the Continental Congress, a respectable one too, yet he condescends to act as *Aid-de-camp*, and of course ranks no higher than Samuel Webb,* whose appointment I rejoice at, and own I procured it for him; but not because he was my friend, but because he merits it, and will, if it please God to preserve him, make an officer of the first rank and character, when some blusterers of the present hour are forgotten,—or I am much mistaken. At the time I recommended Capt. Chester, I did not think he would accept, but I knew he deserved it: On that motive I acted; his conduct has justified my voice in his favor, and will, I doubt not, justify what I have said and wrote to the Generals in his favor; and expect soon to hear of his promotion, which I shall with pleasure. I recom-

* Appointed Aid-de-camp to Gen. Putnam.

mended, without solicitation, my friend, Jos. Trumbull,* and have been happy enough to find him successful in an honorable and important, though a very laborious station. My interest in our Assembly has been something; in the Congress, it is as large as my vanity could wish; but God forbid I ever use it but to promote the meritorious; and my rule of judging of those must be, by actual specimens of their conduct, not by Squireship or Cousinship.

The Rev. Mr. Duché in the forenoon, and Dr. Allison this afternoon,† entertained the Congress at church and meeting. Such a Fast was never before observed in this city; Sunday was never so strictly kept.

I lent my chaise to Mr. Sherman yesterday, and it is broke to pieces; but shall repair it, I believe, by a new one, for the old one is totally broke and destroyed. I have receiv'd so many letters which I have been obliged to answer, that, with public business, it has engrossed my whole time, early and late, and have not been able to answer them all. Excuse me to your honored father and other friends, who may think I have neglected them.

I send on what is called the *Shirt Uniform*, or rifle dress, as a sample or pattern, and wish it may be adopted. Jn^o Deane is much in my mind, but have no time to write him; I wish him to follow for the present his mathematical studies, if he has no chance for getting abroad. Compliments to Dr. Fairnsworth, Capt. Riley, Goodrich, &c. &c., including all inquiring friends. We shall I believe have a recess in about

* Joseph Trumbull, eldest son of the Governor, was appointed by Congress, July 19th, Commissary-General of Stores and Provisions for the Army of the United States. Gen. Washington had recommended this appointment to the Congress, in his letter of July 10th, and had called attention to the fact, that the "Connecticut troops were extremely well furnished under the direction of Mr. Trumbull, and he had at different times assisted others, with various articles."

† In Congress, Wednesday, July 19th: "Agreed, That the Congress meet here to-morrow morning at half-past nine o'clock, in order to attend Divine Service, at Mr. Duché's Church, and that in the afternoon they meet here, to go from this place and attend Divine Service at Doctor Allison's Church."—Journal of Congress.

a fortnight of about six or seven weeks, when I mean to return. I must write you on other subjects in my next, and am, with particular regards to all of the families with which we are connected, my dear,

Your affectionate Husband,

S. DEANE.

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, July 23d, 1775.

MY DEAR,—I replied particularly to your's respecting Spencer, and inclosed a letter to *Parsons*, both of which I trust you received. Nothing new has since occurred worth transmitting. The Congress (I think,) will adjourn in two weeks, to the 10th of September, but whether to meet here or in Connecticut, uncertain.* If here, the time will admit only of seeing my friends and returning in season; in which case the Southern gentlemen will not return at all, but some of them take a tour to the camp, or elsewhere in New England. I hope to be home in three weeks, if I get my carriage repaired in season; it must be made, in a manner, new. Mr. Sherman is, I think, peculiarly unfortunate, at Philadelphia, tho' by no means faulty.

I may not add; and indeed should not have wrote this, but that I will let no opportunity slip me, if it give me only the pleasure of saying, *How d'ye do?* Remember me to all, particularly to Sally. How is the weather? Are not the evenings warm?

This is stolen from Sunday, after hearing two elegant war sermons.

S. DEANE.

* Congress adjourned, on Tuesday, August 1st, to the 5th of September. Mr. Deane arrived at Wethersfield, August 8th.

TO DR. BENJAMIN GALE.

WETHERSFIELD, Aug. 10th, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you several letters from Philadelphia, and was happy in yours; but you have not acknowledg'd the rec't of mine, informing you that I had by me the letters you wrote me formerly, and would at any time produce them, if necessary for the vindication of your character against the malevolent aspersions of which you complain.* I wish to know if you received those letters.

The Congress as you have heard make but a short recess; before the expiration of which, pray favor me with a line, and say what ground is there for the report of a certain new invention for destroying Ships. You are in the neighborhood, and therefore presume you can give me the particulars.

I can give you nothing new more than is in public papers. The Journals of the Congress at large, until their adjournment, will be published soon.

I am, Dear Sir, Your most humble Serv^t,

S. DEANE.

 TO PELATIAH WEBSTER.

WETHERSFIELD, August 12th, 1775.

MR. WEBSTER—SIR,—I wrote you from Elizabeth Town, for a larger number of gun-locks; since which, on consulting the committee here, I am desir'd to send for a number to make

* The people of Killingworth had been quarreling about the appointment of the local post-master, or the selection of the place at which the post-rider should receive and deliver letters for that town. Col. Saltonstall, with Dr. Gale's approval, had designated the house of Thomas Morgan, Esq.; the town committee of inspection asked a change, to the tavern of Mr. Sheader. The controversy was bitter, as controversies about such matters usually are,—the committee intercepted the Doctor's letters to Col. Saltonstall, and printed them, with much other correspondence, in the *Courant* (Aug. 28th and Sept. 4th,) and Dr. Gale replied, in the same paper, Sept. 18th.

up one thousand in the whole, including the 395 already purchased, and to have them of the double bridle, cost in your former invoice 11s. ; if a little better in quality and price, it will be as well. The money you shall have on the 5th of September, the day of the sitting of the Congress. I inclose a copy of your invoice of those already sent, that you may see which I refer to. I expect a letter from you daily ; in answer to which, will be more at large. At present, have nothing worthy transmitting such a distance. We arrived at this place on Tuesday last.

I am, with esteem, Dear Sir,

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

FROM CAPT. ELISHA PHELPS.

ALBANY, August 14th, 1775.

May it please your Honours :

Soon after I had wrote your Honours, Mr. Livingston and myself came to a happy and peaceable settlement, wherein for the good of the cause and for the peace of the Connecticut troops, I agreed to maintain my station, and yield him that superiority which the respectable Congress have placed in him.

He has behaved very ingeniously since that time, and I hope any little uneasiness or jealousy may be removed and that we may carry on the general cause with unanimity and cheerfulness, and discharge our several stations to the approbation of your Honours.

My expenses in this city are great ; as I am informed, the wages of Commissary are very low ; would desire your Honours' interest that my reasonable expenses should be paid, and what for wages as 'tis thought proper, hoping that the peculiar circumstances I have been in may be considered, that

my reward may be in some measure equal to the fatigue and perplexity the business was in.

I am, with the greatest esteem and respect,

Your Honours most obd^t and humble serv^t,

ELISHA PHELPS.

[Addressed :] To the Hon^{ble} El. Dyer, Roger Sherman, and S. Deane Esqr., Members of the Cont^l Congress.

FROM SIMEON DEANE.

NEW YORK, 24th August, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,—I arriv'd here two days since in the Phil^a Stage, from which place I have brought some gun-locks for you, which are forwarded by Dan^l Hinsdale, in which vessel I should have come home myself, but have opportunity of a horse of Capt. Chenevard's here, and expect to set out to-morrow. In Philadelphia there is no news except what I wrote you, of the seizure of the clothing and officers of the army.

Last night we had a brush with the Asia ship of war, tho' but little damage done, considering the guns fired. Particulars are, that it was last night concerted to remove the cannon and warlike stores from the Battery, of which the ship was previously informed by some of their good Tory friends here; and being [provi]ded with a spring on her cable, and every necessary for engagement, at about long musket shot from the battery in North River. Our people came to the guns about 11 o'clock, with much silence, but found the Ship's boats full of men, lying very silently on their oars at about fifty or sixty yards distant; and on their beginning to move a cannon, they made signal by a fuse in their boat and discharge of a musket or two on us, which was instantly followed by a cannon-ball from the Ship. On which Capt. Lamb

ordered Fire, and there was a discharge of forty or fifty muskets into their boats, who made the best of their way on board. The Ship then fired two more cannon, with langrage &c., which wounded one or two of our men.

During this there was a great alarm through the city; the drums beating to arms, &c. &c., and the poor women and children screaming and flying from the city. After a cessation of about fifteen minutes, (during all which time we were drawing away the cannon,) they fired another shot into the Battery; on which we gave three Huzzas, and one imprudent fellow fired a musket, contrary to orders. The Ship gave us almost her whole broadside, being 9, 18, & 24 lb. shot, with two swivel balls accompanying each large shot, as we find in several places where they struck in range on the fence, houses, &c. This redoubled the consternation, and vast numbers of helpless wretches fled into the fields &c. Others, in coaches, carriages &c., left the town in a hurry. After which, all was tolerably quiet.

This morning we find many shot holes in the houses, and particularly in the fence at the lower Barracks. One 24 lb. ball went through and through the Barracks, and then thro' two bb^{ls} flour on board a vessel in Whitehall Slip, where it stopped. Early, a company of soldiers are dispatched to Long Island to seize Gov^r Tryon and Capt. Vandeput, who are both said to be there. The remaining troops are going this afternoon to carry the shot from the lower Battery, which will bring cannonading enough, I expect. The Ship now appears to be very well prepared, and they are continually levelling their guns, as the tide rises or falls. Were it not for the expectation of being a spectator of the fray, I would set out this afternoon; but shall not tarry long here.

The Tories here are pretty silent and look wild. The warm Whigs curse their Provincial Congress, as being infected with [too ma]ny scabby sheep. The Congress are taking depositions concerning last night's works, as 'tis said the people here are charg'd by the Ship with firing first and killing six of their seamen.

We have drawn twenty-one fine Pieces, with good carriages, up to the Green, and expect to get the others this afternoon.

I am, in great haste, Sir,

Yours,

SIMEON DEAN.

P. S. Capt. Lawrence, of an armed Schooner here, was last night intercepted with letters from Gov^r Tryon to Gage, it is said, which might hasten the proceedings here.

FROM COL. GURDON SALTONSTALL.

NEW LONDON, August 31st, 1775.

A. M. 6 o'clock.

DEAR SIR,—Yesterday morning we heard cannon firing and supposed it was off Block Island, and at eleven o'clock had advice that one man of war and three cutters were cannonading the houses at the Point in Stonington.* The firing continued until 5 o'clock P. M. with very little cessation. We hear their landing was opposed by 200 men. Immediately on the first advice, I advised Major Latimer to march one half the troops under his command, about two hundred men, to Stonington, which he instantly did. Have no advice from thence, since three o'clock yesterday. It's said a number of

* Letters from Col. Saltonstall to Gov. Trumbull, giving intelligence of the attack on Stonington, and next day, (Aug. 31st,) communicating further particulars, are printed in *Am. Archives*, 4th Ser., iii. 461, 471. On the 4th of September, Col. Saltonstall and Capt. Deshon were present, at the session of the Governor and Council of War, at Lebanon, and Major Smith and Capt. Palmer from Stonington,—to pray for aid to erect works of defence, and to ask for some military companies to be stationed at Stonington, &c. See Hinman's *Hist. Collection of the part sustained by Connecticut in the Revolution, &c.*, p. 332. A letter from Nathaniel Miner, Esq. to Gov. Trumbull, March, 1776, printed in *Am. Archives*, 4th Ser., v. 160, gives an estimate of the damages sustained at Stonington. Compare Gordon's *Hist. of the Revolution*, ii. 122; Miss Caulkins's *Hist. of New London*, p. 516; and the *New London Gazette*, Sept. 1st, (re-printed in the *Courant*, Sept. 4th.) Gordon's error of date,—*September 30th*, for *August 30th*,—has been followed by several later writers, and is repeated in Holister's *History of Connecticut*, vol. ii. p. 231.

the enemy were killed on attempting to land, by the musketry; the Americans had no cannon.

The best account I can collect of the beginning of the dispute is, that the cutters chased into that harbor a boat from Block Island, with stock on board, and finding a vessel with molasses on board near the wharf, aground, immediately on her floating brought her to sale and sent her off; and then, stretched backwards and forwards and gave the town their broadsides; then stretched out, met a man of war, (supposed Wallace,) and they all came into the harbor; Wallace came to, with a spring on his cable, and fired on the town incessantly until 5 o'clock.

We are told a large number of transports were yesterday cruising round Block Island. There is very little stock taken off from thence. They have been re-inforced with 200 men, and one hundred Islanders makes them probably able to prevent losing their stock, which they were endeavoring to take off. General Wooster is no doubt encamped with four hundred men at Montauge. The stock from Gardner's and Plumb Island, undoubtedly removed. Advice from Gen. Washington to Gov. Trumbull, that transports were bound this way, was dispatched Friday last to Gen. Wooster, then at Southold, and to the Committee of Suffolk County, from the Committee in this town.

Six o'clock P. M. About ten o'clock this day, the Rose, Capt. Wallace, and three cutters, with a few vessels taken at Stonington, left that harbor and anchored on west side Fisher's Island, where they probably are. The houses at Stonington much shattered; none actually demolished. It is extremely difficult to know the first of the action, notwithstanding what's within written; rather think the case was thus; the cutters chased in two Rhode Island packet boats, that carried 250 troops of theirs from Stonington harbor, and landed them on Block Island the night before, although the Rose and the cutters endeavoured to prevent it: when the cutters were in port, they took two molasses vessels, and went to the wharf to take other vessels, and it's most probable were forbid,

which no doubt produced high threats; and on their persisting, it's my opinion the Americans fired on them and did execution, as they immediately pushed off, and firing some cannon went out of harbor; met the *Rose*, probably east of Watch Hill, and she then stood in for the harbour with the cutters, and having got in, fired as within mentioned.

A flag went on board the *Rose* at noon, to know why she fired on the houses; Capt. Wallace said he did so in his defence, and shewed the officer four of his dead men, and one that had his hand much torn; (these men, I apprehend, were killed in the first action, and the cutter going out with them to the *Rose*, brought Capt. Wallace in to the demolition of the town.) Immediately after the flag returned, the cannonading was renewed with the utmost vigor, until five o'clock. We had two men only wounded; one of them, as said, mortally. By sunset last evening there were at the place of action, eight hundred, some say one thousand men, well armed.

The inhabitants are moving their effects out of this town, with the greatest diligence. We shall not want men for our defence; but as we have no stock of powder, cannot use the cannon we have, but shall do the best we can with musketry, if attacked.

Last week arrived Capt. Nichols of Providence, with about seven tons powder, that he landed at Norwich, and it went by land, about Friday, to Providence. You shall have a statement of the salt-maker's doings when I have a moment's leisure.

Your most obedient,

Silas Deane, Esq.

G. SALTONSTALL.

FROM GOVERNOR SKENE.*

Tuesday morning, ye 5th of Sept. 1775.

[Hartford,] West Division.

SIR,—Yesterday I did hear that Colonel Dyer would return to Hartford, and that he would bring some satisfactory inform-

* Major Philip Skene, of Skenesborough, at the southern extremity of Lake Champlain, was in England in the spring of 1775, and received a

ation to the Congress's first order, but I now suppose obedience is wanting somewhere, and that I must rest satisfied until men of more honor determine my fate at Philadelphia, where I wish I had persisted in my first resolution of living or dying.

The insults I have been liable to here is worse than Death to me who never valued it above true Liberty. I wish myself in my native country (even Newgate there) would be more preferable than the ills I have borne. I proposed to myself the pleasure of writing to some of my friends at Philadelphia, but as this is the first time I have put hand to paper, and do not find my mind will lead me, shall refer writing until next post. Please to make my compliments acceptable to Col. Roberdeau's family, and my worthy friend, Capt. Moore Furman. I am sensible of your honor, and nothing is wanting in you of the Gentleman, whose honor was pledged to me, but such is the present Constitution here. I am, Sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient humble servant,

PHILIP SKENE.

P. S. The Major prays me to make his compliments acceptable.

[Addressed:] Silas Deane, Esq., Weathersfield.

commission as governor of Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Fort George. Returning to America, he was arrested at Philadelphia, on his arrival, June 7th, and, by order of the Congress, his papers were examined by a Committee, of which Mr. Deane was chairman. June 27th, the Congress ordered him to be sent under a guard to Wethersfield or Middletown, there to remain on parole, within bounds prescribed by Gov. Trumbull. He arrived at Hartford, July 19th, and soon afterwards was provided with quarters, "in a very commodious and pleasantly situated house in the West Society of this town,"—in company with his son, Major Andrew P. Skene, who was taken at Skenesborough, in May. See *Conn. Courant*, July 24th and 31st; *Am. Archives*, 4th Ser., ii. 985, 1844, 1855; and Mr. Deane's letter to his wife, July 8th, p. 280, ante.

Mr. Deane, it appears, "had given Skene private assurances of a milder treatment than that which hein fact experienced, and had written to Gov. Trumbull in his behalf." *Stuart's Life of Gov. Trumbull*, p. 217.

FROM COL. GURDON SALTONSTALL.

NEW LONDON, Sept. 7th, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of 6th inst. by Mr. Miner, is before me. As to the post riders on this road, I have no positive knowledge of their misconduct, but will get the best information I can, before Mr. Bache arrives. This I shall send you this day, p^r Knight, viâ Weathersfield. Is it not much best that the lower post should go to Providence on the main, and not pass through Newport?

I have an esteemed favor of Doct^r Franklin, dated 27th ult^o, kindly acknowledging the receipt of mine you forwarded, dated 11th ult^o, and condoling me on my misfortunes, and adds: “Shall be glad of any opportunity of doing what may be agreeable to you. The Comptroler of the General Post Office will soon be along your road to settle the Offices and Stages; by him I shall send a commission to you as you desire, with directions to him to inform himself of anything that may be done for your son:” and thanks me for the intelligence sent him. In proper time, shall acknowledge with gratitude to the Doctor this particular favor; you’l mention it in my name to him, if you judge proper.

Yesterday went to Lyme, and examined Stephen Jerom (?) the saltmaker, but must see his brother John in this town, before I can be explicit in giving their mutual accounts. They were both born and brought up at the Isle of Wight, near the salt works. Next week, shall be able to give you their knowledge.

It is reported that Gov. Trumbull wrote N. Shaw, Jr., last evening, that the troops moved from Tionderigo for St. Johns the last day of August. Capt. Champlin, in a small sloop of Shaw’s, brought from the Mole all the Macaroni’s powder, about four tons, arrived two days since; and Packwood tarries, expecting powder from France to the Mole, every hour. I give you a copy of George Irish’s letter to Thos. Mumford, Esq., viz.:

“NEWPORT, Sept. 4th, 1775.

“DEAR FRIEND:—Yesterday arrived here Capt. Mallbone,* directly from Ireland, and brings intelligence as late as July 12th, which is much in our favor; tho’ he and all his crew fell into the hands of Capt. Wallace, who arrived here just before Capt. Mallbone got in, and he detains them still, with all the passengers; but some small matters of news have transpired this morning, which is after this sort; that there are no more troops coming to America, and that they are as much in our favor as we can possibly imagine, or even wish; and further say, that his Majesty has rec^d the last Continental petition, tho’ with reluctance.” (Probably it should be the L^d Mayor’s petⁿ, designed to be presented to his Majesty only when on the throne.) “And it is further reported, that his Majesty had signed a paper called the Resolves of the Populace, which contains matters to this purport: That the American Revenue Acts shall be repealed, and their grievances redressed.”

The map of Europe you sent directed to me from Philadelphia, was detained by accident, supposing it was to be left here; but now the girls tell me they can’t play their cards without it at Weathersfield; therefore it will be sent them by first boat. I am y^r most obliged

G. SALTONSTALL.

P. S. Capt. D. Saltonstall now tells me Shaw’s letter says 31st August, 2,000 men had marched from Ticonderoga to St. Johns. The General was immediately to follow; also the Green Mountain Boys.

[Addressed:] To Silas Deane, Esqr., Philadelphia.

To the care of Mr. Ebenezer Hazard, at New York.

* Capt. Evan Malbone arrived at Newport, Monday, Sept. 4th, 54 days from Londonderry, Ireland, bringing Irish papers of July 7th. He was detained by Capt. Wallace, on board the Rose, till Thursday, Sept. 7th. *Conn. Courant*, Sept. 18th.

TO MRS. DEANE.

TRENTON, Sept^r 10th, 1775.

MY DEAR,—Tho' I have made but moderate stages,* I have somehow, thro' an indisposition for writing, omitted putting pen to paper except to keep my account of expences, since I left home. In my last journey, I over-wrote; so one must atone for the other. I reached New Haven the first night,—Norwalk the next,—and The Bridge on Thursday. Friday morning we rode to Mr. Bayard's at Greenwich, where we met with a most hospitable reception, and he sent for the boats, which set us over about three miles above the city; which delayed us so long that we only reached Newark that evening. The next day brought us to Princeton; and this morning we rode hither, expecting Meeting, but missing, we shall pursue our journey and reach, accidents excepted, Philadelphia this evening. Thus you have our journey in short hand.

Gov^r Ward joined us at New Haven, and *Mr. Cushing*; so that we have had just company enough to be agreeable. Col. Dyer has been unwell, but not so as to delay us. I met Mrs. *Mifflin*, this morning, bound for the Camp. If she pass thro' Wethersfield, wish you to be acquainted with her. She is a most agreeable lady, and worthy your notice on every account, but more particularly as you propose visiting Philadelphia; of which more hereafter.

You can expect nothing new from us here: indeed I am running away from news; tell J. Webb and my brother to send all they can pick up, after me.

I am, with kind remembrance of all friends,

My Dear, Yours,

S. DEANE.

P. S. I called at Mr. *Tetard's*, and find he has gone Chaplain into the Army at Ticonderoga. This you must tell brother Simeon.

* Congress met again at Philadelphia, on Tuesday, September 5th.

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 15th, 1775.

MY DEAR,—I wrote you from Trenton last Sunday, but miss'd a conveyance until on Tuesday, by the Stage, to care of Mr. Hazard; hope you received it. I think I promised you a long letter in it as soon as I arrived here which I shall disappoint you of, tho' this, by Brown, is sure of coming safe to hand; for which, want of spirits occasioned by a severe cold must be my excuse.

I have been casting in my mind how to procure you a passage to this place. Suppose Mr. Webb, who wants to come at least as far as N. York, could contrive to put his *light horse*, with two others, into Brown's Stage, and so come on to New York, where I would meet you, with my carriage. Think of this, and write me by the first post after the receipt of this.

Tell my brother Simeon that Monsieur *Tetard* is gone Chaplain to the New York forces; so that his views of studying with him are over, for the present. The Congress have hardly begun business, New Hampshire and N. Carolina being absent. This city is still busy in military parade and preparation. It is well they are, for something is necessary to keep them employed, and to divert their attention from the melancholy appearance of their River, destitute of navigation. No less than sixty sail left this place on the day the Non-exportation took place, and none have arrived since, except one ship from London. There is nothing new worth sending you thus far. Pray forward me a letter from your father, as soon as received. I am, my dear,

Yours,

S. DEANE.

 [FROM EBENEZER HAZARD.]

N. YORK, Sept. 21st, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—I have but a moment to write in. Yours of 10th inst, from Trenton, is this minute come to hand, *per stage*, but the *long one* which was to compensate for your passing without my seeing you, I have not rec^d yet.

The letters enclosed in yours shall be forwarded by this day's post.

The acco^{ts} of orders sent to Cap^{ts} of men of war, about their treatment of towns which arm themselves to oppose Parliamentary troops, build forts, &c., you have had, I believe, by Express. What would you think of a scheme of this kind, to counterbalance such manœuvre:—The Congress to order that no remittances shall be made to England till the controversy is settled; that every person in America indebted to any person in England, shall, on oath, or honor, (or whatever tie the Congress pleases,) give in to proper persons to be appointed by Congress, an exact account of what he owes to England. (I mean the *sum* only, *not the names of the persons* to whom he is indebted, for this might discover the secrets of his trade,) and if any town is beat down, let every man indebted to England contribute such a proportion of what he owes there as will be necessary for rebuilding it: that lands, &c., in this country, belonging to people in England shall also be liable. I am told some of the nobility have large tracts in America.

I wish to see a fund raised for encouraging American Manufactures. These things are too weighty for individuals, and generally fail when left only to the support which they can give. It is certainly worthy of the Congress to provide for the supply of our *future* wants, as well as to remove present grievances.

Last Tuesday evening the Man of War stopped the Amboy stage and took out an Ensign Tiley, of Gen. Wooster's troops, and a box.* The former had the care of the latter, which was supposed to contain dispatches from Congress; but herein they were baulked. The papers relate only to an estate belonging to a prisoner of Gen. Wooster's. It is said Mr. Tiley is in irons. I can't learn what his crime is.

Adieu.

* See a further account of this affair in the *Courant* of Sept. 25th, under the New York head. "The Amboy stage boat in returning to New York with passengers was brought to by the Asia Man of War's boat."

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 22d, 1775.

MY DEAR,—This, by Mr. Bird of Virginia, is my fourth letter since I left home, but have not had the pleasure of receiving one line save from my brother Bar^s. I wish to know whether you propose to keep your word, and see Philadelphia. If so, in what readiness are you, and how do you propose to set out? I sent a piece of linen by Capt. Champlin, which cost six shillings this currency p^r yard, which hope you have received.

The Congress begin to talk out-doors of adjourning eastward, as far as Albany or Hartford; therefore judge it best for you to set out as early as the first of October for this place. Have nothing new worth sending you. Compliments to all friends. Love to the family. Am in my old usual way, Committeeing it away, and busy as usual,

am your affectionate husband,

SILAS DEANE.

Sunday, Sept. [24th.]—This was to have gone by Mr. Bird of Virginia, but he set out without my knowledge of the time. The weather is very cool here for this season; therefore, if you determine on coming down, the time fixed above will be a good one, though, by the way, I see no end to our business, and it is as extensive as endless. How ran Elections? though personally, I do not feel myself interested; however agreeable to one of my sensibility the suffrages of one's countrymen are, yet one great object swallows up, like Aaron's rod, all the lesser. *Liberty or Death* is before us, and I can conceive of no alternative: if the former, it will take a long time to obtain and afterwards settle it on a permanent basis; if the latter (as I trust no American patriot will so desert himself as to prefer a short existence in Slavery to it,) why then, it will but shorten a life of care and anxiety.

We expect intelligence from Great Britain every hour. I am impatient for it; not that I think it will alter our measures, for I am very confident as to the complexion of it, before

it arrives; but, that the least and every shadow of an excuse for not pursuing the most vigorous measures may be removed from the really timid and those pretendedly so. You must not expect long letters from me, as I am more taken up than when here last summer, and among other things the settlement of our Continental expences and charges of the war has fell to the lot of a Committee of which I am one. I have therefore no time of my own; if I had, it should be yours and my friends; so excuse me to Mr. Hosmer &c. Adieu.

Have you heard anything of your missing letter?

I dined yesterday with Mr. Rutledge and Lady. She inquired after you, and says you promised her to come down with me.

TO MRS. DEANE.*

MY DEAR,—Yours of the 24th ult. received yesterday. I thank you for welcoming me to the *lovely City of Philadelphia*, but I hardly know a place but I should be happier in, save among my distressed sick neighbours in Wethersfield. The sight of the eye affects even the hardest heart; mine is too easily affected, and public miseries are surely enough for one thinking, feeling mind at a time. Of these, the prospect, the apprehension, is ever before me; not only on my heart, but as I may say, in my hands, continually. My sincerest condolence awaits however all the unfortunate; those in Wethersfield in particular, whose remembrance of me so repeatedly, in my absence, will ever render them dear to me, while I have sense or recollection left. Mr. May's loss must be a cutting one, as he is fond of his children, and I think had great reason to be fond of this. But I often say to myself, *Blessed are the dead*, if, as Hamlet says, in that same Sleep of theirs, there were no Dream. You will think me melancholy, and you are not much out of the way. The Soul-distressing uncertainty in which we are, respecting our Northern friends, with the weight and

* Without date, but written, (as a subsequent letter shows,) Oct. 2d, 1775.

fatigue of business, is almost too much. I will shake it off, for a more agreeable subject,—your proposed journey. The Col. proposed, for Brown to bring you as far as New York, where one of us would meet you, on previous notice. I do not like Brown's c[oach, and] made no bargain, but directed him to shew it to Mr. Webb and you, [for] your opinion of that plan.

The season is advancing, and I am sure the business of the Congress will not soon be completed. By all the acco^{ts} from London, the inveteracy of the Ministry is increasing, and nothing in their power will be left unattempted to reduce us to their humiliating terms. The reduction of Montreal and Quebec would put a very good face on our affairs, and give the ministry a blow indeed. The most cool and moderate men among us, now sing the same song which I rung in their ears last May and June until they almost called me mad, and tell me plainly every day, "We now wish we had followed your advice in season." This is some satisfaction,—but the poorest in the world,—to have your opponents own you were right when too late to take advantage of it, either for them or ourselves. I will however hope the best.

I was urged week before last, on hearing of Gen. Schuyler's illness, to go in person to that Army; not so much to command, as to advise and assist. This was in a private club, but I discouraged the proposal, and it went no further. I have vanity enough to think myself a tolerably good contriver and manager in such an Assembly as this, but am not vain enough to think myself fit for a General Officer. I have indeed tho't it my duty to stay here, otherwise should have gone northward on a former occasion. I am enlisted in the general service, and must take my post, if possible, where I have a chance of doing most service.

I think that the 10th of this month will be late enough for you to set out, if you can be ready by that time. This comes by Col. Williams and Mr. Wales, who have paid us a visit;*

* September 8th, the Governor and Council applied to Congress for £50,000, in Continental currency, to meet expenses incurred by the Colony

the former, cool and stiff as you please, but I trust I have not been deficient in complaisance to him. I suppose Connecticut politicians have been busy, and that the Nomination will be varied, but I hope not very greatly, as I wish for the old steady plan of the Colony, in preference to any private view, either for myself or friends. Am a little surprized that Col. Seymour missed his election for Hartford, but duplicity and haughtiness are two [of] the worst ingredients in nature for a Connecticut statesman. Adieu to this subject. I suppose all friends are well; my love to them. When is Sally to be married?

I am, my dear,

Your affectionate husband,

S. DEANE.

FROM THOMAS MUMFORD.

GROTON, 3d October, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—I have not had the pleasure of a line from you for a long time, neither do we know at this distance of any Resolutions entered into by the Congress this year. Many are impatient to see their Journal published. If any new regulations respecting Trade are come into (and proper to be mentioned,) I should be glad as early as may be to be made acquainted with it. This Colony universally adheres to all the Resolves of Congress. I wish I could say the same of all the other Colonies. At New York, I am told they drink East India tea as frequent as before any Resolution passed against it. From the behaviour and sentiments of people this way, I promised myself the satisfaction of a strict conformity to every recommendation of Congress. Would it not be well, *and is it not full time*, to have an Association for us all to sign that determine to defend our Interest and Privileges; and those that will not sign, to be disarmed, and deemed Enemies to our Con-

for the war, and appointed Col. Wm. Williams and Nathaniel Wales, Esq., agents, to proceed immediately to Philadelphia, to procure that sum. See the Journal of the Council, in Hinman's Connecticut in the War of the Revolution, p. 333.

stitution? and will it not be best to secure the estates of all such? Sure I am, were we in their power, our interest would soon be wrested from us. I think likewise we all ought to be obliged to take up arms in defence of our invaluable privileges, that our foes may be known, and treated as such.

I expect we merchants will all soon feel the effect of stopping trade, and very probably some of us may apply to head-quarters for indulgences therein. Excuse me for the liberty I herein take to give you my sentiments, that any preference given to some merchants above others, will disgust the remainder, and in my opinion have a very bad tendency. You know we are all naturally jealous of each other. At present I know not what to do with my vessels, but while it is judged by the Congress best they should lie by, (being suitable only for the West India trade,) I am quite content; but if once they should permit any to depart contrary to their Resolves, I should soon be with you, and numbers to accompany me. I only suggest to you my thoughts, and am easy, relying on the wisdom of the Congress to do what is right and best.

I hope to have some of your new Resolutions to assist us in General Assembly. Will you be with us before we rise? I conclude, (as the year will be up,) our General Assembly will appoint Delegates for another Congress. I wish you would write me freely on this subject, what the Congress recommends to all the Colonies, whether to appoint part new Delegates, or not. I should think it very improper to have *all* new delegates; perhaps it may be best to have some new ones yearly. If you think so, will you be free enough to mention to me who we shall leave out; and I want assistance to determine who we shall appoint. I think Mr. Hosmer will do well. We made one mistake, in nominating Mr. Sturges last year: I wish to make a better choice, this season.

I shall write you again from New Haven, and send you a list of our Nominations for Councillors.

If the Congress should determine on having a Navy, can a harbor be found on this Continent more commodious and easier

fortified than New London? I hope for a line from you soon, and am, dear Sir,

Your very humble serv^t,
THO^s MUMFORD.

Silas Deane, Esq.

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 17th, 1775.

MY DEAR,—J. Webb tells me you talk of not coming to see me. I don't know but you are in the right of it, for my business here will give me no time to wait on you, except between the hours of ten at night and seven in the morning, out of which, if we borrow from sleep, it will not be much. I rise at six, write until seven, dress and breakfast by eight, go to the Committee of Claims until ten; then in Congress till half past three or perhaps four; dine by five, and then go either to the Committee of Secrecy, or of Trade until nine; then sup and go to bed by eleven. This leaves little room for diversion or any thing else, and to tell you the truth I expect this kind of life must be my lot for some time. I shall however steal away and meet you at New York, unless my Brother, to whom I have wrote, or J. Webb will wait on you quite down. I think it will be for the interest of one or both to be here, just at this time. You have wrote me but two letters since I left home. Love to all.

I am yours,

S. D.

FROM THE REV. EBENEZER BALDWIN.*

DANBURY, Oct. 30th, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—That anxiety for news which at this interesting period possesses almost every breath, I hope may in some

* Mr. Baldwin, a native of Norwich, graduated at Yale College in 1763, was a tutor there, 1766-70, and ordained minister of the First Society in Danbury, in October, 1770. A sketch of his life, written by his brother, Judge Simeon Baldwin, is in Sprague's Annals of the Am. Pulpit, vol. i. pp. 635-640.

measure plead my excuse in requesting a share in your correspondence. You, Sir, are at the centre of motion, and see the springs that move the grand machine. You can, if the weighty business you are engaged in, and your more necessary correspondence, will afford you leisure to gratify the curiosity of a kinsman and a friend, doubtless unfold many things that may appear utterly mysterious to one that views only the outside wheels of the great machine now put in motion. You can doubtless, if you have leisure sufficient, furnish me with a variety of anecdotes, curious and entertaining to an inquisitive man. The very minutiae of the Congress become important when we consider that body as laying the foundations of a mighty Empire. Future historians will doubtless with avidity pick up every little anecdote that can be found of this *first* American Congress, who so nobly dared, by force and arms, to oppose the strides of British Tyranny. Of the great fund of materials that must lie before you, you can easily guess which would be most entertaining, if your more important business will afford you leisure to communicate them. We hear little of any thing done by the Congress of late. Some important plans must have been concerting. How far the rules of the House will allow you to communicate any of these, you best can judge.

We feel unable in the country to account for it, when the British ships are insulting almost every sea-port, why no armed vessels are fitted out to attack them while dispersed in different places: If there were only strength sufficient to successfully attack *one*, by this means an addition might be made to our little fleet, and so we might gradually advance to greater enterprises. Are there not merchant ships now out of employ, two or three of which, if properly armed and manned might be sufficient to cope with a Man of War? And what hinders but that Ships of War might be built in this country?

I lately made a tour to the Camp at Cambridge. The talk there, among the officers I conversed with, was, that when the time of their present enlistment was expired, an army would be raised to be held during the pleasure of the Congress.

If this be what is proposed, I would beg leave to enquire whether this plan will not be attended with many inconveniences, and may not be attended with some very dangerous consequences? Will it not be very difficult to raise an army upon this plan? How many, that would willingly leave their farms or other business for six months or a year, who would engage upon principle in defence of their property, would be utterly unwilling to engage for an unlimited time, and perhaps could not do it without being very great sufferers thereby? Would not such as could be raised upon this plan be the very dregs of the Country,—such as act without principle, only for pay, and have no property to defend? And would not such an army after three or four years service, be just fit for any dangerous enterprize against the Liberties of their country, should circumstances invite them to it? And who can assure us that such circumstances will not take place? Should the Commander in Chief see fit to contend with the Congress, would it not be in his power, with such a mercenary army attached to his person by long service under him, and perhaps by his oft leading them to victory, effectually to destroy the Liberties of his Country, and transfer all power to the army? Cromwell, you may remember, with such an army was able to displace the Parliament and assume to himself the Sovereignty over the Nation. Should we not, upon the whole, have a much better army if enlisted only for a short term of time at once, as there would be many more freeholders and sons of freeholders among the soldiery, who would fight upon principle, and have a property of their own to defend? And would not this effectually prevent their ever taking part against the Liberties of their Country, as they would be too much of patriots to join in such an enterprize, and would never be likely to have that blind attachment to the Commander in Chief as an army of mere mercenaries attached to him by a long series of service. But I have already far exceeded in length what I proposed; I was going to tell you in the beginning of my letter, that, situated as I am in a country town remote from intelligence, I could have very little to write; but I see I may spare

myself the observation. I wish it were in my power to write something that might render the correspondence agreeable on my part, but I have little hopes, in this situation, of being able to effect it. But by how much the less able I may be to write anything that shall be agreeable and entertaining to you, by so much the greater obligations I shall deem myself to be under, if you will consent to the correspondence.

Suffer me to congratulate you upon being chosen into the Nomination for Assistants. As you are now engaged in that *Cursus Ambitionis* which opens the way to the highest honors the free suffrages of your countrymen can bestow, and as your correspondence would be gratifying not only to me, but to others in this neighborhood, it might put it in my power to render you some real service in this matter, which it will ever afford me the highest satisfaction to perform.

A letter lodged in the Post Office in N. York would arrive safe by a post that rides through this town.

From Sir,

Your cordial friend and kinsman,
EBEN^B BALDWIN.

To Silas Deane Esq^r.

FROM DR. BENJAMIN GALE.

KILLINGWORTH, 9th Nov., 1775.

DEAR SIR,—In your last you requested I would give you an account of the progress of our machine,* and whether any-

* This machine was the 'American Turtle,' invented and built in Saybrook, by David Bushnell,—and designed for blowing up the enemy's ships. In February, 1776, Mr. Bushnell, by request of the Governor and Council, appeared before them, and gave an account of his machine. His plan was fully approved, and he was urged to proceed with it and make every necessary preparation and experiment, with expectation of proper notice and reward. Journal of the Council, Feb. 2, 1776,—in Hinman's Connecticut in the War of the Revolution, p. 343. Dr. Gale's description of the invention agrees substantially with that given by Charles Griswold, Esq., in the American Journal of Science, for August, 1820, (vol. ii. pp. 94-100.)

thing may be expected of it. I now sit down to give you a succinct but imperfect account of its structure, which is so complicated that it is impossible to give a perfect idea of it.

The Body, when standing upright in the position in which it is navigated, has the nearest resemblance to the two upper shells of a Tortoise joined together. In length, it doth not exceed $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the stem to the higher part of the rudder: the height not exceeding 6 feet. The person who navigates it enters at the top. It has a brass top or cover, which receives the person's head as he sits on a seat, and is fastened on the inside by screws. In this brass head is fixed eight glasses, viz. two before, two on each side, one behind, and one to look out upwards. In the same brass head are fixed two brass tubes, to admit fresh air when requisite, and a ventilator at the side to free the machine from the air rendered unfit for respiration. On the inside is fixed a Barometer, by which he can tell the depth he is under water; a Compass, by which he knows the course he steers. In the barometer and on the needles of the compass is fixed *fox-fire*, i. e. wood that gives light in the dark. His ballast consists of about 900 wt. of lead which he carries at the bottom and on the outside of the machine, part of which is so fixed as he can let run down to the Bottom, and serves as an anchor, by which he can ride *ad libitum*. He has a sounding lead fixed at the bow, by which he can take the depth of water under him; and to bring the machine into a perfect equilibrium with the water, he can admit so much water as is necessary, and has a forcing pump by which he can free the machine at pleasure, and can rise above water, and again immerge, as occasion requires.

In the bow, he has a pair of oars fixed like the two opposite arms of a wind mill, with which he can row forward, and turning them the opposite way, row the machine backward; another pair fixed upon the same model, with which he can row the machine round, either to the right or left; and a third, by which he can row the machine either up or down: all which are turn'd by foot, like a spinning wheel. The rudder by which he steers, he manages by hand, within board. All these

shafts which pass through the machine are so curiously fix'd as not to admit any water to incommode the machine. The magazine for the powder is carried on the hinder part of the machine, without-board, and so contrived, that when he comes under the side of the Ship, he rubs down the side until he comes to the keel, and a hook so fix'd as that when it touches the keel it raises a spring which frees the magazine from the machine and fastens it to the side of the Ship; at the same time, it draws a pin, which sets the watch-work agoing which, at a given time, springs the lock and the explosion ensues.

Three magazines are prepared; the first, the explosion takes place in twelve,—the second in eight,—the third in six hours, after being fixed to the ship. He proposes to fix these three before the first explosion takes place. He has made such a trial of the effects of the explosion of gunpowder under water, since Dr. Franklin did me the honor to call upon me, as has exceeded his most sanguine expectations, and is now convinced his magazines will contain three times so much powder as is necessary to destroy the largest ship in the navy.

I now write with the greater freedom, as I conclude by the time this reaches you the machine will be in the camp. Lately he has conducted matters and his designs with the greatest secrecy, both for the personal safety of the navigator and to produce the greater astonishment to those against whom it is designed,—if this projection succeeds, of which I make no doubt, as I well know the man and have seen the machine while in embryo, and every addition made to it fills me with fresh astonishment and surprize. And you may call me a visionary, an enthusiast, or what you please,—I do insist upon it, that I believe the inspiration of the Almighty has given him understanding for this very purpose and design. If he succeeds, a stipend for life, and if he fails, a reasonable compensation for time and expense is his due from the public.

What astonishment it will produce and what advantages may be made by those on the spot, if it succeeds, is more easy for you to conceive than for me to describe.

I congratulate you and my country in the begun success of our Arms to the northward, and the prospects of further success. Make my most respectful compliments to Dr. Franklin, and our Delegates, your associates; and am, most respectfully,

Your sincere friend and

most hum^{ble} serv^t,

BENJ^N GALE.

FROM JAMES HOGG.*

PHILADELPHIA, 16th Nov., 1775.

SIR,—I did not receive your favour of the 2d Nov. till late that evening, and I was obliged to set out early next morning

* James Hogg was one of the proprietors of Transylvania, and the agent of Col. Robert Henderson and his associates of the *Transylvania Company*, the founders of Kentucky. They had procured of the Cherokees, a deed of the territory between the Ohio, the Cumberland Mountains, the Cumberland River and the Kentucky river. (See Bancroft's *Hist. of the U. States*, vii. 365-69.) Mr. Hogg, who had been appointed a delegate to represent the new colony in the Continental Congress, arrived at Philadelphia, Oct. 22d. In a report to Col. Henderson,—printed in *Am. Archives*, 4th Ser., iv, 543-45,—he wrote:—

“I was several times with Mr. *Deane*, of *Connecticut*, the gentleman of whom Mr. Hooper told you, when here. He says he will send some people to see our country; and if their report be favorable, he thinks many *Connecticut* people will join us. This gentleman is a scholar, and a man of sense and enterprise, and rich; and, I am apt to believe, has some thoughts of heading a party of *Connecticut* adventurers, provided things can be made agreeable to him. He is reckoned a good man, and much esteemed in Congress; but he is an enthusiast in liberty, and will have nothing to do with us unless he is pleased with our form of Government. He is a great admirer of the *Connecticut* Constitution, which he recommended to our consideration; and was so good as to favour me with a long letter on that subject, a copy of which is enclosed.”

Mr. *Deane*'s long letter, of Nov. 2d, is printed in the same volume, cols. 556-58. In it, he gives a concise history of the settlement of *Connecticut*, abstracts of some of the most important laws of the Colony, and “the outlines of the policy of the *Connecticut* government,” which, from the first, had directed its legislation; “the great and leading principles of which will (he conceives,) apply to any new State; and the sooner they are applied, the better it will be for the health and prosperity of the rising community.”

in the stage coach for New York, which prevented me from waiting on you. However, I did not doubt but I should have found you here on my return. I am heartily sorry I did not.

I have now read over the laws of Connecticut which you pointed out to me, and your observations; for which I desire to offer you my best thanks. I am much pleased with them, and as far as my vote can go, they shall have weight in the establishment of Transylvania.

Having always lived in a private station, I have had little opportunity of entering into political disquisitions; but from my earliest youth I have been accustomed to admire the British Constitution, and I am apt to suspect that, with a few improvements, a better cannot be contrived; but my abilities are quite unequal to the subject, and therefore I dare not venture so much as to enter on it. But I will look on it as a high favor, if you will at your leisure, as you have promised, write me more particularly what part of your laws we might immediately adopt, and what reject.

I have left your book with Mr. Hooper. If I could have got a copy of your Laws, I would have taken it with me, but perhaps I may fall in with it somewhere.

If you are so good as to favor me with a letter, please direct for me at Hillsborough, to the care of Andrew Miller, Esq., at Halifax, N. Carolina. The conditions of selling our lands are in Bradford's paper, and I shall order it to be put into Dunlap's. Perhaps the Company on further consideration may adopt your plan about the quit-rents.

I beg leave to subscribe myself, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obed^t humble servant,

JAMES HOGG.

P. S. Forgive blunders, as I have not time to write it over, as I am just setting out homewards.

Silas Deane, Esq.

FROM TITUS HOSMER.

MIDDLETOWN, Nov. 19th, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—I believe it may be expected that the first three appointed Delegates will attend Congress.* I have yet had no intimation to the contrary, and as attendance is enjoined on the first of January, one month of the intermediate time (now elapsed) is more than enough for deliberation; should that not happen to be the case, I shall wish to hear your *many* reasons, and likewise to be informed whether inoculation is practiced with the same safety and success in Philadelphia it is to the northward.

Kibbe has discovered a method of combining an alkali with the nitrous acid, and at the same time disengaging and precipitating the oily and heterogeneous matters that prevent the crystallization of the Nitre. He at present makes it a secret not to be communicated, but for a large reward Major Troop purchased it of him; I bought it of Major Troop. I am under no injunction to conceal it, and as I have no very sanguine expectations from the Nitre works in this Colony, I will give you the best account of it I can, in hopes it may be of some greater use where you are than (I fear) it will be here.

[Here follows a long account of the process employed by Major Troop.]

Major Troop and Mr. Chapman had wasted the summer in a number of fruitless experiments, but they practiced upon this plan, since which they have had success. They had before made about 40 lbs. of saltpetre which cost them near four months; they have since, in about six weeks, made 170 lbs., and continue to turn out about 30 lbs. per week. But 30 lbs. a week will not defray their expence, when the bounty expires.

* At the October Session of the General Assembly, Roger Sherman, Oliver Wolcott, Samuel Huntington, Titus Hosmer, and William Williams were appointed Delegates to the Congress for the year ensuing. If either of the three first named should fail to attend, then Titus Hosmer or Wm. Williams were appointed to supply the vacancy,—so that three, and three only, should attend.—*Col. Records.*

The best native earth contains but a very small proportion of nitre. Mr. Troop gave me a particular account of their weekly expenses, as follows:—

1 Team constantly employed to get earth, 2s. 10d.	
per diem, - - - -	£0 17 0
2 men with the team, at 3s. per diem each, -	1 16 0
2 men, at the works, at 3s. per diem each, - -	1 16 0
4 loads of wood, at 5s. - - - -	1 00 0
Besides the wear and tear of works, utensils, contin- gences, &c., not less than - - - -	1 00 0
	<hr/>
	6 09 0
30 lbs. saltpetre at 3s. - - - -	4 10 0
	<hr/>
Net loss per week, - - - -	£1 19 0

As none of the manufacturers of saltpetre in this Colony at present seem to think of attempting any other way of procuring materials for their manufacture but from earth found under barns, &c., I expect they will be given up at the expiration of the Colony's bounty, without w^{ch}, in this method, they must be accompanied with loss.

I believe a nitrous compost may be made, by a mixture of animal and vegetable substances, proper earth, ashes, lime, &c., digested and incorporated by putrefaction in a suitable place, which will render the manufacture of saltpetre profitable, independent of the Colony bounty; and I am preparing to try the experiment at my works. If this will not do, I must give them up with the rest, in the Spring.

The discovery of this method I have attempted to describe was merely accidental,—tho' it appears to be the same with that practiced by the Norwich artist, who demands £500 for his secret.

You have my free consent to communicate the above process to any gentleman to whom it may be useful; but as those here who made the first discovery have been at great expense, and are endeavouring by the sale of their secret to lick them-

selves whole, I should not choose to have them blown at present by a publication in the newspapers, or otherwise.

Our Lead works have been kept back by the great rains this month past. In ten days at farthest, I shall be able to inform you how they succeed. The Stamping mill is going, and the furnace will begin to blow next week, unless prevented by stormy or cold weather.

We are very ignorant here of what is doing with you, and some begin to complain that the measures of Congress are very secret. When will a Confederation take place? Shall we not be in danger of falling to pieces soon, if it is delayed? Remember, we know not the extent of the powers of Congress. Jealousy is easily excited, in many minds; once excited, it is not so easily conjured down.

Our House of Representatives is so altered you would scarcely know them. Hillhouse, Wadsworth, Dan^l Sherman, Col. Wolcott, Cols. Lee and Gay are our principal *palaver men* in the House, and Peter Bulkly is again permitted to stir up their pure minds from House to House.

You may curse my cold that has confined me to day, for the trouble of this long letter, and thank my want of paper it is no longer,—as I have only room to subscribe myself,

Affectionately yours,
TITUS HOSMER.

FROM DR. BENJAMIN GALE.

KILLINGWORTH, Nov. 22d, 1775.

SIR,—I have to ask pardon for the wrong information I gave you. At the time of my last writing, I supposed the Machine was gone, but since find one proving the navigation of it in Connecticut River. The forcing pump made by Mr. Doolittle, not being made according to order given, did not answer; which has delayed him. The trials I mentioned to have been made since Dr. Franklin's being here, was the explosion, which prov'd beyond expectation.

I suppose he sets off this day with his new constructed pump, in order to prove the navigation, and if not prevented by ice in the River, will proceed soon. So far as you may have made known the contents of my letter, you may add this supplement.

He is by no means discouraged in the attempt. I had not seen him myself since Dr. Franklin was here, and his movement I had only from common report, but have since seen him myself. But few know the cause of his present delay.

I may not add, but to congratulate you and my country on our happy success to the Northward;* and just to acquaint you that a report was industriously spread among us, that Col. Dyer and yourself were both confined in irons, for being Tories. The story gained great credit by your being left out by the Assembly, which was a wicked scheme. One of my neighbours came in one morning, looking much dejected, and told me the story. I told him I had just read in one of our papers you was *committed*; took it up, and read him your being appointed of the Committee to collect and assess the damages. He laughed, and went away much satisfied. I hope the Congress will not suffer you and Col. Dyer to return without some marks of respect. I forgot almost to subscribe,

Your most obt^h hum^{ble} serv^t,

B. GALE.

P. S. Now we may write post free,—pray let me know something new, and when we may expect to see our little States new modeled. I want to see it come abroad.

We never more shall again be united with Great Britain. They are a devoted Kingdom. Ut supra, B. G.

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 26th, 1775.

MY DEAR,—Yours of ye 22^d rec^d last night. Every thing which happens to so near a friend is interesting, however un-

* The news of the surrender of St. John's was received in Hartford, by an Express from the Northern Army, November 12th.

important to the rest of the world. I therefore rejoice at your safe return, and at your finding the families in so good a situation,—to whom my warmest remembrance, and congratulations to the new parents. Tho^s Mumford Esq^r arrived here night before last, and his brother, as usual, sticks by the stuff. Col. Dyer increases in fretfulness with the severity of the weather; and brother Roger sets off to-morrow to pay a visit to Connecticut, before the new delegation are seated.

Things are in just the same train as when you left us, and consequently I am quite as willing to quit my station to abler men; and who they are, the Colony knows, or ought to know, best. I did not leave New York until Saturday morning, and then with the mortification of effecting nothing. Was thrown into the most wretched situation, at those two little Ferries, which took us not five minutes to cross, took me near as many hours; the wind and tide conspiring against us, carried us quite down into the Bay, and in short, I was glad to get on shore at any rate, or any where, after well nigh perishing with the cold. At Elisabeth Town, where we dined on Sunday, I dined, and found my friend Jay waiting for me; he took a seat with me, and we had as agreeable a journey as the badness of the roads and weather would admit of; saving that at Woodbridge, where we lodged, somebody finding out that I had two loose coats, (for I bought me a new one in New York,) very civilly borrowed my old one, without troubling me with any questions about the matter, or debating which he should take. He also borrowed a pair of shoes and buckles, and some other trifles, of Mr. Jay, and has not called on either of us since. Thus you see it is in vain for me to think of having more than one coat at a time, were I provident enough to lay in so small a stock,—which you know I am not in general.

I del^d your billet and pattern to Mrs. Trist, who thanks you for your commission, which, when executed, will report.

Believe me, my Dear, my long and thorough acquaintance with y^e genius of our Assembly prevents my being surprized at any sudden whim they take, or uneasy at any of their Resolutions, so far as they respect myself individually. On a re-

view of the part I have acted on the public theatre of life, an examination of my own genius and disposition, unfit for trimming, courting, and intrigues with the populace, I have greater reason to wonder how I ever became popular at all. What therefore I did not expect, I have too much philosophy to be in distress at losing. I only wish that my friends felt as easy on this occasion as myself. If they knew what fatigues I have undergone, and the disagreeable prospects before me, as to public affairs, they could wish me here only in confidence that my abilities might be of service to the public, rather than to myself. But of this the Supreme Assembly are best judges, and to them I submit, sincerely praying that the consequences which I think I foresee necessarily flowing from this measure, may be averted.

I am surprized that Knight should abuse me in the manner he has done. Cost what it will, procure a supply elsewhere.

I should be sorry that you or my friends should manifest any uneasiness on my being superseded; for they who effected it will find, and that soon, the mischief intended recoil on them to their shame and disgrace, or I am greatly mistaken; and at present, God knows I wish the worst of them no other punishment than a consciousness of the low, envious, jealous and sordid motives by which they are actuated; as, on the other hand, one of the greatest pleasures I enjoy is a consciousness of the rectitude of my intentions and conduct, and the pleasing reflection of being superior to such motives and those actuated by them.

I have wrote a long letter, and on a review it is too much about myself. I will write of some thing of more importance in my next. My compliments to all Friends.

I am, my Dear,

Your Affectionate Husband,

S. DEANE.

FROM SIMEON DEANE.

WETHERSFIELD, 27th Nov., 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,—I wrote you p^r last post, since which nothing very material has occurred except the news of the possession of Montreal, which likely has reached you ere this.

I am desired by a number of gentlemen here, to ask, thro' your influence, whether the Congress will grant commission to private adventurers to fit out a privateer or privateers to take British property on this coast, or in the W. Indies. I observe that the General Assembly of Massachusetts have commission'd armed vessels on their coast; though we are not told what their limitations (if any) are. In case American privateers are to be allowed to take British property in the West Indies, you are sensible that the first opportunity may be very advantageous, and as well disposed of in this Colony as anywhere; especially as the persons now applying are your good friends, and would prosecute the affair immediately.

If you think there is a probability of permission from the Congress, pray attempt it, and write me in answer p^r next post, as those persons desirous of adventuring are very impatient to be inform'd, and any very considerable delay wou'd perhaps put it out of their power to equip in season.

As to what I hinted concerning the place of Dep. Paymaster, I make no doubt of your kind remembrance in case of vacancy.

Mrs. Webb has been very dangerously sick, but is now considerably better, and we hope may recover. Major Skene, Jun^r has made an elopement, not very much to his honor, and is now supposed to be on board the Asia. Our worthy Sheriff was all in the suds on Saturday, and went over to see the officers, &c. Major Skene I hear was somewhat refractory. Moland was desir'd to sign a parole and refused, on which he was put into close gaol, and I believe this cold weather will sober him.*

* "Joseph Moland, an Ensign in his Majesty's 26th Regiment of Foot, who was taken prisoner on Lake Champlain in May last, and consigned to

Pray write me, on return of the post, concerning our privateer scheme.

I am, dear brother,

Yours,

SIMEON DEANE.

P. S. Brother Barnabas desires an answer to his last letter.

FROM THE CONNECTICUT DELEGATES IN CONGRESS TO
GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.*

PHILADELPHIA, Decembr 5th, 1775.

GOVERNOR TRUMBULL,

SIR,—Yours of the 18th and 25th ult^o are before us. The draught of Articles of Confederation we have not as yet been able to lay before the Congress; business of every kind, and from every quarter, thickening fast at this season. We obtained a Com^{tee} to hear the dispute between the Colony and Mr. Penn,† who reported, but the delegates of this province

the care of the Committee for the Prisoners in this Town, was, by their order, on Saturday last, committed to the common Gaol in this place for the many insults he has offered to the Committee and many of the Inhabitants of the Town, and it is likely he will continue there till, by his Repentance and *Reformation*, he *merits* his enlargement.”—*Courant*, Nov. 27th. He had been provided with quarters “in a good family in Windsor; but was unwilling to stay at the place of his destination.” Gov. Trumbull’s letter to Congress, Nov. 11th, in *Am. Archives*, iii. 1529. He was not long in jail. Next year, he was making more trouble in Hartford. See *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i, p. 215.

* From a copy, in Mr. Deane’s hand-writing. In a letter to his wife, Dec. 15th, he tells her: “I wrote to Gov. Trumbull a letter on the conduct of the Assembly, which he will be obliged to read before them when they meet, and I think some people will look small, in the issue.”

† Nov. 3d, 1775. “Letters were now received by the Governor, containing accounts that the *Pennites* from about the West Branch of the Susquehannah, were about to come armed, (about five hundred,) to cut and drive off the Connecticut Settlers from Wyoming, &c. The matter discoursed, and considered as having a most dangerous tendency, &c., to break the Union of the Colonies, &c., and probably, the plan concerted by enemies with that view. And the Governour desired to write Congress, &c., about the matter, and endeavour to have the matter healed, and each side remain quiet in their own limits, &c.” *Journal of Conn. Council of Safety*, in *Am. Archives*, 4th Ser., iii. 1332.

opposed the acceptance, and finally, the most we could obtain was, such orders as we hope will prevent further hostilities, and a recommitment of the Report; since which, have not had opportunity of being heard again before the Committee, but have a prospect of obtaining relief so far as to have the prisoners, *Judd* and *Sluman*, discharged. This affair, sufficiently troublesome at any time, has given us inconceivable trouble in our situation. We have advanced money for their support, which has been, and still is very expensive, but conclude the Colony, or Company will re-imburse us.

The Com^{tee} of Messrs. Deane, Adams and Wythe,* desire as early an auditing as can be procured of the damages done by the Enemy to the inhabitants of Connecticut.

Mr. Sherman left us some time since, and you may probably have a letter from him while in Connecticut.

Could any of Mr. Chester's conduct be surprising, we should express our wonder that a letter wrote and delivered him early in October should not come to hand until the 24th ult^o, but his conduct here, respecting the unhappy dispute between our Colony and Mr. Penn, has freed us from being surprized at anything he may hereafter say, or do, on this subject.

The accompts inclosed in yours of the 25th we have only had time to look at, and, without particular examination, observe: that altho' it may be very proper that the Continent should be acquainted with the distresses and expenditures of each Colony, yet we are in doubt as to the propriety of laying in the expense of holding Assemblies and sending delegates to Congress, as a charge to the Continent, and are apprehensive such a claim would rather do us harm than otherways, as no such demand has been made by any other Colony. This acct is filed No. 12. The acct No. 13 will, we conceive, want explanation, how far the Expresses or post-riders were employed

* Messrs. Deane, John Adams, and George Wythe, were appointed (Oct. 18th.) a committee to collect "a just and well authenticated account of the hostilities committed by the Ministerial Troops and Navy in America, since last March;" the number and value of buildings destroyed, vessels seized, stock taken, by them, &c. Journal of Congress.

merely in the Continental, and how far in the service of individuals. The acco^{ts} No. 5 and No. 10 relate to arms and ammunition. The first, we conceive (for the particulars are not before us,) is for the supply of those articles on the soldiers' entering the service; the latter is said to be in order *to replace loss of arms, blankets, &c.* These being gross charges will want explanation, (viz.) whether the Colony agreed to furnish the soldiers on enlisting, with arms and blankets, over and above their wages; also, whether these charges were any part of them for cloathing. The acco^t No. 9 requires, we conceive, a very different stating, as the Board of Claims will not pass such general charges as those for the Money advanced for Powder, Lead, &c., without knowing first, what quantity of those articles they have actually received.

Having but this moment received your last favor, and the Express going out this day, must defer saying anything more particular on these acco^{ts} at this time, observing, that as the Rhode Island acco^{ts} are now under examination, we can in a day or two be more explicit, as the mode in which they are passed will form a precedent for ours. But at the same time inform you, that as several Colonies, this in particular, have been at large and heavy expenses, not only in training their Militia but in arming themselves both by sea and land, without making any charges that we have as yet heard of to the Continent therefor, we conceive that it will not be prudent to urge the claim No. 11 for special attendance, &c., in pursuance of the act of Oct^r, 1774, nor shall we, unless specially directed, lay it in.

This Colony has now in the River fourteen armed Galleys, with near seven hundred men on board; and we are informed by their Committee of Safety, which has sat daily for the last six months, that their expenses have amounted to more than fifty thousand pounds, which they expect to bear as a Colony charge. Should they alter their opinion, the expense of our Armed Vessels might then be urged for, with greater propriety; indeed we considered it a probable method to have them paid for, to get them into Continental service, but your Honor will

remember, that, at the time they were applied for, they were reported to be unfit for the Eastward service. The Congress are now fitting out with all possible dispatch a number of armed Vessels, and though the Committee have engaged the number already ordered, yet it is our opinion, more especially Mr. Deane's, who attends that Board, that if the *Minerva** shall be judged staunch and fit for service, that she may be employed by the Congress. Wish your Honor to write on this subject in your next, as the season advances, and our fleet must sail soon. Capt. Whipple† has joined them, this day, and is taken into Continental service.

Your motion for Cannon shall be laid before Congress tomorrow, and we shall take the earliest opportunity of giving you the result.

Mr. Kirtland and Mr. Deane are employed,‡ and everything

* In Congress, Oct. 4, on the report of a Committee appointed to prepare a plan for intercepting two vessels from England, bound for Canada, with ammunition, &c., Gen. Washington was requested to apply to the Council of Massachusetts for their two armed vessels,—a letter was written to Gov. Cooke of Rhode Island, desiring him to dispatch one or both of the armed vessels of that Colony,—and another to Gov. Trumbull, “requesting of him the largest vessel in the service of the Colony of Connecticut, to be sent on the enterprise aforesaid.” *Journals*, in *Am. Archives*, iii. 1890. At a session of the Connecticut Council of Safety, Oct. 9, Capt. Giles Hall, of the Brig *Minerva*, was ordered on this cruise. The *Minerva*, (a brig of 108 tons burthen,) owned by Capt. William Griswold of Wethersfield, had been taken for the service of the Colony, in accordance with a Resolution of the General Assembly, at the July session. When ordered to sail, her seamen, ten or twelve excepted, refused to go on board, and the expedition wholly failed. *Hinman's Connecticut in the Revolution*, pp. 328, 335; *Am. Archives*, iii. 1330.

† Capt. Abraham Whipple, commander of the Rhode Island armed Sloop was employed in the service of the Congress, by a Resolve of Dec. 14, and ordered to be dispatched “to aid the marine business to the southward.” *Journal of Congress*; *Am. Archives*, iii. 1938.

‡ The Rev. Samuel Kirkland, and Mr. James Deane. The former, a son of the Rev. Daniel Kirkland, of Norwich, had been a missionary among the Oneida Indians since 1769,—though his mission was virtually suspended, at the commencement of hostilities with Great Britain. See *Sprague's Annals*, (*Trin. Congregational*), i. 623-630. He was especially

respecting the Indians appears favorable. It will be best that Mr. Wolcott take pains to go to the bottom of the suspected wickedness of one of his Colleagues, as he will stand on his defence, and may require a public trial.

We wish to know when the Assembly will be convened, as we trust they will give us an opportunity of reporting our proceedings to them, and rendering up that trust committed to us, and in our absence taken from us before we had completed it, for reasons unknown to us, in the most public, as we are conscious to ourselves we can in the most honorable manner. At a time like this, when every man of sensibility and patriotism is "*feelingly alive all over*,"—when all he can expect to save out of the general wreck of the times is, a consciousness of having done everything in his power to save his Country and render it happy, and a character among his countrymen correspondent therewith,—we must be stupidly negligent to ourselves and our immediate posterity affected by our characters, should we silently pass by the strongest censure pass'd on us, by implication, in the late new appointment; a censure in the face of the whole Continent, and which, if unexplained, will be forever considered as such; though they will, which is our chief happiness, never find ground or cause *in our conduct*. Phlegmatic people may reason as they feel on the occasion; dark, envious, and designing persons, whether out doors or in, may gloss it over to suit their views; we trust neither set will prevent our having a public opportunity of giving an account of the manner in which we have executed, so far as we have been permitted, the all-important trust committed to us, which is the only favor we wish for, or ask.

active in endeavoring to preserve the neutrality of the Six Nations. Congress, Nov. 11, 1775, made him an allowance for the continued support of his mission. Mr. James Deane was recommended by Congress, Nov. 23d, 1775, to the Commissioners for Indian Affairs in the Northern Department, to be employed as an interpreter to the Six Nations. He had been "brought up and naturalized among them" and was a great master of their language." Am. Archives, iii. 1918, 1924. Pres. Wheelock's Letters to Gov. Trumbull and to Silas Deane, in Hist. Magazine, N. S., vi. 239, 240.

A dangerous storm is gathering in the South, Lord Dunmore having proceeded to the black and dreadful extremity of putting, as far as is in his power, into execution the execrable plans of Ministry, by proclaiming liberty to the Slaves in Virginia. Shall be able to write you more at large in our next on this subject.

The Naval Committee will be in want of seamen and marines: if therefore, the Brig^a in Colony service will, on refitting, bear a survey, and can be warranted sound and staunch for service, Mr. Deane thinks the Naval Committee would employ her to bring round Seamen and Stores to this place; but this must be resolved on immediately, as before hinted.

Respecting the Colony acco^{ts}, we cannot consider ourselves at liberty to lay them in partially, without your orders, and for reasons above we are convinced, that exhibiting them as sent us, would prejudice the Colony; particularly, the charge for training the Militia since Oct^r, 1774, the charge for the Lead Mines, and the general charge of Monies advanced Mr. Sherman, Mr. Shaw, &c.

The importance of the harbor of New London, the ease and certainty of fortifying it, with the great advantages resulting therefrom to the Continent in general, to the Colony in particular, have not escaped our notice; but with all submission we suggest, whether the charge already incurred in that department had not better be omitted for the present, until the Continent will take it up generally. In everything that relates to the above, wish to have your earliest commands; in executing which, we shall ever exert the utmost of our abilities, and hope to your satisfaction.

We are &c.

FROM CAPT. DUDLEY SALTONSTALL.*

NEW LONDON, 7th Decr, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,—I received your favour of the 27th ult^o, wherein you are pleased to confer on me the command of a Ship in

* The second (surviving) son of Col. Gurdon Saltonstall, and elder brother of Mr. Deane's wife.

the Continental Service; which I cheerfully accept of, and am much obliged to you for your approbation of me to so important a command. Must forego repairing to Philadelphia, until I receive the Articles,* without which it is impossible to engage either officers or privates. Should I not receive them by next post, shall then proceed on to Philadelphia; in the mean time, shall do my utmost to engage men for the service without them. I am, Gentlemen, your most

obedient humble servant,

DUDLEY SALTONSTALL.

To Com^{tee} for Continental Navy.

FROM DR. BENJAMIN GALE.

KILLINGWORTH, 7th Dec., 1775.

DEAR SIR,—According to your request I wrote you sometime since respecting our machine,† supposing it was gone to the eastward. On finding that on proof of the navigation one instrument failed performing what was expected from it I then by letter acquainted you the proceeding was delayed until that could be repaired; which when done, another proof has been made which answers well, and every trial made requisite to the attempt respecting navigation, and everything answers well, but still he fails on one account. He proposes going in the night, on account of safety. He always depended on fox-wood, which gives light in the dark, to fix on the points of the needle of his compass, and in his barometer, by which he may know what course to steer and the depth he is under water, both which are of absolute necessity for personal safety of the nav-

* The "Rules for the Regulation of the Navy of the United Colonies" were adopted, in Congress, Nov. 28th. Am. Archives, 4th Ser., iii. 1929. Dec. 22d, the Committee to fit out armed vessels, reported to the Congress, the appointment of Ezek Hopkins, Esq., Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet; Captains Dudley Saltonstall, of the *Alfred*; Abraham Whipple, of the *Columbus*; Nicholas Biddle, of the *Andrew Doria*; John B. Hopkins, of the *Cabot*. Id. 1957.

† See pages 315, 322, ante.

igator: but he now finds that the frost wholly destroys that quality in that wood, of which he was before ignorant, and for that reason and that alone he is obliged to desist. He was detained near two months for want of money, and before he could obtain it the season was so far advanced he was, in the manner I have now related, frustrated. I write you this with two views, first that you and those to whom you may have communicated what I wrote, may not think I have imposed upon you an idle story, and in the next place to have you enquire of Dr. Franklin w^h he knows of any kind of phosphorus which will give light in the dark and not consume the air. He has tried a candle, but that destroys the air so fast he cannot remain under water long enough to effect the thing. This you may rely upon, he has made every requisite experiment in proof of the machine, and it answers expectations; what I mentioned above is only wanting.

As I have not received a line from you since I first wrote, I know not whether you ever have received it, for I have not received one letter by the post for two months past, from any quarter whatever. As our tavern-keeper where the post leaves his letters is one of our Committee,* they are all intercepted; and if I send any, I am obliged to deliver them out of town or have them superscribed by some other person. I take it hard that neither Col. Saltonstall nor Mr. Beers, by you nominated Post-Master in New Haven, can order the post-riders to deliver their letters at some other house in Killingworth excepting that house. All my letters on business and other affairs are intercepted by them, and the posts themselves I believe connive with them. The town are affronted, and the whole Committee will to a man be left out next week; but that will not help the matter for six months yet to come, as he will remain tavern-keeper until June next. If therefore I have no interest in your friendship in that matter, I must conclude to sweat it out.

The person, the inventor of this machine, now makes all his affairs a secret even to his best friends, and I have liberty to

* See note on page 294, ante.

communicate this much from him only with a view to know if Dr. Franklin knows of any kind of phosphorus that will answer his purpose; otherwise the execution must be omitted until next spring, after the frosts are past. I am therefore to request your strictest silence in that matter.

I am Sir, your humble servant,

B. GALE.

FROM JOHN SLOSS HOBART.

NEW YORK, Dec. 12th, 1775.

SIR,—This will be handed to you by Capt. Samuel Smedley of Fairfield, a son of the late Col. James Smedley, whose character as a soldier was well known. This gentleman desiring to engage in the service of his country, has applied to me for letters to some gentleman of the Congress. I take the liberty to recommend him to you, and beg the favor that you will endeavour to procure for him some office on board the fleet. I am fully convinced that he will [by] his conduct in that department, do honor to those who shall recommend him.* I have only time to add that I am with great respect,

Your most obed^t serv^t,

JN^o SLOSS HOBART.

FROM COL. GURDON SALTONSTALL.

NEW LONDON, Dec. 14th, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Capt. Saltonstall is much disappointed in not receiving Articles for the seamen intended to be enlisted for sea-service.† There are many good men well disposed to en-

* In March, 1776, he was appointed by the Governor and Council of Safety, Lieutenant of Marines on the Colony Brig *Defence*; promoted, First Lieutenant, Jan., 1777, and succeeded Capt. Harding as Captain of the *Defence*, February 7th. Hinman's *Connecticut in the Revolution*, 352, 402, 409.

† See page 333, ante.

gage at this port, New Haven, and farther westward, but they will not engage as yet, without knowing the terms. Capt. Saltonstall will this morning take a turn among the seamen, to let them know he is without further directions, and encourage them as much as possible to engage; and then, immediately set off for Philadelphia, and will probably reach New York Sabbath evening, or Monday morning. He will necessarily be detained a little on the road, to engage what seamen he can: you'll not have a letter from him this day, as he will be with you as soon as possible.

The Assembly sits this day at New Haven; their special business not known; it is said Gen. Washington has made requisition for 2000 troops. The Comt^e of Pay Table are gone to the Camp, to pay off the Colony Troops, and our last intelligence from thence is, that there is a good disposition in our troops, and they enlist very fast; that the minute-men come in such plenty that the General has given leave for all to return home that choose so to do. The recruiting parties in this Colony meet with great success. Capt. D. S. waits on the Gov^r as he passes through New Haven.

Inclosed you have an open letter to the honorable Jn^o Hancock, Esq^r, in favor of D. S. You'll find there will appear much of parental affection (and perhaps partiality) in it, and if you judge it indiscreet, omit delivering it.

You also have inclosed, Col. Harry Babcock's letter to me. I heartily wish him all possible happiness, and know no better method to communicate his desire than by inclosing his letter; you know his character: I can say no more, than that if he is in perfect health, he is undoubtedly at such time a gallant soldier.* He has been some time at Camp, where the Generals

* Col. Harry Babcock was the eldest son of Dr. Joshua Babcock of Westery, R. I. Two of Col. Saltonstall's sons,—Gilbert and Capt. Dudley,—married daughters of Dr. Babcock. Col. Harry is described by those who knew him as "a brilliant and extraordinary man—formed by nature and education to be an ornament to the country which gave him birth:" "a man of fine person, accomplished manners, commanding voice, and an elegant speaker." He graduated at Yale in 1752, at the age of sixteen; was captain of a company in the French war, at nineteen, and at twenty-two

have had opportunity to see his conduct, and no doubt what the Gen^{ls} Washington and Putnam write will have its proper weight. What vacancy there is of a Brigadier, is to me unknown. The Col^s acco^t relative to Conannicut, is agreeable to the various acco^ts we have received touching that matter. I hav't time to add more, than that son Gilbert left all well at Weathersfield, the 12th inst.

Yor^r most obliged
G. SALTONSTALL.

Silas Deane, Esq.

FROM COL. HARRY BABCOCK TO COL. SALTONSTALL.

[Enclosed in the preceding.]

STONINGTON, 13th Decr, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—I am just returned from Camp; must beg the favor of you to write to Mr. Dean to support a letter of General Putnam's, who addressed a letter to General Washington recommending me to the appointment of a Brigadier in the Continental army. There is a vacancy in his department, and Gen. Washington has forwarded Gen. Putnam's letter to the Congress.*

On my return from Camp, lodged last Saturday night at Tower Hill.† On Sunday morning, at break of day, we were alarmed with the cry of Fire, upon which we found that five houses were in flames upon the Island of Conanicutt. The

commanded the Rhode Island regiment; and served to the end of the war, with distinguished reputation. *Udike's History of the Narragansett Church*, pp. 312, 314-16. Before the beginning of the Revolution, he settled in Stonington, and began the practice of law.

When "in perfect health"—as Col. Saltonstall remarks,—Col. Harry was "undoubtedly, a gallant soldier," and an accomplished gentleman. But his health had been seriously impaired by his service in the French war, and he never entirely regained it.

* Gen. Putnam's letter to Gen. Washington, Dec. 1, 1775, (enclosed to the President of Congress, Dec. 4th,) is printed in *Am. Archives*, 4th Ser., iv. 182.

† In South Kingston, R. I.

country was alarmed as soon as possible. Fifty Provincials were upon the Island. I immediately repaired to Narragansett Ferry, where I found a number of people collected. Out of a hundred, thirty-six volunteered, who put themselves under my command, embarked on board of a Sloop. Capt. Wallace, just as we embarked, set fire to two houses. We imagined he designed to burn every house on the Island.

I appointed Mr. Jonathan Hazard and Capt. Tew, to act as officers. We were told that the enemy had landed a number of field pieces. I observed to the people at the Ferry, that even if they had, they were not so terrible as some people imagined; that it was a shame to afford no relief to the distressed inhabitants, and that the party on the Island might be entirely cut to pieces, for the want of our assistance; and that it would be a noble prize to take Capt. Wallace prisoner. The Col^o of the Militia and several other officers I urged hard to step on board the Sloop, but they tho't the attempt too hazardous, and chose to keep themselves out of danger. We arrived time enough to save one house.

Capt. Wallace landed with 75 marines, 125 seamen and 20 women. They plundered and burnt 15 houses; took off 50 head of cattle, 30 sheep, and 40 hogs. Besides, a number of barns full of hay, and several cribs full of corn were likewise committed to the flames. He landed at three o'clock in the morning, with five tenders; surprized the guard; took two of them prisoners, and several women and children and sundry of the inhabitants. Eight Indians, that were under the command of Lt. Smith, made themselves a raft of rails and pushed off for the Main, but were taken up by Major Dyer, who arrived with a number of men from North Kingstown, about an hour after we landed. Capt. Wallace, seeing a collection of people at Narragansett, and a number embarking on board the Sloop, tho't it most prudent to take himself off, and not to wait our arrival.

Gen. Putnam has christened the thirteen-inch mortar the Congress, and I hope the enemy will soon hear some of her speeches. If they are not so refined and eloquent as those of

Shakespeare's, which the enemy are diverting themselves with at Funnell Hall, they may at least serve to amuse them, by varying the scene.

I most heartily congratulate you upon Capt. Saltonstall's being appointed second in command in the American Navy. I dare say he will do honor to his Country. Please to present my most respectful compliments to your good lady and family, and believe me to be, with greatest esteem and profoundest respect,

Your most obedient
and most humble servant,

H. BABCOCK.

The Post waits, otherwise I would copy this hasty scrawl.
Col. Gurdon Saltonstall.

N. B. The women and children and inhabitants were set at liberty the next day by Capt. Wallace. No person wounded, except Martin on the Island. Four marines wounded by the Provincials.

[In Col. Saltonstall's hand:] On the cover of this letter was added:—Cobble Hill is now named Gen. Putnam's impregnable Fortress.

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 15th, 1775.

I wrote you one line yesterday per Capt. Phelps; since which I am fully convinced this Congress will adjourn before Christmas, if nothing new offers. Naval preparations are now entering upon with spirit, and yesterday the Congress chose a Standing Committee to superintend this department, of which I had the honor to be unanimously chosen one.* This will detain me here some time after the 1st of January; indeed, I apprehend that the Congress will leave a number, to put into execution the Resolves of the Congress, together with the Naval Committee, as the adjournment will probably be over to the

* The "Committee for carrying into execution the Resolutions of Congress for fitting out Armed Vessels," consisting of one from each Colony, was chosen, by ballot, Dec. 14th. *Journal of Congress.*

1st of March. I do not expect to return sooner, unless it may be, to engage workmen in the business, part of which I shall agree to have carried on in the Colony. I hear from Connecticut that I am in irons,* and that your journey with Mr. Webb was to see me, and as I shall not return with Col. Dyer, and cyder being plenty, I expect to hear soon of my being hanged, drawn, and quartered.

I wrote to Governor Trumbull a letter on the conduct of the Assembly, which he will be obliged to read before them when they meet, and, I think, some people will look small in the issue. If the Assembly sit this winter, I shall endeavor to be at home at the time at all adventures, to demand a hearing before them, how I have discharged the trust reposed in me, and shall bring with me vouchers for my conduct, from the Congress. My enemies' designs have been, by superseding me in my absence, tacitly to censure me, and leave by implication a stigma on my character which they know a public hearing must not only clear up, but tumble them into the pit they have (like moles as they are,) been digging for me. They cloak themselves under sanction and authority of Assembly, and have no idea of my asking for a public hearing, which, as they have not censured me directly, they imagine I shall not think of. But I can fairly do it, by desiring to give an account of my performance of the duty reposed in me, and justice can never refuse me.

Col. Dyer joined me in the letter, but he somehow grows every day more peevish and is at times absolutely intolerable. I know the cause, and you can guess at it.

Governor Ward has, in a formal manner, laid siege to Mrs. House, and I am apt to think the fortress will surrender on the first serious summons.

Poor Mrs. Christ^r. Marshall died this morning, suddenly, which has greatly distressed that friendly circle of brothers and sisters. You remember she was D. Mumford's master's wife.

* Alluding to Dr. Gale's letter of Nov. 22d. See page 323, ante.

I look out, most impatiently, for your brother Dudley. His Ship is a fine one, of thirty odd guns, and is nearly ready.

The behavior of our soldiers has made me sick; but little better could be expected from men trained up with notions of their right of saying how, and when, and under whom, they will serve; and who have, for certain dirty political purposes, been tampered with by their officers, among whom no less than a *General* has been busy.

I sent you the silk, cost four dollars the whole, by Capt. E. Phelps, whom I sent Express to Rhode Island, and ordered him to send you the silk by the Post from New Haven. I shall write brother Bar^s by this opportunity. You will shew such parts of this letter to such persons as you may judge fit to be seen and to see.

My compl^{ts} to neighboring Friends. Love to the Family and Connections.

I am affectionately yours,

S. DEANE.

FROM ADAM BABCOCK.

NEW HAVEN, 16th Decr, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—It was unfortunate for me that I happened to be out of town at the time those Gentlemen passed thro' New Haven, by whom you was kind eno' to write me a line which I found at home, at my return from Camp, where I had been on a tour with our mutual friend, Mr. Douglas,* who is now no more. A heavy loss this to us; I loved him much. You know he was one of those happy few whom every man loved.

I am much obliged to you for the honor you did me in the letter I mentioned just now, p^r Doc^r Franklin, who and the other Gent^a I was unlucky eno' to miss by being out of town when they returned, which I regret exceedingly.

I recollect I was on a journey to Lebanon at that time, in behalf of the town, requesting the Governor and his Council

* Benjamin Douglas, Esq., King's Attorney for New Haven County, died early in December.

to put us into some better posture of defence against our Naval Enemies. We have had fifty men constantly employ'd since that time, in erecting works at Black Rock, on the east side of our Harbour, which I hope will be completed by the Spring. Believe me Sir, it will give me much pleasure to be favored with a line from you, in this or any way. The other part of the letter I shew'd to Col. Fitch, our Commissary, to induce him to comply with the request; but he soon convinced me that the flannel could not be obtained here.

I must apologize for not having informed you of this sooner, but am sure no ill consequences can ensue from the neglect, as I perceive the soldiers for whom the shirts were wanted are determined to wear out what they have at home and not at Camp; a circumstance that mortifies me much. Pray why were the recruiting orders postponed to so late a period? We wish you had omitted some smaller matters, just to have convinced us of what this has done,—that you are not infallible; for it must be owned that the measures of the Congress have been almost invariably crowned with success.

I am very glad you have been thoughtful of Capt. Saltonstall, and have provided him with a place which, I have not the least doubt, he will fill with honor to himself and satisfaction to his Country. It will give me much pleasure to assist him and the officers he leaves behind him, in collecting seamen here, not only that I may serve him, but especially the Cause, which lies very near my heart. But why do you stop at four Ships? Pray let me hear you are preparing ten at least, of the best Ships you can get; and order every material collected this winter, in the different ports that favor such a design, to build and furnish out a fleet of twenty sail of Frigates, from twenty-four to thirty-six guns. In case of an accommodation this winter, the expense will be no mighty affair; and if the war proceeds, we are undone without such a Fleet, which, as their Force must be divided into three or four parts on the Continent, would be an over match for any they can send into these seas. I think this place would be a proper one for building two; and here is a very fine parcel of long stuff col-

lected, quite eno' for one ; and as our port will soon be entirely secure, provided we can get heavy cannon, the Ships would be in perfect security till they should be fit for sea. I should be glad to serve the public in this or any other way that I am capable of.

If there should be anything said in Congress of brother Henry as to an appointment in the Army, I should be much obliged to you for your friendship on that occasion ; which I would not ask if I did not fully believe he would [] your recommendation by his faithful and vigorous [] the service. I will no longer detain you than [to] assure you that I am, with sincere esteem and regard,

Your most obedient humble servant,

ADAM BABCOCK.

FROM THOMAS MUMFORD.

NEW HAVEN, 18th December, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of 8th inst. was handed me since here, by his Honor our Governor. I am very sorry to find you have had any trouble to agree for the Ship Mr. McKean engaged for me on account of the United Colonies. I left a line with the money for him, in which I insisted that if Col. Lattimore of New Castle, (who was to load said Ship,) would not engage to sign the Charter Party and do every thing necessary to dispatch said ship, then he was to deliver the money to Messrs. Benja^a Marshall & Brothers, who had engaged *with me* to do the needful if necessary. With that expectation I left Philadelphia.

Capt. Saltonstall left us yesterday ; will be with you before this. It would give me pleasure to assist him with some good sailors. The vessels Mr. Shaw and self are now fitting will carry off the chief there is at New London. As the soldiers are now returning, a number of which are sailors, I hope some may soon be enlisted. I daily expect Capt. Elisha Hinman, who I imagine will gladly accept to go second with Capt. Saltonstall.

We have done very little yet in the Assembly. We find some difficulty to fall on a proper plan to recruit our army before Boston, as the Congress has prohibited our giving any bounty, and that is what our people have been accustomed to. However, I hope we shall be able to fall on some plan that will be effectual. My plan is, to send as many of our Militia for two months as will be necessary; by which time I have no doubt our officers (now at Camp,) may come into this Colony and fill their companies.

I conclude we shall soon want to recruit our Northern Army likewise; for by letters from Col. Arnold, dated 20th ult^o, he had withdrawn twenty-four miles from Quebeck, not being able to penetrate there, and had sent to Gen. Montgomery for assistance. Carlton has got into Quebeck. I expect p^r next post to receive a line from you respecting Mr. Shaw's permission. I must have leave for the sailors to carry some shoats in the vessels I am fitting out, which is what they always expect.

Your not being continued at Congress occasions much uneasiness in the Colony, but some difficulty attends getting you added, as we have appointed two supernumerary ones who are to attend in case of need. I think to propose to have you continued until the expense of this year is settled, as you are one of the Board of claims. My best wishes ever attend you, and am sincerely, my dear Sir,

Your very affect^{te}

THO^s MUMFORD.

Silas Deane, Esq.

FROM THOMAS MUMFORD.

NEW HAVEN, 21st Decem^r, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Since I wrote you p^r last Post, I have received your favor of 13th inst. p^r Mr. Phelps. I think you have a just idea of my neighbor, Mr. Shaw, tho' I must do him the justice to say I never (since his late return from Philadelphia,) heard him utter a word to your disadvantage, but the reverse;

and faulted our Assembly much, for their conduct in not re-appointing you to continue at Congress. This I conclude was from the representation given him by a number of the Delegates, of your importance at that Hon^{ble} Board. This is the sense of a great number of the inhabitants of this Colony, yet the present temper of a considerable majority of our Assembly are in favor of the newly elected Delegates. I have conversed with a number that I have reason to believe would gladly continue you, who advise me not to urge your continuance (in the Assembly,) being assured it will have no good effect. I am particularly sorry for the great loss the public will sustain when you leave the Congress.

You desire my sentiments whether a Frigate of about 700 tons can be built in this Colony, and by what time. I think we have one Carpenter at least in this Colony, capable of building such a ship; I mean Mr. Goddard, and I think she may be built with safety either in Norwich or Connecticut Rivers; but I believe, tho' carpenters are plenty, it will require five months to complete her. Whenever you think I can be of service to self or country, beg you'll remember and command me freely.

My hearty service to Capt. Saltonstall and all friends with you. Our Assembly have bought a very good Brig, 150 tons and upwards, recommended highly as a good sailer, &c., been only one voyage. Capt. Greg of Greenwich, from whom she was bought, commanded a privateer last war; says, this vessel is well calculated for the use we bought her for. I hope we shall agree, before the Assembly rises, to buy and fit out another such Brig; if so, we shall have our coast well guarded, and from the information you give me, I expect by next summer we shall have a formidable fleet. God grant they may be successful.

Our Assembly have adopted the best measures they could conceive of to recruit the army before Boston. They have abated the heads of all their soldiers from their lists that enlist into the service, as the Congress have prohibited our giving them a bounty. We have besides, *in our House*,—

Resolved, That one quarter of our Militia shall be enlisted and held as minute men, to march on the shortest notice ; and his Honor the Governor is desired to inform the General that such numbers of those minute men as he judges necessary, shall march to camp for two months, until the Continental Army can be recruited. I hope this provision will be sufficient, and continue us in the good esteem the Congress have entertained of us.

I expect to return home in a few days ; will continue to give you every information (worthy of your notice,) that comes to my knowledge. We are somewhat alarmed to hear the Assembly of New Jersey was about to petition his Majesty, but was prevented by the timely interposition of the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress, for which they have my hearty thanks.

My sincere wishes are, that every good may attend you, and believe me to be, with much truth, my Dear Sir,

Your very affect^o

THO^s MUMFORD.

P. S. The last Resolves of Congress respecting Trade are, that no Produce be shipped from the Colonies before the first of March next. Pray inform me in your next, if we may export to Foreign Islands at that time, and what articles.

T. M.

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 27th, 1775.

MY DEAR,—I received a letter dated the 19th from one Simon Deane, who is troubled with the rheumatism, or gout, at the bottom of which are these words : “ Mrs. Deane says she would write you, but not having received any letters lately, she thinks proper to wait.” As I can hardly credit the story, must leave it with you to enquire into the truth of it. I have indeed been favored with two letters from you since you left us, and have returned five in payment.

Mr. Sherman is returned, but brings no news from our Assembly. Our term is up Saturday next, but I shall hardly set

out for home until sometime the middle of January, if so soon, as our Fleet is got stopped by the ice. Your brother Dudley came here last Saturday, and lodges with me for the present. When he will be able to sail depends on the weather.

I wrote you p^r Capt. Phelps, and sent the silk, but have no answer as yet. I had no time to write by Mr. Adams, or should have sent one line. My compliments to all friends, and love to Jesse and family.

I am, my dear, yours affectionately,

SILAS DEANE.

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 13th, 1776.

MY DEAR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours, p^r my brother, and one since by the Post, and that I have been promising myself to write you a long letter by him when he returned, which shall be unable to perform. Col. Dyer's treatment at Norwich and Windham is truly infamous, and has that mark of witchcraft upon it which must forever attend ingratitude; for with all his other foibles, one has been, his constantly standing up and disputing on all occasions in favor of those very people. He goes home rather heavily, the more so as I shall not accompany him. It is not in my power, though I hope to leave this in about a fortnight after the arrival of my successors, for whom I am now most impatiently looking out, and am happy that the Assembly did not continue us in our present station. You know the dismissal never fretted me, indelicate as it was, and I have every day had less and less cause to be uneasy on account of it. As to those who meant to humble me, or mortify my vanity by that measure, they have only given me an opportunity of knowing, myself, by experience, and of shewing the world, how much I was their superior, by letting them and others know that my character stands above the reach of their malice, though a fair object for their envy.

My love and congratulations to sister Hannah Buck,* and the whole family, which includes Sally,†—whose first boy will, I expect, be called after me. Remember me to all friends in the neighborhood who remember me, and tell Jesse he must write me again. I long to see you all. Is sister Molly with you? I hope so, and therefore pray to be remembered to her. Barney must inform you how Gov^r Ward and Mrs. House *cheese* together, and of twenty other little matters which I cannot write at this late hour, now past two o'clock at night; but will only wish and pray your sleeping and waking hours may be forever happy. Good night.

Saturday morning.—I received a few days since, from before Quebec, two long letters from my brave friend Col. Arnold, which I improved in his favor, and the other day he was unanimously chosen a Brigadier-General for the Army in Canada; but I suppose this will be urged against me by some as a crime equal to my recommending *Putnam* on a former occasion. I may not add, but am,

Yours affectionately,

SILAS DEANE.

FROM DR. AMOS MEAD.

GREENWICH, Jan. 16th, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—As I imagine you are now near being released from that most arduous and important trust in the Continental Councils, in which it is allowed by all you have done conspicuous honor, as well to the Continent, as to your native Colony; which measure of our General Assembly toward you, struck us with astonishment, grief and surprise. But, worthy Sir, I doubt not but the reflection of integrity, and the distinguished exertions of your great abilities, of which all the United Colonies are very sensible, must give you great pleas-

* Hannah Deane married Josiah Buck, Jun., Jan., 1775.

† Sarah Saltonstall, a younger sister of Mrs. Deane, married Daniel Buck, Dec. 3, 1775.

ure in your retirement. I beg, Sir, you to do me the honor and pleasure of a visit at your return, and if you have opportunity, pray write me when it will be. In earnest expectation of that happy event, I subscribe, with unfeigned Respect and Esteem,

Your most obed't humble Serv't,

AMOS MEAD.

TO MRS. DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 21st, 1776.

MY DEAR,—It is now a long time since I had the happiness of a line from you. As by my former letters you could not expect my immediate return, conclude you waited in part for the return of my brother from N. York, before you wrote again. I wrote yesterday by Col. Dyer, which you will probably not receive before this comes to hand. He set off in a violent hurry yesterday morning, and my boy with him, as far as Newark in my Phaeton, from whence he agreed to shift for himself.

I have not sat in Congress since last Tuesday, when, with pleasure, I gave place to my successor,* of whom as our neighbor says, *I say nothing*.

But of my old colleague Sh——n, suffice it to say, that if the order of Jesuits is extinct their practices are not out of fashion even among modern New Light Saints, or some of them,—for I will never particularize any Sect.

I received a letter from Mr. T. Mumford, in which, among other political anecdotes, he informed me of the intrigues of a certain party in the Assembly, of the Class or Club at Munson's, &c. &c., and of this, that and the other person busy in opposition to me: to which I replied, with the utmost calmness, and sincerity, that I meant to act and speak as I should judge best for the Common Interest, regardless of either censure or applause, and therein I rested, easy and resigned. He mentioned a suspicion that my friend and neighbor Mr.

*Oliver Wolcott.

H——r* had acted rather a cool part on a late occasion. I replied, that I should sooner suspect my own conduct than his honor and friendship. Should any such story get abroad, your prudence will direct you to make no enquiry about it, as it will be told you fast enough, and your wisest plan will be to appear totally indifferent on the subject, even if you feel otherwise.

I find a certain eminent intriguer from the *Great Town*, who has of late in the most public and ungrateful manner lifted his heel against the hand that has long and generously fed and supported him, has not been idle with respect to myself; but either his race is near an end, or I am much mistaken; for if a fall generally follows a haughty spirit, his end is near; indeed he has long since been too suspicious a character to enjoy that confidence essentially necessary for carrying out his schemes: and the shocking ingratitude he has shewn our worthy President, whose bounty kept him even from gaol and supported him, will as soon as known excite a general abhorrence of the man.

You will remember that I told you last summer, or rather that I foretold, that those two sworn friends would one day become as sworn foes. I did not think the period so near arrived as I now find. But I will say no more on the ungrateful subject.

Col. Dyer plead, scolded, fretted, and even threatened me, to make me set out for home with him, and finally parted rather in an ill humour with me, because I would not give him all the reasons for my tarrying; conclude it will occasion some speculation, and almost wish to know what reasons he assigns, for my tarrying behind. The ostensible reason, and a very good one too, is the necessity of my tarrying to close the Naval Accounts and assist in getting forward the preparations for the Fleet in the coming season. The Col. however, in his fretful tone and manner, used fifty times a day to break out: "There is no need for it,—no, no, none at all; other

*Titus Hosmer?

people, a thousand other people can do it as well as you; you either have some other scheme in your head, or you don't care any thing about your wife and family," &c. &c. A torrent of such kind of eloquence, peculiar I may say to him, would sometimes almost irritate me to break out; he then would say: "I don't know, I don't know how, why, you see I hate to go home alone, it looks queer and oddly." You know his foibles and his failings,—or rather weaknesses, for at heart he is a good man and deserved better treatment than he met with from a rascally junto whom he, at the very moment, was laboring to defend and support, and in whose service he has thrown away the prime of his life.

But so far as he sacrificed his own ease, interest, or peace of mind, merely to gain their applause, so far he deserved punishment; but this so far from extenuating *their* crime, heightened it, if ingratitude is capable of being heightened. I mean those party people in his neighborhood, agitated and stirred on by that little malevolent prig in buckram, who is secure from my serious resentment in consequence of the supreme contempt I have ever, and still hold him in.

For myself, I have been seriously reviewing my life, more particularly the public and political occurrences and incidents in it, and impartially——

[The rest is wanting.]

FROM BARNABAS DEANE.

WETHERSFIELD, Jan. 22d, 1776.

DEAR BROTHER,—I got home last evening, and found all friends well. I am not able to give you any further information respecting business than I wrote you from New York. I am much afraid that there will be difficulty in getting materials from New York, after Gen. Lee's arrival there. I propose setting out this afternoon for Saybrook, to engage carpenters, timber, &c. I shall write you by every opportunity; pray get the plan of the Ship completed, and send it by the first hand; also, enquire in regard to what the New York carpenters have

said about the length of the ship. I suppose you have their plans before this time.

The Country are greatly alarmed with the news from Quebec. I am told there is a great number of men gone from our upper towns into Canada, on hearing of Gen. Montgomery's defeat, among whom are the Green Mountain Boys. There has a fine company of volunteers gone from this town to join Gen. Lee; they consist of about seventy as likely men as in town: Chester Wells is their Captain.

Inclosed is a letter and petition from Doct^r Wheelock, which he has desired me to forward on to you. Pray write me how long you expect to tarry in Philadelphia.

I have made some enquiry after Potash, and find very little in the Colony. Wheat may be had in the western part of this Colony, at 5s. 8d. New York currency; believe a cargo of 7 or 8000 bushels might be soon procured, if we had a suitable vessel. Our river is closely blocked up with the ice, so that I expect it will be sometime before we can get any vessels out of the River.

I am your affectionate brother,

B. DEANE.

In our agreement with the Committee of Secrecy, we are directed to make our returns in such articles as they shall direct. They have, as a Committee, given no directions in what articles to vest it in. If I should freight a ship to Europe, whether it would not be proper to ship the returns in a French Bottom to the West Indies, and have it brought from there in small vessels? If you come back by New York, enquire if a vessel of 200 tons can be taken up on freight.

B. DEANE.

FROM COL. GURDON SALTONSTALL.

NEW LONDON, Jan. 23d, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—Lieutenant Elisha Hinman sailed for Philadelphia, in Sloop Lizard, Joshua Hempsted, Junr, Master, Friday morning, 19th inst.; wind at W. N. W.; continued in same point next day; Sabbath and yesterday. N. E., this day N. W.;

all the time, moderate breeze and clear weather; make no doubt the Lizard will be this day at Reedy Island, unless she meets the Fleet sooner. I thought it prudent to furnish the Lizard with six weeks' provisions, and twenty Sloop oars, to serve in case of distress, which, with all the other stores and provisions not used on the passage and charged in the accompt, will be delivered to the Fleet.

First Lieut. Hinman's crew, 48; Second Lieut. Maltbie's, 16; Mast'r David Phipp's, 18; total, 82; deduct one of Hinman's men, Samuel Slack, left very ill with a fever, (who died this morning;) and possibly some charge will arise, that can't be known just now. Thought it not improper to charge the Sloop Lizard's hire, although not paid, as it must be paid, by Charter Party, in three days after advice received that she has performed the service.

You have enclosed, my accompt [with] Sloop Alfred, D. Saltonstall, Com'r, amounting to £314 14s. 3d. Lawful Money, or 1049 Continental Dollars; which sum, desire you will remit me as proposed, to New London, immediately. I could not find any person that wanted money at Philadelphia, and was obliged to borrow of a friend.

Enclosed also, you have the roll of Lieut. Hinman's men, containing their month's pay, and billeting paid them from time of shipping to 13th instant, when they went on board the Lizard.

Thank you for the Journal of Congress, received some time since. This evening the western Post came in, and am not favoured with a line from you or Capt. Saltonstall. Tell him, all well, here and at Westerly.

I am, y^r affectionate and obliged

G. SALTONSTALL.

FROM THADDEUS BURR.

FAIRFIELD, 23^d Jany, 1776.

SIR,—If the enclosed can be conveyed to Lieut. Maltbie, I shall take it as a favor if you would do it; if not, pray send it back inclosed to me.

Yesterday, General Lee breakfasted with me and then proceeded to Stamford, on his way to New York, where I doubt not he will be of eminent service to the American Cause. By the best accounts I can get, he will be joined this evening at Stamford by upwards of a thousand men, and I imagine will march on to-morrow, and leave the rest to come after, who will join him in a day or two.

Such is the spirit, such the ardor of the people in the Glorious Cause of Liberty, that it has been with difficulty that the General has prevented himself from being overthronged with volunteers. I doubt not he will be able to prevent the Troops from landing (should they arrive and make an attempt,) to drive the Ships off, and secure the City,—which has been a stumbling block to the Cause, this long time.

My respectful compliments to Col. Hancock and all friends. Excuse haste, and believe me,

Your real friend and very hum^ble servant,

THADDEUS BURR.

TO HANNAH ARNOLD.*

PHILADELPHIA, 24th Jan'y, 1776.

DEAR MADAM,—Your brother, on setting out on his expedition to Canada, transmitted me an acco^t of his expenses and disbursements in the taking of Crown Point and Ticonderoga; on which, after all he could obtain from the Massachusetts Assembly, there was a balance of £245 14s. 0d. due to him; and desired my assistance in procuring a just settlement, by submitting it to Congress. Reasons unnecessary to be inserted in this letter induced me to put off the settlement until a few days since, when I obtained the balance above, being Eight hundred and Nineteen Doll^{rs}, which I yesterday took out of the Treasury and now send you, by Mr. Wheat of Norwich. As I gave my Rec^t, you will be so kind as to acknowledge the receiving the same in behalf of your brother, who directed me to send it to you when received. I shall ever con-

* Sister of Benedict Arnold.

sider the opportunities I have had of, in any measure, serving your gallant brother, among the most happy incidents of my life, and his friendship and confidence as a particular honor.

I am with respect, D^r Madam,

Yours,

S. DEANE.

Miss Hannah Arnold.

(Copy.)

FROM DR. JOSHUA BABCOCK.

WESTERLY, 31st Jan'y, 1776.

MY DEAR SIR,—The many engagements soliciting your closest attention at this important and till now untried occasion, might require an exemption from matters of small moment, such as by comparison is the following. My youngest son, Adam Babcock, is embarked a volunteer with General Lee in his expedition to New York; that finished, he, i. e. Adam, means to continue his tour to Philadelphia, whereat should he merit your approbation so far as to nominate or appoint him to the like trust as Mess^{rs} Shaw and Mumford are engaged in, it will add one more to the many benevolent actions, if fame echoes true, your life has been employed in. I ought not to mention New Haven, its locality, or the cheapness of provisions in its vicinity; I will not mention my son's having served with reputation his apprenticeship to trade, and been ever since engaged therein, with honor; in a word, Sir, should he be employed in any Department by the Congress, I will be answerable that he shall maintain thro' the whole the character of an honest man.

Tho' it's idle to tell you anything from Camp, yet cannot forbear congratulating you on the success of the noted Capt. Manly's taking and carrying in a prize-ship, having on board, as it's said, £75,000 Sterling in specie, &c. &c. &c.

Our small but in the Cause of Liberty loyal Colony, approachable by vessels of war, by it's extent of sea-coasts, within

twenty miles of any part, have now enlisted and are spiritedly enlisting above half it's Militia, and one-fourth of the remainder on the Alarum List, bound to hold themselves in readiness for action on any emergence as Minute-men. We need nothing but two or three tons more of Powder to make the experiment to drive Wallace, his ships, tenders, &c. out of the Colony and its environs and to refuse him any further supplies of beef, &c. We are making Saltpeter everywhere, and hope, if not from abroad, to be internally supplied with Powder soon.

In no wise do we despair; for as Providence has signally smiled on our attempts, we hope from the justice of our Cause the issue will be crown'd with success. That you may long continue a distinguished Patron to your Country, is and will be the cordial wish of, Dear Sir, with the sincerest esteem and profoundest respect,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

JOSH^A BABCOCK.

Mrs. Fanny Saltonstall* has been three weeks abed with a son, and both well. Pray write me something of D. Saltonstall, whose patron, we know, you are.

Hon^{ble} Silas Deane Esqr.

FROM MISS HANNAH ARNOLD.

NEW HAVEN, Feby 1st, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—This acknowledges the receipt of your friendly letter of 24th ulto. together with the money, (Eight hundred and nineteen dollars,) by Mr. Wheat of Norwich, for which I gave him my receipt. You will please to accept of my most sincere thanks for this attention to my brother's interest, and thus bringing his unhappy and troublesome business to a close. Indeed, my brother engaging in the second Expedition, and being obliged to have recourse to the Continental Congress to obtain that equitable adjustment of his public accounts which he had a right to expect from the Provincial Congress at Wa-

* Dr. Babcock's daughter, the wife of Capt. Dudley Saltonstall.

tertown, made it absolutely necessary for some friend to manage this affair for him, and he knew no one in whom he could place so thorough a confidence as yourself. The same reason induces me to apply to you, desiring your further friendship and assistance in saving my brother a part of his interest in another way. The case is simply this: He last summer purchased a quantity of lumber, as a cargo for a Brig of about 120 tons which he then expected home from the West Indies. She arrived in July, when he lay sick with the gout; of course was unable to attend to business. As soon as he was able to ride, found it necessary to go to Cambridge, in order to settle his Ticonderoga and Crown-Point expedition,—intending to fit away the Brig as soon as he came back. I suppose you are no stranger to the delays he met with there; and the expedition to Quebec in the mean time being determined on, he engaged in it; so found no time to return to his family, or to attend to his own private concerns. By this means the vessel is unemployed, and the lumber still on hand, and must inevitably be lost unless I can procure liberty to ship it to the West Indies. My brother being detained so much longer in his march to Canada than what he at first expected, together with the many other unforeseen and disagreeable circumstances attending that important and necessary Expedition, makes it impossible for him to come home this winter, or to attend to his mercantile affairs. I'm therefore necessitated to do it for him. Beg you would therefore use your influence in Congress, that liberty be granted him to ship out to the Foreign West Indies this lumber, being about sixty thousand hoops and staves; the net proceeds to be returned in powder or any other article they may be pleased to order.

I'm unacquainted with the modes of introducing these matters to Congress; must leave it to you to do it in such manner as you shall think most likely to succeed. Had my brother been home and neglected to ship the lumber within the limited time, he would not have had the same plea for desiring this favour. I hope the honorable Congress will consider him as suffering sufficiently already, (both in health and interest,) and

will relieve him from this part of it,—especially as he is likely to lose a vessel and cargo at Quebeck. Had we not the lumber on hand, should be content to let the Brig lie idle: as it is, I think myself bound in justice to my brother to make this application. You'll be kind enough to let me know what success I may hope for in this business; and as soon as possible, as a little time may make it unsafe to send her out.

I'm with the greatest sincerity,

Dear Sir, your obliged hum^ble serv^t,

HANNAH ARNOLD.

Silas Deane, Esquire.

FROM DR. BENJAMIN GALE.

KILLINGWORTH, Feby 1st, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours of ye 13th ult. I make no doubt of your pressure by the important concerns lying before you, many of which I trust if you had leisure you might not communicate; but with regard to the matter of principal concern, if the Philosopher's Lanthorn may be attained, and will give a better light than what is proposed, should be glad you would get what knowledge you can from Dr. Franklin respecting it. Light is of absolute necessity; not to perform the operation,—that can be effected, if he hits the object right, as well in the dark as at noon day,—but to get free from the object when the operation is performed,—for this, light is absolutely necessary,—what point to steer, and to know whether he rises or sinks deeper, for the personal safety of the operator. You will well understand my meaning, if I am not more explicit. I have lately seen the man, and conversed freely with him. He is no enthusiast; a perfect philosopher, and by no means doubtful of succeeding. I wish Col. Dyer and you were to remain where you are, even altho' the other gentlemen were added. I have no objection to that addition, but if I may judge from what I hear, your countrymen are not suited with your recall.

Let me hear from you on this subject as soon as you can. I may ask, and you may refuse to tell me,—Are we well provided with Warlike Stores? Shall we have, or can we have if desired Foreign Aid? What are French troops to do in the West Indies? Is there a channel of communication open with our friends at home?

By the public accounts there is some prospect of a rupture at hand. Can the British Nation suffer such wicked work, and tamely look on?

I am, Dear Sir, Your Most Ob^t Humble Serv^t,

BENJ. GALE.

[MR. DEANE'S ADDRESS]

TO THE FREEMEN OF THE TOWN OF WETHERSFIELD.

GENTLEMEN:—The repeated honor you have conferred on me by electing me to represent you in the General Assembly, demands my most grateful acknowledgements, and your continuing to choose me during my absence, is such a signal proof of your confidence and esteem that I should be criminal in my own eyes if, in my present situation, I omitted in the most public manner to acknowledge the grateful sense I have of it, and to assure you the impression on my mind will last while my power of memory remains.

As it is probable I may not return in season for the next Assembly, I most ardently wish you unanimity and wisdom in your choice of Representatives, sensible that it is of importance that you should have a full representation at this critical period, you will turn your eyes to some other, of ability and fidelity equal to the Trust. You will forgive my apparent impropriety in this short Address, as I could not without doing violence to my own feelings take so long a journey as I am now entering on, without some expression of the sense I have of the honor you have done me, and of the peculiar marks of your esteem and confidence.

May we be supported through this Glorious Contest by the God of Wisdom and of Armies.

I am Gentlemen, your Friend, Fellow Countryman and Fellow Freeman.

SILAS DEANE.

February 28th, 1776.

TO MRS. DEANE.*

—I inclose the original of a certain Testimonial, or certificate, which I wish, after its being shewn to my friends, may be kept for the satisfaction of any who may be doubtful as to my character in Congress. I have sent a copy to Col. Dyer, and one to Gov. Trumbull. It was signed by all the members in town except *Bartlett* of New Hampshire, the *Adamses* and

*January 16th, 1776, the credentials of the new Delegates for Connecticut were presented to the Congress, and Messrs. Oliver Wolcott, and Samuel Huntington took their seats, in the places of Mr. Deane and Col. Dyer. On the 27th, the Secret Committee was empowered "to contract with proper persons for importing goods" to the amount of £40,000,—and for exporting produce of the Colonies to pay for the same; the imported goods to be delivered to the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, to be employed in the Indian trade. (*Journals of Congress.*)

In his "Address to the Citizens of the United States," (published in 1784,) Mr. Dean writes:—

"In January, 1776, I contracted with the Commercial Committee of Congress, to make a voyage to France, and to purchase for the public, goods to the amount of forty thousand pounds sterling,—they engaged to furnish me with that sum in cash, or good bills, and to allow me a five per cent. commission, on the purchase. At the same time, the Secret Committee appointed me the Commercial and Political Agent for the United States, in Europe, and directed me to purchase for them, 100 pieces of brass cannon, and arms and clothing for 25,000 men, and ammunition in proportion, and to procure ships, in Europe, to transport the whole to America; on these purchases, they also stipulated to give me five per cent. commission, and to make me a reasonable and adequate allowance for any political services which I might render my country in France." (p. 11.)

Of this letter, addressed to his wife, March 3d, just before sailing for France, the first sheet is missing. What remains begins on the 5th page, as numbered.

Ward. I have omitted sending to *Carolina*, as the danger increases that way, and I could not spend time on the affair.

I sent last summer two Journals of the Congress, neatly bound, lettered and gilt, to Gov^r *Trumbull* and *The Speaker* for use of the two Houses, with the names of the two Houses, viz: *Governor and Council*, and *House of Representatives*, in gold letters on the outside. Pray inquire if they were ever received by the Assembly. I can prove their coming into the Speaker's hand, but from my hearing nothing from them, I suspect foul play in that instance.

I have been delayed beyond my expectation, but as the vessel now waits only for me, (a vessel in ballast, employed solely for the purpose,) I shall doubtless sail this week.*

Sunday, March 3d. You have before this received mine by Mr. Pomroy, with the Carriage and Horses &c. Mr. *Lynch* will survive the shock for some time, to be a miserable spectacle, I doubt, as I understand his senses are much affected. I am at a loss to judge how Mr. Babcock's affair will turn; he is very assiduous, and I think agreeable to the lady, but he is volatile on the occasion.

Among the goods I sent, was a piece of muslin, directed to you; it cost 16s. pr^r y^d; is very fine; the same quality sold here for 24s. in retail. I desire you would, after taking what you want, present the remainder to *Mrs. Webb*, *Hetty*, Sister *Hannah*, and *Sally*, in equal proportion; and out of the other goods, present your sisters, *Nanny* and *Molly*, and *Mrs. Hannah Webb* and *Nabby*, with an equivalent in something else. I mention this disposition as I am told the muslin will make five suits, as they are called; but of this you are the best judge, and to you I submit it, as you know my mind by the hint.

It will be to no purpose to write to me, until you hear from

* "I left Philadelphia in the month of March, 1776, in a brigantine bound to Bordeaux, and such was the situation of our affairs at that time, that she sailed with ballast only, for the want of any thing to make remittances with in a cargo;—an accident at sea, obliged her to return, and I re-embarked in a sloop, bound to Bermuda." Mr. Deane's *Address* &c. p. 11.

me, and then not a word of politics. My business will give me frequent opportunities of sending directly, and with certainty, by the way of this city, thro' the hands of my good friends, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Morris. Capt. Wadsworth will carry my letters and papers, to whom refer you for smaller matters. He is a valuable person, and I wish the public may become sensible of his worth.

You will not imagine I am unfeeling on this occasion,—but to what purpose would it be to let my tender passions govern, except to distress you? I shall take every precaution, and if I fall into the Enemy's hands, doubt not of good usage, as their sending Commissioners will be a security to me; but I am prepared even for the worst, not wishing to survive my Country's fate, and confident, while that is safe, I shall be happy in almost any situation.

I have, in one of the most solemn acts of my life, committed my son and what I have to your care and the care of my Brother, confident you will be to him a real mother, which you ever have been, and for my sake, as well as from the truly maternal affection you have ever borne for him, guard his youth from any thing dangerous, or dishonorable. I can but feel for the pain I must give you by this adventure, but on all occasions you will have this satisfaction, that let what will happen, you have in every situation discharged your duty as one of the best of partners and wives, while on my part, by a peculiar fatality attending me from my first entrance into public life, I have ever been involved in one scheme and adventure after another, so as to keep my mind in constant agitation and my attention fixed on other objects than my own immediate interests.

The present object is great. I am about to enter on the great stage of Europe, and the consideration of the importance of quitting myself well, weighs me down, without the addition of more tender scenes; but I am

“ Safe in the hand of that protecting Power,
Who rul'd my natal, and must fix my mortal hour.”

It matters but little, my Dear, what part we act, or where, if we act it well. I wish as much as any man for the enjoyments of domestic ease, peace, and society, but am forbid expecting them soon; indeed, must be criminal in my own eyes, did I balance them one moment in opposition to the Public Good and the Calls of my Country.

I do not recollect any thing to add; it is a late hour, and to-morrow will be a busy day with me, as I hope to sail on Tuesday. May God Almighty protect you safe thro' the vicissitudes of Time!

Yours, thro' Life and all its Scenes,

S. D.

P. S. Confident this letter will go safe, I venture to say that a Concern, different from my contract, is to support me. I have agreed that all expenses of every kind shall be paid, and referred my salary to be determined hereafter, in consequence of which it is agreed that I have Five hundred pounds Sterling to carry with me for that purpose, and the same sum is to be remitted to me at the end of six months.

Should any accident happen to me, you will find this entered on the Committee of Secret Correspondence's Books. The members are: Dr. Franklin, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Jay, Mr. Morris, Col. Harrison, and Mr. Johnson. But you must not communicate this to any one, except to my Brother. This will explain my saying that I have a commission of two thousand pounds free of charge, as my charge will be amply provided for by the other way. And now, my Dear, are not the ways of Providence dark and inscrutable to us, short-sighted mortals? Surely they are. My enemies tho't to triumph over me and bring me down, yet all they did has been turned to the opening a door for the greatest and most extensive usefulness, if I succeed; but if I fail,—why then the Cause I am engaged in, and the important part I have undertaken, will justify my adventuring.

Several papers I have mentioned were inclosed in y^e packet to my Brother, as will be found on y^e opening. I shall leave with Mr. Morriss, Eighteen hundred dollars, to be called for

by my Brother, as he will find a reference in my Cash Account No. 2, sent him by Capt. Wadsworth. The sum I left Mr. Marshall, I sent a receipt for. I have not been able as yet to make any insurance, and if you think prudent to do it, you must advise with Mr. Jno. Alsop and Mr. Morris, upon it, as it may be dangerous to have the matter made public.

TO MRS. DEANE.

DELAWARE BAY, March 16th, 1776.

MY DEAR,—I have nothing in the way of business to add to what I wrote so particularly from Philadelphia, but sensible it will give you pleasure to hear of my wellfare, I will give you in a few words my journal to this time.

I left Philadelphia in a Pilot Boat on the 8th instant, and arrived at Chester, where the Brig^a lay; on the 10th left that place and fell down to New Castle, where contrary winds detained us until the 11th at night, when we fell down as far as Reedy Island, so called, which is about fifty or sixty miles from Philadelphia; from this we sailed on the 12th, to appearance with a fine wind, which headed us by 12 o'clock, and obliged us to return, and detained us until this morning, the 16th, when the wind springing up at the West, we made sail, and are running down the Bay.

I have been very well and hearty since I have been on board, and am in good spirits, trusting in His protection who commands both winds and waves, and resigning myself to His disposal. I wish my love, respect, and regards may be given to all my relatives and acquaintance; have wrote my Brothers by this conveyance, and assure yourself I shall take all the care in my power both of my health and person, and I pray you to do the same. Commending you, with my little Son, to the protection of Almighty God, I remain, most affectionately,

Yours,

S. DEANE.

FROM THE COMMITTEE OF SECRET CORRESPONDENCE TO
SILAS DEANE.*

PHILADELPHIA, March 3d, 1776.

On your arrival in France, you will for some time be engaged in the business of providing goods for the Indian trade. This will give good countenance to your appearing in the character of a merchant, which we wish you continually to retain among the French, in general, it being probable that the court of France may not like it should be known publicly, that any agent from the Colonies is in that country. When you come to Paris, by delivering Dr. Franklin's letter to Monsieur Le Roy at the Louvre, and M. Dubourg, you will be introduced to a set of acquaintance, all friends to the Americans. By conversing with them, you will have a good opportunity of acquiring Parisian French, and you will find in M. Dubourg, a man prudent, faithful, secret, intelligent in affairs, and capable of giving you very sage advice.

It is scarce necessary to pretend any other business at Paris, than the gratifying of that curiosity, which draws numbers thither yearly, merely to see so famous a city. With the assistance of Monsieur Dubourg, who understands English, you will be able to make immediate application to Monsieur de Vergennes, *Ministre des Affaires Etrangères*, either personally or by letter, if M. Dubourg adopts that method, acquainting him that you are in France upon business of the American Congress, in the character of a merchant, having something to communicate to him, that may be mutually beneficial to France and the North American Colonies; that you request an audience of him, and that he would be pleased to appoint the time and place. At this audience if agreed to, it

* Reprinted from *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, (vol. i. pp. 5-9.) The first volume of that collection contains Mr. Deane's letters to the Committee of Secret Correspondence and the Committee of Foreign Affairs, from his arrival at Paris, July 7th, 1776, till his recall, and his communications to the President of Congress, after his return to America, July 9th, 1778.

may be well to show him first your letter of credence, and then acquaint him that the Congress, finding that in the common course of commerce, it was not practicable to furnish the continent of America with the quantity of arms and ammunition necessary for its defence, (the Ministry of Great Britain having been extremely industrious to prevent it,) you had been despatched by their authority to apply to some European power for a supply. That France had been pitched on for the first application, from an opinion, that if we should, as there is a great appearance we shall, come to a total separation from Great Britain, France would be looked upon as the power, whose friendship it would be fittest for us to obtain and cultivate. That the commercial advantages Britain had enjoyed with the Colonies, had contributed greatly to her late wealth, and importance. That it is likely great part of our commerce will naturally fall to the share of France; especially if she favors us in this application, as that will be a means of gaining and securing the friendship of the Colonies; and that as our trade was rapidly increasing with our increase of people, and in a greater proportion, her part of it will be extremely valuable. That the supply we at present want, is clothing and arms for twenty-five thousand men with a suitable quantity of ammunition, and one hundred field pieces. That we mean to pay for the same by remittances to France or through Spain, Portugal, or the French Islands, as soon as our navigation can be protected by ourselves or friends; and that we besides want great quantities of linens and woollens, with other articles for the Indian trade, which you are now actually purchasing, and for which you ask no credit, and that the whole, if France should grant the other supplies, would make a cargo which it might be well to secure by a convoy of two or three ships of war.

If you should find M. de Vergennes reserved, and not inclined to enter into free conversation with you, it may be well to shorten your visit, request him to consider what you have proposed, acquaint him with your place of lodging, that you may yet stay sometime at Paris, and that knowing how pre-

cious his time is, you do not presume to ask another audience, but that if he should have any commands for you, you will upon the least notice immediately wait upon him. If, at a future conference he should be more free, and you find a disposition to favor the Colonies, it may be proper to acquaint him, that they must necessarily be anxious to know the disposition of France, on certain points, which, with his permission, you would mention, such as whether if the Colonies should be forced to form themselves into an independent state, France would probably acknowledge them as such, receive their ambassadors, enter into any treaty or alliance with them, for commerce or defence, or both? If so, on what principal conditions? Intimating that you shall speedily have an opportunity of sending to America, if you do not immediately return, and that he may be assured of your fidelity and secrecy in transmitting carefully any thing he would wish conveyed to the Congress on that subject. In subsequent conversations, you may, as you find it convenient, enlarge on these topics, that have been the subjects of our conferences, with you, to which you may occasionally add the well known substantial answers, we usually give to the several calumnies thrown out against us. If these supplies on the credit of the Congress should be refused, you are then to endeavor the obtaining a permission of purchasing those articles, or as much of them as you can find credit for. You will keep a daily journal of all your material transactions, and particularly of what passes in your conversation with great personages; and you will by every safe opportunity, furnish us with such information as may be important. When your business in France admits of it, it may be well to go into Holland, and visit our agent there, M. Dumas, conferring with him on subjects that may promote our interest, and on the means of communication.

You will endeavor to procure a meeting with Mr. Bancroft by writing a letter to him, under cover to Mr. Griffiths at Turnham Green, near London, and desiring him to come over to you, in France or Holland, on the score of old acquaintance. From him you may obtain a good deal of information of what

is now going forward in England, and settle a mode of continuing a correspondence. It may be well to remit him a small bill to defray his expenses in coming to you, and avoid all political matters in your letter to him. You will also endeavor to correspond with Mr. Arthur Lee, agent of the Colonies in London. You will endeavor to obtain acquaintance with M. Garnier, late *Chargé des Affaires de France en Angleterre*, if now in France, or if returned to England, a correspondence with him, as a person extremely intelligent and friendly to our cause. From him, you may learn many particulars occasionally, that will be useful to us.

B. FRANKLIN,
BENJ. HARRISON,
JOHN DICKINSON,
ROBERT MORRIS,
JOHN JAY.

INDEX.

- Adams, John, 144, 221, 222, 227, 228, 328, 360. His diary quoted, 144, 177, 181, 183.
- Adams, Samuel, 137, 144, 231, 268, 360.
- Allen, Ethan, 234, 246.
- Allin, Rev. John, 112, 125.
- Allison, Rev. Francis, preaches before Congress, 292.
- Alsop, John, 144, 226, 364.
- American Turtle. *See* Bushnell, David.
- "Americanus," (Ebenezer Hazard,) letters to Mr. Deane, 192, 197.
- Arno'd, Benedict, 116, 260, 357. Captain of volunteer company, April, 1775, 2'5. Commissioned colonel, by Massachusetts, 232. His contest with Ethan Allen, 256. Gen. Schuyler wants him appointed dep. adj. general, 252. Chosen brig. general, 348. His expenses in the Ticonderoga expedition, paid by Congress, 354.
- Arnold, Hannah. Letter to, 354. Letter from, 356.
- Arnold, John, withdraws from the Hartford church, 55.
- "Asia" man-of-war; project for her capture, 251, 278. Fires on New York, 296.
- Auchmuty, Rev. Samuel, 224.
- Babcock, Adam, 175. A volunteer with Gen. Lee, 353. Letter from, 341.
- Babcock, Col. Harry, 336, 343. Letter to Col. Saltonstall, 337. Putnam recommends him for brig. general, 337.
- Babcock, Dr. Joshua, 336, 356. Letter from, 355.
- Babcock, Mr., 361.
- Bache, Richard, 144, 302.
- Bacon, Andrew, 55, 70, 79, 87. Mr. Stone's charges against him, 105, 115.
- Baldwin, Rev. Ebenezer; letter from, 312.
- Barding, Nathaniel, of Hartford, 79.
- Barnard, Francis, 54.
- Barnard, John, 83. Withdraws from the Hartford church, 55.
- Bartlett, Josiah, 360.
- Bayard, Mr., 144, 145, 304.
- Baysy, John, 81.
- Beers, Mr., postmaster at New Haven, 334.
- Beulah*, ship, expected from London, 198.
- Biddle, [Edward,] 185.
- Biddle's Tavern, Philadelphia, 166.
- Bird, Mr. of Virginia, 307.
- Bland, Richard, of Va., 179, 181.
- Boerum, Simon, 226, 227.
- Boston, 173, 174, 271, 273. Contribution for relief of, 136, 137. Rumor of hostilities at, 149, 150, 153. Position of the troops near, 218. Communication with, cut off, 259.
- Boston church, invited to take part in a council at Hartford, 101, 106. *See* Hartford church.
- Bostwick, Mr., 175.
- Brattle, Benjamin, of Cambridge, 154.
- Bristol, Pa., 165.
- Broome, John, 145.
- Broome, Samuel, 144. Letters from, 194, 213.
- Browne, Edward, of Sudbury, 101, 112.
- Brush, Crean, 193, 200. Described 201.

- Buck, Daniel, 348.
 Buck, Hannah, 348.
 Buck, Josiah, 268, 348.
 Bulkley, Peter, 322.
 Bunce, Thomas, (1656,) 55.
 Bunker Hill battle, 270, 271, 272.
 Burgoyne, Gen., 268, 286.
 Bushnell, David, invents a machine for blowing up the enemy's ships, 315. Description of the machine, 316, 317, 322. Difficulties of construction, 333, 358.
- Cadwallader, John, 255.
 Campbell, Capt., 222, 223.
 "Candid Examination," by Jos. Galloway, 211, 212.
 Caswell, Richard, of N. C., described, 184.
 Champlin, Capt. —, 302, 307.
 Charlestown, Mass., burned, 271.
 Chauncey, Rev. Charles 112, 125.
 Chester, John, commands company of Wethersfield volunteers, 214; Commissioned captain, 232. His company mentioned, 265. At Bunker Hill, 270.
 Chew, J., 146.
 Church, Richard, withdraws from the Hartford church, 55.
 Clark, Daniel, secretary, 101, 103, 105, 107.
 Cleveland, Capt. Aaron, 156.
 Cobbett, Rev. Thomas, of Ipswich, 112.
 Cobble Hill, 339.
 Coit, Capt. William, 235, 244.
 Colbron, Wm., of Boston, (1659,) 109.
 Committee of Secret Correspondence, 363. Their instructions to Mr. Deane, 365.
 Conanicut Island plundered by Capt. Wallace, 337.
 Congress of the Colonies proposed, 129.
 Congress meets in Philadelphia, 172, —in Carpenters' Hall, 169, 172. Officers chosen, 172. List of members, 178. Spirit of the southern delegates, 173. Proceedings to be secret, 174. Committees appointed, 174. Character of the delegates from So. Carolina, 175,—from Virginia, 181,—from N. Carolina, 184. Committee of rights, 179,—on acts of parliament, 179.
- Course of business, 184, 185, 289. Resolves on resolutions and address from Suffolk county, 183.
 — Opening of the second session, 229. Talk of adjournment to Hartford, 233, 265, 293. Removal northward discussed, 241 249, 265, 307. Appoints a fastday, 292. Recess proposed, 292, 293. Adjourns to September 1st, 293. Committee on naval preparations, 339. See Committee of Secret Correspondence.
- Connecticut appoints delegates to the Congress of 1774, 138. Volunteers march for Boston, on the September alarm, 150, 155. Plans for organizing the militia, 140, 189. Orders the purchase of arms, 213. Send a committee to Gen. Gage, 221, 225, 230. Provides for coast defence, 225. Proceedings of Assembly, May, 1775, 231. Regiments ordered to Cambridge, 231, 235, 244. Six thousand men enlisted, 235. Appoints a Committee of Safety, 235, 239, 243. Unanimity and firmness prevail, 237. Proceedings of Assembly, 238, 242, 244. Expenses for defence, to June, 1775, 261. The eastern colonies depend on Connecticut, 277. Her conduct applauded, 253, 257, 283. Assembly meets July 1, 277. Two more regiments raised, 277. Putnam appointed a major-general, by Congress, 285; his promotion offends Gen. Spencer and others, 285, 288. Committee sent to the Congress, to procure money, 309. New delegates elected to Congress, Oct., 1775, 320. Changes in the general assembly, 323. Report of delegates to Congress, (Mr. Deane and Col. Dyer,) 327. Dispute with Pennsylvania, about Susquehannah lands, 327. Proceedings of Assembly at N. Haven, December, 1775, 336, 344, 346. Intrigues in the Assembly,—the Club at Munson's, &c., 349.
 Connecticut. See Hartford church.
 Coombs, [Coombe, Rev. Thomas,] 171, 182.
 Cornel family, 185.

Council of churches held in Boston, 1659. *See* Hartford church.

Crane, Stephen, of N. J., 137, 138, 163, 170.

Cresap, Col. of Virginia, 274, 275.

Crow, John, a withdrawer from the Hartford church, 55.

Crown Point, 247, 248, 260. Prisoners brought to Hartford, 237.

Cullick, John, 59, 116. Notes of his discussion with Rev. S. Stone, 53. Withdraws from Hartford church, 55, 70, 78, 87. Letter to, from Massachusetts ministers, 59. Complained of, by the church, 79. Removes from Connecticut, 110.

Cushing, Thomas, 144, 178, 221, 222, 304.

Danfóorth, Rev. Samuel, 112, 125.

Davenport, Rev. John, 82, 101, 102. His letter to the Wethersfield church, 88.

Davenport, Abraham, 188.

Davis, John, preached in Hartford in 1655, 54.

Deane, Barnabas, 179, 267, 281. Letters from, 217, 231, 246, 260, 270, 351. Lieutenant of volunteers from Wethersfield, 215, 217. Sent to Ticonderoga, 237, 246.

Deane, Barzillai, 146, 149, 155, 267, 281.

Dean, Mrs. Elizabeth, (wife of Silas,) 149, 190, 203, &c.

Deane, James, commissioner for the northern Indians, 330, 331.

Deane, Hannah, 145, 268. Married Josiah Buck, 348.

Deane, Jesse, 145, 268.

Deane, John, 222, 267, 292.

DEANE, SILAS, proposes to establish a settlement on the western lands, 133, 134. Member of the Conn. committee of correspondence, 199. Proposes a general Congress, 129, 136. Appointed delegate to the first Congress, 138. His journey to Philadelphia, 142, 143-6, 163-6. Observations on the city, 167, 168, 182. On committee on acts of parliament affecting trade, 179, 184. Again in Wethersfield, 192. Promotes the expedition against Ticonderoga, 218, 267. Returns to Philadelphia, 220, 221, 226-8. Vis-

its Wilmington, 256. On committees of Congress, 264, 266, 268, 312, 323, 328, 339. Plans 'a bold stroke,' with Gen. Schuyler, 266, 251, 268, 275, 278. Excursion to the Jerseys, 281. Promotes the appointment of Putnam as major-general, 288,—of S. B. Webb, and John Chester, 291,—of Jos. Trumbull, 292. At home, in the recess of Congress, Aug., 1775, 293-4. Journey to Philadelphia, 304. His sentiments on the great issue, 307. Routine of duties in Congress and on committees, 312. Nominated one of the Assistants, in Conn., 315. His character sketched by Mr. Hogg, 318. Not re-elected to Congress, 320, 323. Reflections on being superseded, 324-5. Letter to Gov. Trumbull, 327. Asks for a public hearing, by the Conn. Assembly, 331. His removal is regretted in Connecticut, 345, 348, 358. Promotes Arnold's appointment brig. general, 348. Declines re-election from Wethersfield to the general assembly, 359. Receives a testimonial from members of the Congress, 360. Appointed commercial and political agent of the colonies, 360. Contracts to purchase goods and munitions of war, in France, for public use, 360. Farewell letters to his wife, 360-64. His instructions from the committee of secret correspondence, 365. Sails from Philadelphia, March, 1776, 361, 364. Compelled by wind to return, and reembarks for Bermuda, 361.

— Letters from,—
to *his wife*, Mrs. Elizabeth Deane, 143, 163, 179, 184, 186, 221, 226, 233, 246, 249, 252, 258, 260, 264, 266, 268, 274, 275, 280, 287, 289, 293, 304, 307, 308, 323, 339, 346, 347, 349, 360, 364.
— *Samuel H. Parsons*, 129.
— *Col. Gurdon Saltonstall*, 289.
— *Fisher Gay*, 192.
— *Dr. Benjamin Gale*, 294.
— *Pelatah Webster*, 294.
— *Gov. Trumbull*, 329.
— *Miss Hannah Arnold*, 354.

- DEANE, SILAS, Letters to,—
 from *Ebenezer Hazard*, 133, 192, 197, 211.
 — *Thomas Mumford*, 138, 147, 148, 230, 234, 261, 276, 310, 343, 344.
 — *John S. Miller*, 139.
 — *Christopher Leffingwell*, 140, 258.
 — *Col. Gurdon Saltonstall*, (his wife's father,) 142, 157, 195, 205, 210, 218, 224, 243, 272, 298, 302, 335, 352.
 — *Titus Hosmer*, 152, 238, 241, 320.
 — *Samuel B. Webb*, 187, 284.
 — *Simeon Deane*, 190, 296, 326.
 — *Samuel Broome*, 194, 213.
 — *Peter Vandervoort*, 196.
 — *Dr. Benjamin Gale*, 202, 315, 322, 323, 358.
 — *Samuel H. Parsons*, 204.
 — *Eliphalet Dyer*, 209.
 — *Barnabas Deane*, 217, 231, 246, 260, 270, 351.
 — *Jesse Root*, 237.
 — *Philip Schuyler*, 251.
 — *Isaac Sears*, 278, 284.
 — *Elusha Phelps*, 295.
 — *Philip Skene*, 300.
 — *Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin*, 312.
 — *James Hogg*, 318.
 — *Dudley Saltonstall*, 332.
 — *John Sloss Hobart*, 335.
 — *Adam Babcock*, 341.
 — *Dr. Joshua Babcock*, 355.
 — *Dr. Amos Mead*, 348.
 — *Thaddeus Burr*, 353.
 — *Miss Hannah Arnold*, 356.
- Deane, Simeon, 145. Letters from, 190, 249, 296, 326.
- Deberdt, 185.
- De Hart, John, of N. J., 138, 163, 228.
- De Lancey, James, 199.
- Deming, Lemuel, 166.
- Deming, Capt. [David Dimon,] commands the Fairfield company, 224. Anecdote of him, 224.
- Deshon, John, 220, 225.
- Dickinson, John, "the Farmer," 166, 185, 280, 368.
- Doolittle, Mr., 322.
- Douglas, Benjamin, of New Haven; his death noticed, 341.
- Duane, James, 226.
- Dubourg, Mons'r, 365.
- Duché, Rev. Jacob, 171, 182, 280, 292. His prayer in Congress, 174, 177,—
- at the opening of the second congress, 229.
- Dyer, Eliphalet, 142, 145, 167, 170, 324, 340. Delegate to the first congress, 138. Letter to S. Deane, 209. Member of council of safety, 235, 239. Not re-elected to congress, 320. Mr. Deane thinks him unfairly treated, 347, 350. Returns home, 349, 350.
- Easton, Joseph, 81.
- Eaton, Theophilus, of New Haven, 82.
- Elderkin, Jedediah, 235, 239.
- Eliot, George, 142.
- Eliot, Rev. John, of Roxbury, 109, 112.
- Elizabethtown, N. J., 163, 164, 324.
- Ensign, James, 83, 116.
- Fairfield, 188, 222. Capt. Dimon's company, at New York, 224.
- Fairfield county; spirit of the people there, 188; eagerness to volunteer, 354.
- Farnsworth, Dr., 190, 292.
- Ferguson, (Furgerson,) Mr., 189, 190.
- Field, Zachary, withdraws from the church in Hartford, 55.
- Fitch, Samuel, 54.
- Floyd, Col. Wm., 116, 170, 226, 227.
- Fosdick, Dr., 259.
- Fowler, Mrs. of Philadelphia, 223.
- Fox, —, killed at Bunker Hill, 271.
- Foxcroft, John, 226.
- Franklin, Dr. Benjamin, 228, 275, 317, 341, 362. Letter to Col. Saltonstall, 302. Visits Killingworth, 322, 323. On committee of secret correspondence, 363, 365, 368. Fraunces's Tavern, N. York, 223.
- Freemen of Conn. colony; laws regulating the admission of, 96.
- Friends, in Philadelphia, 167, 172, 173, 178.
- Gadsden, Christopher, 166, 175.
- Gage, Gen. Thomas, 150, 219, 221, 271, 273.
- Gale, Dr. Benjamin, 142, 163. Letters from, to S. Deane, 202, 315, 322, 333, 358. Letter to, 294.
- Gale, Capt. [Samuel,] 272.
- Galloway, Joseph, 166, 169, 201, 228. Author of "A Candid Examination," &c., 212.

- Garnier, Mons., 368.
 Gates, Gen. Horatio, 274, 275. Ap-
 pointed adj.-general, 274.
 Gay, Fisher, 192, 322.
 Germantown, Penn., 167. Described,
 282, 283.
 Gibbons, Wm., of Hartford, 54.
 Gloucester, N. J., 281.
 Goddard, Wm., 183.
 Gooch, Isaac, 109.
 Goodridge, Elizur, 151.
 Goodwin, Ozias, 55.
 Goodwin, William, an elder of the
 Hartford church, 60. Opposed to
 Mr. Stone, 60, 72, 79, 93. Signs
 a letter to the church, 70,—and to
 other churches, 78, 87. Removes
 from Connecticut, 110.
 Grave, George, of Hartford, 81.
 Graves, Isaac, 55.
 Greg, Capt., of Greenwich, 345.
 Green, Timothy, printer, 210.
 Green Mountain Boys, 247, 352.
 Greenwich, 222.
 Griswold, Capt. Wm., of Wethers-
 field, 330.
 Gun-locks purchased, 294, 296.
 Hancock, John, delegate to congress,
 from Massachusetts, 221, 227, 231.
 President of congress, 233, 263.
 Harbert, Benjamin, 55.
 Harrison, Col. Benjamin, 363, 368.
 Described, 181.
 Hartford: proposes a non-consump-
 tion agreement, 151. Volunteers
 march for Boston, 156. Talk of ad-
 joining congress to meet at, 233,
 265, 293. Prisoners confined at,
 260, 280, 301, 326.
 Hartford church controversy, 1656-
 59, 51 et seq. Result of a council
 held in Boston, Sept., 1659, 112.
 Harwinton, 156.
 Haviland's, in Rye, 222.
 Hazard, Jonathan, 338.
 Hazard, Ebenezer, 134, 305. Peti-
 tions general assembly for quit-
 claim of western lands, 133. Signs
 his letters 'Americanus,' 194, 202.
 Prepares a collection of state pa-
 pers, &c., 200. Postmaster at New
 York, 273.
 Heath, Isaac, of Roxbury, 112, 125.
 Hempstead, Joshua, Jr., 352.
 Henderson, Col. Robert, 318.
 Henry, Patrick, of Va., 181.
 Henshaw, [Benjamin,] 267.
 Hewes, Joseph, of No. Carolina, 184.
 Higginson, Rev. John, his testimony
 and counsel, in the Hartford church
 controversy, 93.
 Hillhouse, James A., 231.
 Hinman, Elisha, 343, 352.
 Hinman, Col. Benjamin, 235.
 Hinsdale, Daniel, 296.
 Hoadly, Charles J., 105.
 Hobart, John Sloss; letter to Mr.
 Deane, 335.
 Hogg, James, agent for the Transyl-
 vania company; letter from, 318.
 Delegate to the congress, 318.
 Hog Island affair, 257.
 Holt, John, 226, 273.
 Hooker, Rev. Thomas, 53.
 Hooper, Wm., of N. Carolina, de-
 scribed, 184.
 Hopkins, Ezek, 333.
 Hopkins, John B., 333.
 Hosmer, Titus, 267, 350. Plan for
 the militia, 189. Letters from,
 152, 238, 241. Delegate to con-
 gress, in case of vacancy, 320.
 House, Mrs., of Philadelphia, 166,
 179, 180, 340, 348. Her daughter,
 Mrs. Trist, 180.
 Howland, Joseph, 258.
 Hubbard, Rev. William, of Ipswich,
 112, 125.
 Hubbard, William, 143.
 Hull's Tavern, New York, 144.
 Huntington, Benjamin, 235, 239.
 — Jabez, 235, 239.
 — Jedediah, 277.
 — Samuel, chosen an assistant,
 231. Member of the council of
 safety, 235. Delegate to congress,
 320. Takes his seat, 360.
 Indian geographical names; J. H.
 Trumbull, on the composition of,
 1-50.
 Ingersol, Jared, 170.
 Irish, George, writes from Newport,
 303.
 James, ship, not allowed to land her
 cargo at New York, 195.
 Jarvis, Rev. Abraham, 276.
 Jauncey, James, 193, 201.
 Jay, John, 170, 179, 183, 324, 368.
 Jerom, John and Stephen, 302.

- Johnson, Wm. S., 138, 225, 230, 231.
Declines to attend the congress,
138, 139, 147, 167. Sent to confer
with Gen. Gage, 221.
- Judd, Mr., released by the Pennites.
328.
- Kelsy, William, (Hartford, 1657,) 81.
- Keys, Miss —, of Philadelphia, 255.
- Killingworth; disputes about the
post-office, 294, 334.
- Kingfisher* cruises off N. London, 279.
- King's Bridge, 142, 143.
- Kinsey, James, of N. Jersey, 138, 179.
- Kirkland, Rev. Samuel, 330.
- Lamb, Capt. John, of New York, 296.
- Lasher, Capt. John, 226.
- Lattimore, Col. —, of Newcastle,
343.
- Law, Richard, 138.
- Lawrence, captain of armed schooner
at New York, 298.
- Lead mine, Middletown, 238, 322.
- Ledlie, [Laidlie,] Rev. Dr., 146.
- Lee, Arthur, 368.
- Lee, Gen. Charles, 268, 286, 354.
- Lee, Richard H., delegate in con-
gress, 179, 181.
- Leflingwell, Christopher, 218. His
plan for organizing the militia, 140.
Letter to Mr. Deane, 258.
- Levy, Miss —, 176, 189.
- Lewis, Francis, 226.
- Lewis, Isaac, 55, 115.
- Livingston, Philip, 179, 226, 228.
- Livingston, Wm., 138, 145, 163, 170,
179.
- Lord, Richard, 84.
- Lundy, —, sent under guard to
Hartford, 280.
- Lyme; salt-making at, 302.
- Lynch, Thomas, of So. Carolina, 265,
361. His personal appearance and
character, 175.
- McDougall, Alexander, 144, 278.
- McEvers, James, 144.
- McKean, —, 343.
- Malbone, Capt. Evan, 303.
- Maltbie, Lieut., 353.
- Marsh, John, a withdrawer from the
Hartford church, 55.
- Marsh, Rev. John, of Wethersfield,
155.
- Marshall, Christopher, 340.
- Marshall, [Humphrey?] 172, 176,
177.
- Massachusetts churches: letters from,
to the church and withdrawers in
Hartford, 59, 64.
- Massachusetts Provincial Congress,
150, 220, 232, 245.
- Mather, Rev. Richard, 63, 112, 125.
- Mead, Dr. Amos Mead; letter from,
348.
- Megapolensis, Rev. J. His account
of the Mohawk Indians, mentioned,
200.
- Meigs, Major R. J., 285.
- Memorial of delegates of N. London
and New Haven counties, 161.
- Middleton, Henry, of So. Carolina,
described, 175.
- Middletown, 129, 188. Lead mine,
238, 322. Military company of old
men, formed, 272.
- Mifflin, Thomas, 198, 280, 291, 304.
Captain of volunteers, 228. Major
of militia, 255. Aid to Washing-
ton, 269, 291.
- Militia, Plans for organizing, 140,
189.
- Miller, Andrew, of N. Carolina, 319.
—, John S., Letter from, 139.
- Minerva*, brig, in colony service, 330.
- Mitchell, Rev. Jonathan, invited to
Hartford, (1649,) 53. Member of
the Boston council of churches,
112, 125.
- Moffatt, Dr. —, 208.
- Moland, Joseph, prisoner in Hart-
ford, 326.
- Morgan, Thomas, of Killingworth,
294.
- Morgan, Major [Daniel,] 275.
- Morris, Robert, 362, -3, -4, 368.
- Morris, Judge [Richard?] 222.
- Mosely, Rev. — 223.
- Mott, Edward, 218, 237, 240, 244.
A commander in the expedition
against Ticonderoga, 218.
- Mott, Samuel, 220, 225.
- Mumford, Capt. D., 148, 149, 229, 324.
— Giles, 148.
— James, 175.
— Thomas, 138, 139, 218, 225,
324, 349. Letters from, 138, 147,
148, 230, 234, 261, 276, 310, 343,
344. Letter from G. Irish to, 303.
- Murray, Mr., 176.

- New Haven, 141, 214, 341-2. The club at Munson's, 349.
- New Jersey, 137, 194, 346.
- New London, 343. Provisions for defence of, 219, 220, 332. Recommended as a navy station, 311. Post-office, 273. Sloop Lizard, 352.
- New London county, Meeting of delegates from, Sept., 1774, 159, 161.
- New York Assembly refuses to adopt the proceedings of congress, 193, 195, 196. Discussions, 198, 199. List of grievances adopted, 211.
- New York city. Reception of the eastern delegates to congress, 144. Pays court to Connecticut, 144. A majority friendly to the cause, 197. Ships not permitted to land British goods, 195, 197. Reception of the eastern delegates in 1775, 222, 223. Defection of, suspected, 234. Cannon removed from the Battery, 296. The people drink E. I. tea, in disregard of the congress, 310. A stumbling block to the cause of liberty, 354.
- New York, Province of. Its critical state, a cause of anxiety, 239. Warm whigs curse the provincial congress, 297.
- Newark, N. J., 163, 227, 304.
- Newfoundland, not friendly to the colonial cause, 190.
- Newton, Rev. Roger, 84.
- Niles, Nathaniel, 239.
- Nitre; experiments for the manufacture of, 320, 321.
- Noddle Island affair, 257.
- North Carolina delegates, described, 184.
- Norton, Rev. John, of Boston, 63, 73, 83, 102, 112, 125.
- Paine, Robert Treat, 144, 227.
- Parsons, Samuel H., 134,-5, 148, 235, 244,-5, 291-3. Letter from, 204. Letter to, 129. Opposed to Putnam's appointment as major-general, 285.
- Partridge, (Partrigg,) Wm., 55.
- Patterson, Mr. of Philadelphia, 170.
- Peck, Paul, of Hartford, (1658,) 81.
- Peirce, [Rev. William Percy?] 255
- Pendleton, Edmund, of Va., 181.
- Penn, Elder James, of Boston, 109.
- Pennsylvania: expenses for defence, in 1775, 329.
- Peters, Rev. Samuel, 191.
- Phelps, Capt. Elisha, 341, 344, 347. Letter from, 295.
- Philadelphia, 165, 167, 169, 185. Biddle's Tavern, 166. Markets, 167, 168. Carpenters' hall, 169, 170, 172. Bettering house, 171-2, 177. Churches and ministers, 171, 172, 182, 269, 280. Civility and hospitality, 185. Warm military spirit, 228, 233. Decline of trade, 305. Military companies, 253-4.
- Phipps, David, 353.
- Porter, Col. Joshua, 237, 257.
- Princeton, N. J., 164, 227, 304.
- Privateers, to be fitted out from Connecticut, 326.
- Prudden, Rev. Peter, of Milford, 89.
- Putnam, Israel, sends an express to alarm the colony, on a report of hostilities at Boston, 149, 150, 153, 176. His regiment ordered to Cambridge, 235. His intrepidity reflects honor on the Colony, 283. Highly esteemed by Washington and Lee,—“the hero of the day,” 285. Receives the applause of the continent, 289. Appointed major-general, 285, 289. The general assembly testifies to his ‘singular merit,’ 285. Dissatisfaction of Gen. Spencer and his friends, 285, 288. Recommends Col. Harry Babcock for a brigadier general, 337.
- Randolph, Peyton, pres. of congress, 172, 179, 181. Described, 173.
- Raritan Ferry, 164.
- Rathbone, Capt., of N. London, 272.
- Reed, Joseph, 185, 283.
- Revere, [Paul,] 183, 273.
- Rhode Island. Measures for defence, 355.
- Richards, John, 54.
- Riley, Capt. —, 260, 266, 271, 292.
- Rivington, James, 201, 212; his paper to be stopped, 170.
- Roberdeau, Col., 175, 255, 301.
- Rodgers, [Rev. Dr. John,] of New York, 146.
- Romans, Bernard, 237.
- Root, Jesse; letter from, 237.
- Rosseter, Dr. Bryan, of Guilford, 74.

- Rowlandson, Wilson, 271.
 Russell, Rev. John, of Wethersfield, 78, 84.
 Russell, Richard, of Charlestown, 112, 125.
 Rutledge, John, of So. Carolina, 175.
 Rutledge, Edward, 175.
- Saltonstall, Capt. Dudley, 303, 335, 339, 341, 345, 346, 356. Appointed to command the *Alfred*, 332, 336, 343. His officers, 353. Letter from, 332.
 Saltonstall, Gilbert, 231.
 Saltonstall, Gurdon, 138, 155, 157, 174, 276. Letters from, 142, 157, 195, 205, 210, 220, 224, 228, 243, 272, 298, 302, 335, 352. Letter to, 289.
 Saltonstall, Sarah, 268, 361; marries Daniel Buck, 348.
 Saybrook, 284.
 Schuyler, Gen. Philip, 251, 252. His character, 267. Plans, with Mr. Deane, a 'bold stroke,' 251, 266, 268, 275, 278.
 Sears, Isaac, 144, 222. Letters from, 278, 284.
 Seymour, Col. T. H., 310.
 Shammenoy Ferry, 165.
 Shaw, Thomas, 302, 343, 344.
 Sharp, —, of New York, 144.
 Shepard, Rev. Thomas, 54, 112, 125.
 Sherbrooke, —, of New York, 144.
 Sherman, Daniel, 322.
 — Rev. John, 63, 112, 125.
 — Roger, 138, 142, 145, 146, 165, 210, 288, 292, 293, 349. Visits Connecticut, 324, 328. Re-appointed to congress, 320. Returns to Philadelphia, 346.
 Shipping and ship-building, 139, 140, 345, 351.
 Simpson, James, 152.
 Skene, Philip, governor of Ticonderoga, 234, 240, 260, 280. Sent to Hartford, 280, 301. Letter from, to Mr. Deane, 300.
 Skene, Major Andrew P., 301. Escapes from Hartford, 326.
 Slack, Samuel, 353.
 Sluman, Joseph, 328.
 Smedley, Capt. Samuel, of Fairfield, 335.
 Smith, Gershom, 271.
 Smith, Richard, of N. J., 138.
- Smith, Dr. William, 166, 169, 170, 269, 280.
 Spencer, Thomas, of Hartford, 81.
 Southern colonies; their spirit, 229.
 Spencer, Gen. Joseph, 235. Charged at Putnam's promotion, quits the camp, 285, 288. His conduct censured, 288, 289, 290.
 Spencer, Rev. Mr., 182.
 Springfield, Mass., 154.
 Sproat, Rev. James, 171, 182.
 Sullivan, Lawrence, 271.
 Susquehannah settlements, 131, 201. Controversy with Pennsylvania, 327, 328.
 Stamford, 222.
 Standley, Thomas, a withdrawer from Hartford church, 55.
 Steele, George, of Hartford, 55.
 Steele, James, 54.
 Stewart, Col., of New London, 208.
 Stocking, George, of Hartford, 81.
 Stone, Rev. Samuel, 83, 86, 93. Discussion with Capt. Cullick, 53. Resigns his office in the church, 58. His acknowledgment, 71. His letter, from Massachusetts, 73. Propositions to the church, 75. Propositions presented to the gen. court, 100. His charges against the withdrawers, 104.
 Stonington, fired on by Capt. Wallace's vessels, 299.
 Stoutenburg, Tobias, 144.
 Sturges, [Jonathan,] 311.
 Symmes, Rev. Zechariah, 112.
- Talcott, John, 84, 124.
 Talmadge, —, 272.
 Tetard, [Lewis,] 304, 305.
 Ticonderoga expedition, 218, 219, 220, 225, 232, 234, 240, 244, 354. News from, 237. Prisoners taken, 234, 237. Garrison at Ticonderoga, 248, 260.
 Tilley, (Ensign,) made prisoner, 306.
 Transylvania Company, 318.
 Treat, Rev. Mr., 146.
 Trenton, N. J., 164, 227.
 Trist, Lieut. —, 180. His wife, 180, 189, 223, 324.
 Trowbridge, Capt., (N. Haven,) 284.
 Trumbull, Jonathan, governor of Connecticut, 139, 235, 239, 271, 302. His administration applauded by Congress, 253, 283.

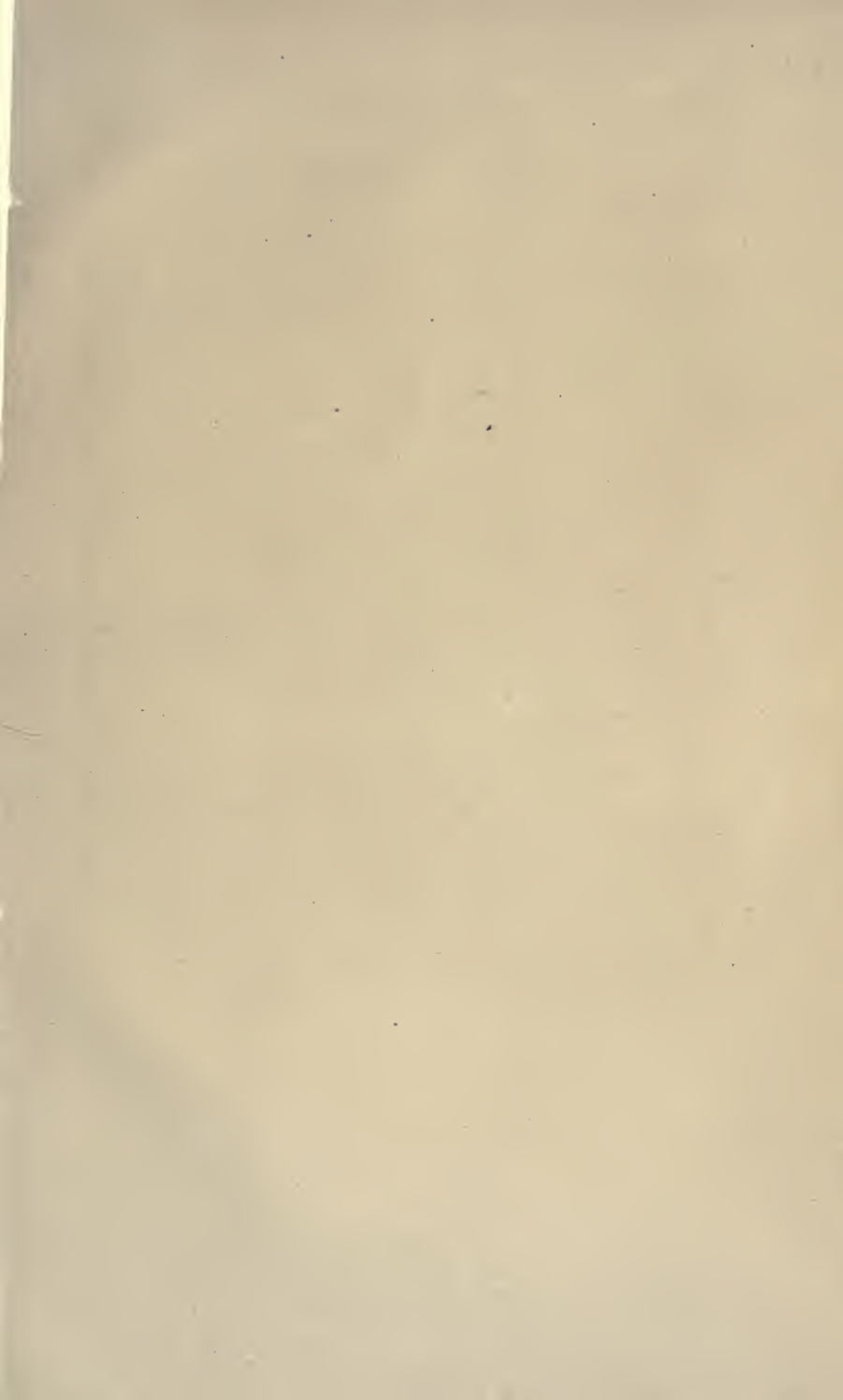
- Trumbull, Joseph, 138, 184, 292.
 Trumbull, J. H., on the composition of Indian geographical names, 1-50.
 Tryon, Gov. William, 279, 297.
 Turner, Dr. [Philip,] 143, 177.
 Tyng, Edward, of Boston, 112, 125.
- Vandeput, Capt., of the *Asia*, 297.
 Vandervoort, Peter, letter from, 196.
 Virginia delegates to congress, described, 181.
- Wadsworth, Col. James, 322.
 — Jeremiah, 168, 170, 362.
 — William, (1656,) 84, 85.
 Wales, Nathaniel, 235, 238, 309.
 Wallace, captain of the *Rose*, fires on Stonington, 298, 299. Detains Capt. Malbone's vessel, 303. Plunders Conanicut island, 368.
 Ward, Gov. Samuel, of R. I., 304, 340, 348, 361.
 Warham, Rev. John, of Windsor, 84.
 Warner, Andrew, 55.
 Warren, Joseph, 271.
 Washington, George, a delegate in congress from Virginia, 179. Personal appearance and character, 181, 264, 267. Appointed commander-in-chief, 264. Sets out for the camp, 266, 269. Visits Mrs. Deane, at Wethersfield, 267, 268, 274; 280, 289.
 Watson, captain of ship *James*, 195.
 Webb, Col. Charles, 237, 277.
 — Mrs. Hannah, 361.
 — Joseph, 145, 169, 174, 186, 249, 267, 277, 281, 312.
 — Samuel B., 166, 272, 281. Letters to Mr. Deane, 187, 284. Appointed lieutenant, 240. Marches to Cambridge, 243. Aid to Gen. Putnam, 291.
 Webster, John, governor of Connecticut, 55. Withdraws from Hartford church, 55, 70, 78, 79, 87. Censured by Mr. Stone, 105, 115.
 Webster, Pelatiah, 294.
 Welles, Thomas, dep. governor, 84.
 Wells, Charles, captain of a Wethersfield company, 352.
 West, Joshua, 235, 239.
- Western lands. Plan for the settlement of, 131-134.
 Wethersfield. Resolves of town meeting, (June, 1774,) 135. Contribution to relief of Boston, 137. Volunteer company marches to Boston, 214; in action at Bunker Hill, 271. Sickness, in 1775, 308. Company of volunteers joins Gen. Lee, 352.
 Wethersfield church, 87, 93. Troubles in, 78. John Davenport's letter to, 88.
 Wharton, Thomas, 172, 182, 183.
 Whipple, Capt. Abraham, 330, 333.
 White, John, withdraws from the Hartford church, 55.
 White, Rev. William, 182.
 Whiting, Rev. Samuel, 63.
 Whiting, Col. Samuel, 240, 243.
 Wigglesworth, Rev. Michael, 54, 71.
 Willett, Nathaniel, 81.
 Williams, Rev. Eliphalet, 155.
 Williams, Ezekiel, 137.
 Williams, Col. William, 163, 239. One of the committee of safety, 235. Sent to Philadelphia, 309. Chosen delegate to Congress, 320.
 Wilmington, Del., 256,-7,-8.
 Wilson, Thomas, 166.
 Wilson, Rev. John, of Boston, 63, 109, 112, 125.
 Windham county; proceedings of delegates from, 159, 161.
 Winthrop, John, governor of Connecticut, 84.
 Witherspoon, Rev. John, 172.
 Wolcott, Col. Erastus, 138, 225, 230,-1,-5, 322. Sent to confer with Gen. Gage, 221.
 — Oliver, delegate to congress, 320. Takes his seat, 349, 360.
 Wolterton, Gregory, 55.
 Woodbridge, N. J., 164.
 Woodbury, 281.
 Wooster, Gen. David, 279, 288. Displeased by Putnam's appointment, 288. Recommended by R. Sherman, 288, 289.
 Wright, John, 146.
 Wykoff, Mr., of Philadelphia, 229, 281.
 Wyllys, Hezekiah, 156.
 Wythe, George, of Virginia, 328.

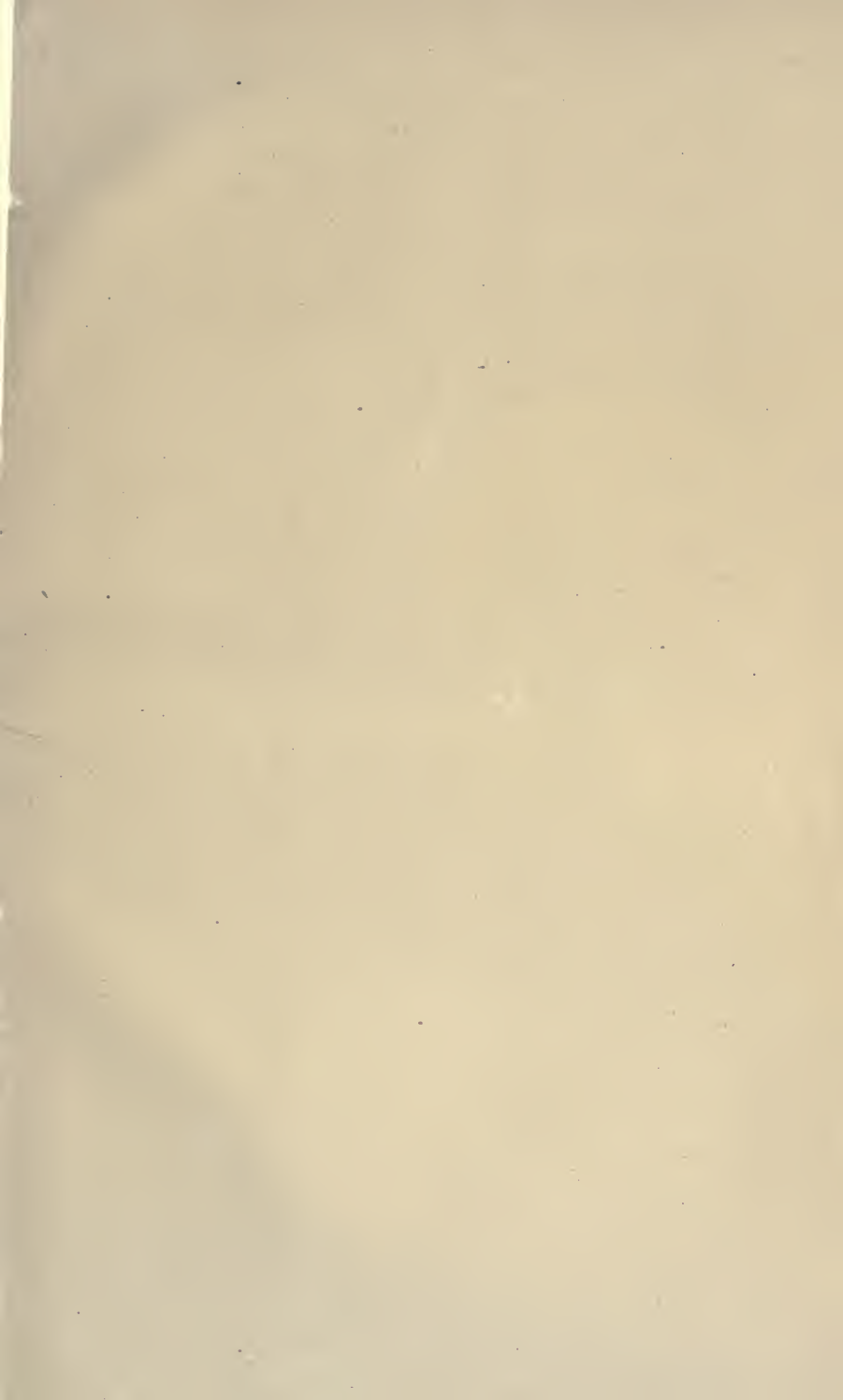
INDIAN NAMES.

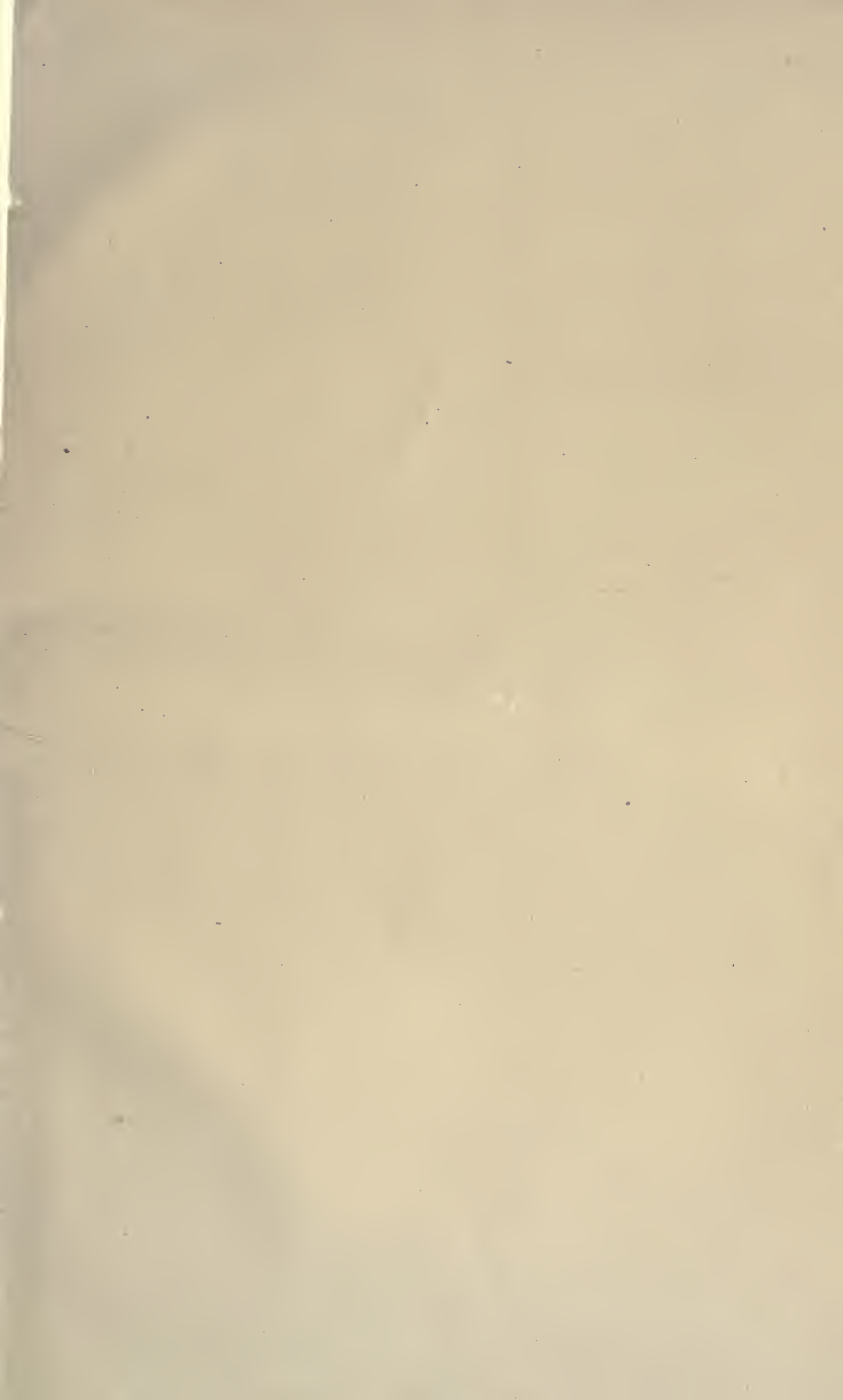
	Page.		Page.
Abagadusset, Abequaduset,	39	-COMACO, - - -	21
Abnaki, - - -	7	Connecticut, - - -	8
-ACADIE, - - -	26, 27	Cuppacommock, - - -	21
<i>Acawme</i> -, - - -	10		
Accomack, - - -	10	<i>-Ehtu, -eltu</i> , - - -	23, 24
-ADCHU, -ACHU, - - -	20	<i>Eshqua</i> -, - - -	41
-ADENÉ, - - -	21		
Agamenticus, - - -	10	-GAMI, - - -	17
Agoncy, - - -	28	Ganshow-hanne, - - -	12
AHQUEDNE, - - -	23	Gonic, - - -	42
<i>Akoode</i> -, - - -	28		
Alleghany, - - -	12	Hackensack, - - -	30
-AMAUG, - - -	18	-HAN, -HANNE, - - -	8, 12
Amessagunticook, - - -	25	<i>Hassuni</i> -, - - -	19
Amoskeag, - - -	25	Higganum, - - -	19
<i>Anasqui</i> -, - - -	41	-HITTUCK, - - -	8
Androscoggin, - - -	25	Hoccanum, - - -	30
Anmesookkanti, - - -	25, 42	HOCQUAUN, - - -	30
Annis-squam, - - -	18		
Aquednet, -nesit, - - -	23	Ishquagoma, - - -	41
<i>Ashawi</i> -, - - -	33		
Ashawog, - - -	33	<i>Kabassé</i> -, - - -	42
ASHIM, - - -	34	-KAMIGHÉ, - - -	21
Ashimuit, - - -	34	-KAODI, - - -	28
<i>Assini</i> -, - - -	20	-KANTTI, - - -	22
-AÚKE, - - -	6	Katahdin, - - -	21
		<i>Kauposh</i> -, - - -	42
Baamcheenunganoo, - - -	40	Kearsarge, - - -	20
Bagadoose, - - -	38	<i>Keht, kít</i> -, - - -	12, 19, 21
-BIX, - - -	18	Kehtetukqut, - - -	12
<i>Boonamoo</i> -, - - -	27	Kennebec, - - -	15
		Kenjua, - - -	43
Capawonk, - - -	29	Kenosha, - - -	43
Cappowonganick, - - -	29	Ketumpscut, - - -	19
Catumb, - - -	19	-KI, - - -	6
Caucomgomoc, - - -	17	Kinougami, - - -	17
Chabanakongkomuk, - - -	35	Kiskatamenakook, - - -	7
CHABENUK, - - -	35	Kittanning, - - -	12
Chawonock, - - -	7	Kittatinny, - - -	21
Chebegnadose, - - -	39	Kitchigami, - - -	17
Chippaquiddick, - - -	23	Kitchi-sipi, - - -	7
Cobbosseecontee, - - -	26, 42	-KOMUK, - - -	21
Cobbscook, - - -	42	-KONTU, - - -	23

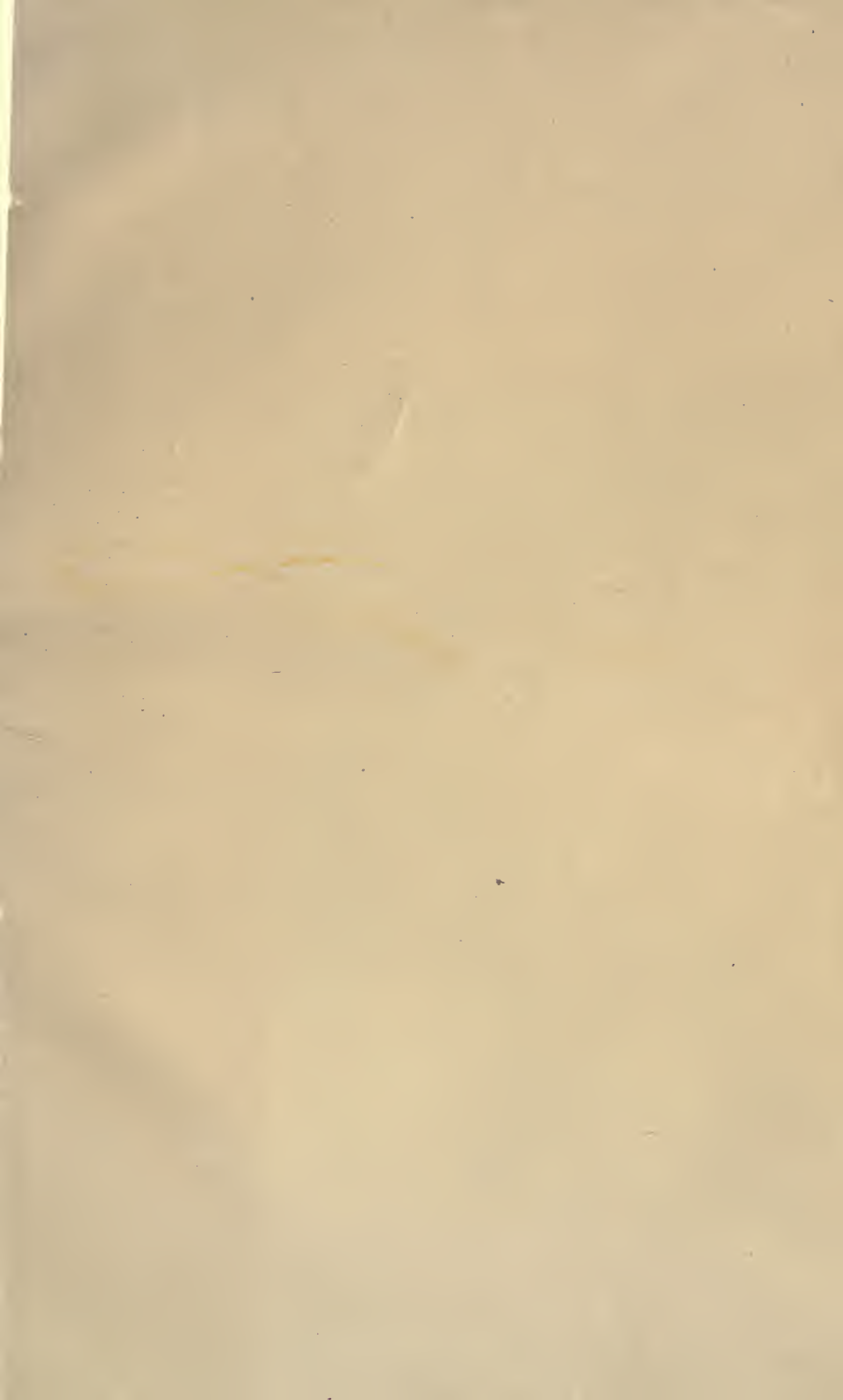
	Page.		Page.
Kunkquachu, -	20	Naümkeag, -	43
<i>Kuppo</i> , -	21, 29	Nayatt, Nayot, -	29
Lackawanna, -	12	<i>Nessaooa</i> , -	22
Lenapewi-hittuck,	8	Newichawanock, -	12
Machigamig, -	17	Nimpanickhickanuh,	37
Manati, -	22	NIPPE, NEBI, -	14
Manhasset, -	23	Nippissing, -	15
Manhatan, -	22	Noank, -	29
Manisses, -	22	<i>Nôëu</i> , -	11
Manussing, -	23	Norwottock, -	11
<i>Massa</i> , <i>Masha</i> , -	15	Noyaug, -	29
Massachusetts, -	20	<i>Nunni</i> , -	16
Massapaug, -	15	Nunnepoag, -	16
Massaugatucket, -	32	Nunkertunk, -	29
Mashenips, -	38	Nyack, -	29
Maskinonjé, -	43	Occoquan, -	30
Mattabeset, -	35	<i>Ogkome</i> , -	10
Mattammiscontis, -	25	OGQUIDNE, -	23
Mattapan, -ient,	34	Ohio, -	13
Mattapony, -	35	-OHKE, -OKE, -	6
Mattapoiset, -	35	Okhúquan, -	30
Matchebiguatus, -	39	Olighin-sipou, -	13
Mauch-chunk, -	20	-OMPSK, -	18
MENAN, -	22	Oswego, -	31
Mennewies, -	23	Ouschankamaug, -	18
Meesucontee, -	25	Pacatock, -	8
Mianus, -	37	<i>Paguan</i> , -	40
Michigan, -	17	<i>Pahke</i> , -	16, 40
Missinippi, -	15	Pahquioque, -	39
Missisaking, -	31	Paquabaug, -	16, 40
Mississippi, -	7	Paquiaug, -	39
Misquamacuck, -	42	Pascoag, -	11
Mistassini, -	20	Pasquotank, -	11
Miste-shipu, -	7	Passamaquoddy, -	26, 43
Mitchigami, -	17	Patuxet, -ent,	9
Mohicannittuck, -	8	-PAUG, -	15
Montauk, -	23	<i>Pauqui</i> , -	39
Moosup, -	37	Pauquepaug, -	16
Moshenupsuck, -	38	Pauat, -	9
-MSK (for -OMPSK),	18	Pautuck, -	9
Munhansick, -	23	Pawating, -	9
MUNNOH-HAN, -	22	Pawcatuck, -	8
Mushauwomuk, -	5, 35	Pawtucket, -	8, 9
Mystic, -	8	Pemadené, -	41
NĀĪAG, -	29	<i>Pemi</i> , -	40
Namasket, -	42	Pemaquid, -	41
Nameaug, -	38	Pemetiq, -	41
Namelake, -	38	Pemigewasset, -	41
Narragansett, -	29	<i>Pemiji</i> , -	40
Nashaekomuk, -	21	Pemijigomé, -	40
NASHAUÉ, -	21, 33	<i>Pen</i> , -	19
Nashua, Nashaway, -	33	Penobscot, -	19
Natchaug, -	33	Pequabuck, -	16
		Pequannoc, -	40

	Page.		Page.
<i>Pescatum</i> , - - -	26, 43	Shaume, - - -	34
<i>Peske</i> , - - -	10	Shawmut, - - -	36
<i>Pesquamscot</i> , - - -	11	Shawwunk, - - -	33
<i>Pettiquamscut</i> , - - -	18	Shubenacadie, - - -	26
<i>Petuckquapock</i> , - - -	16	Shumuit, - - -	34
<i>Petukqui</i> , - - -	16, 18	Sicaiook, Suckiaug, - - -	7
<i>Pikanghenahik</i> , - - -	30	Soakatuck, - - -	32
<i>Pimé</i> , - - -	40	<i>Sonki</i> , - - -	16
-PISK, -PSK, - - -	18	Sonkipaug, - - -	16
<i>Piscataqua</i> , -quog, - - -	11	Sowanohke, - - -	7
<i>Piscataway</i> , -aquis, - - -	11	Squam, - - -	18
<i>Poetquessing</i> , - - -	9	Squamacut, - - -	42
<i>Pohqui</i> , - - -	39	Squammagonic, - - -	42
<i>Ponamo</i> , - - -	27	Squamscot, - - -	18
<i>Poquannoc</i> , - - -	40	<i>Sucki</i> , - - -	7
<i>Poutaxat</i> , - - -	9	Swamscot, - - -	18
<i>Powhatan</i> , - - -	10		
<i>Pymatuning</i> , - - -	38, 41	-TCHUAN, - - -	12
<i>Pyquaag</i> , - - -	39	Temigami, - - -	17
<i>Pummeeche</i> , - - -	40	Tetiquet, Titicut, - - -	11
		Tomheganomset, - - -	19
<i>Quansigamaug</i> , - - -	18	Tracady, -die, - - -	28
<i>Quilutamendé</i> , - - -	36	-TUK, - - -	8
<i>Quinni</i> , - - -	8, 15		
<i>Quinnihticut</i> , - - -	8	UHQUÓN, - - -	30
<i>Quinebaug</i> , - - -	16		
<i>Quinepoxet</i> , - - -	16	WADCHU, - - -	20
<i>Quinnipiac</i> , - - -	15	Wampanoags, - - -	6
-QUODDY, -KANTTI, - - -	26, 27	<i>Wanashqué</i> , - - -	18, 41
<i>Quonshapaug</i> , - - -	43	Wangunbog, - - -	16
<i>Qussuk</i> , - - -	19	Wapanachki, - - -	7
<i>Quunkwadchu</i> , - - -	20	Werowocomoco, - - -	21
		Winnepesaukee, - - -	32, 33
<i>Saco</i> , - - -	30	Winnesquamsaukit, - - -	18
<i>Sagadahock</i> , - - -	30	Winnisimmit, - - -	34
<i>Saganaw</i> , - - -	31	Wnogquetookoke, - - -	30
<i>Sagenay</i> , - - -	31	Wonasquatucket, - - -	41
<i>Saquatucket</i> , - - -	32	WONKUN, WONGUN, - - -	29
<i>Saugatuck</i> , - - -	32	Wongattuck, - - -	29
<i>Saukunk</i> , - - -	31	Wonkemaug, - - -	18
<i>Segoonumakaddy</i> , - - -	27	Wongunpaug, - - -	16
<i>Segubbnakaddy</i> , - - -	26	Wonnesquam, - - -	18
SEPU, SEIP, SIPI, - - -	7	Wuskowhánanaukit, - - -	7









See p. 107

F
91
C7
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