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*Peter Force Esq.*

*with the respects of the author*

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
CHARLESTOWN,  
MASSACHUSETTS.

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By RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, Jr.

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"The History of a Town is united with that of the Country to which it belongs, and with that of the ages through which it has stood."



CHARLESTOWN:  
CHARLES P. EMMONS.  
BOSTON:  
CHARLES C. LITTLE AND JAMES BROWN.  
1845.

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## TO THE CITIZENS OF CHARLESTOWN.

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THE undersigned, a few years ago, prepared a series of communications upon the history of Charlestown, intending them for the Bunker Hill Aurora; the advice of friends induced him to keep them, and add to them, until they will now appear in the more presumptive form of a volume. This work will be continued, so far as type and paper are concerned, as it has been commenced, as expeditiously as business engagements will permit, until the history is brought down to the present time; but the number of engravings that will be given must depend upon the encouragement it meets with.

One great reason for choosing the mode of publication so much in favor with the public, — viz., in numbers, — is the hope that the early ones may fall into the hands of some who may have ancient family manuscripts, and be willing to loan them for the purpose of making this work more complete. Communications of this nature will be gladly received. The undersigned is indebted to several for interesting papers and valuable assistance. Obligations like these will hereafter be specially acknowledged.

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, JR.

*November, 1845.*

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N. B. An Engraving, representing a view of the Town, intended for the present number, will appear in a future one; for the beautiful representation of the McLEAN ASYLUM, the author is indebted to the liberality of the Trustees of that Institution.

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Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1845,

BY RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, JR.

in the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the District of Massachusetts.



AE 57/2/11  
A. J. Jan 12



# HISTORY OF CHARLESTOWN.<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—Sources of this History.—Character of the Town.—Value of Town Histories.

SOME account may be expected of the sources from which this History has been derived. These are :

I. The Town Records. These are minute in relation to the local, municipal affairs, from the settlement of the town. But with the exception of a few pages at the beginning of the first volume, and the period of the Revolution, they are singularly barren of matters of general or political interest. With the exception of a plan of a small portion of the town, presented to the Legislature

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<sup>1</sup> "A Historical Sketch of Charlestown," by Josiah Bartlett, M. D., was, in 1814, published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (2d Series, vol. ii. pp. 163 — 184) and in pamphlet form. It was an Address delivered Nov. 16, 1813, at the dedication of Washington Hall, prepared with notes for publication. Though filling but twenty-one pages, it contains, especially in the notes, much interesting matter relative to the town. It gives, however, but slight notices of the town from 1634 to 1781.

In 1830, Hon. Edward Everett delivered a valuable Historical Discourse before the Charlestown Lyceum, commemorative of the arrival of Gov. Winthrop. It is chiefly a view of the general causes of the settlement of Massachusetts, with a short account of the settlement of the town.

In 1838 copious extracts from the Town Records were printed in the Bunker Hill Aurora, understood to have been furnished by William Sawyer, Esq.

These are the only accounts of the Town, of much length, that have been printed.

in 1781, when the latter authorized an important alteration of the streets, there is no map of the town previous to 1818. This renders it exceedingly difficult to locate, precisely, the residences of the first settlers. A plan was probably taken in 1794, which cannot be found.

The original records, prior to 1662, may be found in a volume made up of manuscript, some of it bearing date as early as 1593,<sup>1</sup> and some of it as late as 1767, and bound without regard to matter or date. Here may be found memorandums, on loose sheets, of selectmen, and town meetings, records of deeds, and of the possessions of the inhabitants in 1638. The latter is valuable so far as it goes. It does not give the value of the property, and is exceedingly loose in description. The original records commence with the year 1662, and with few exceptions, are perfect to the present day.

In 1664 the first volume of the records was prepared, perhaps mostly from a large volume, frequently referred to but not now extant. This volume contains the history of the settlement of this town and the neighboring towns, that is quoted by Prince and others as a contemporary authority. It was written by John Greene, son of the ruling elder of the Church. He collected the facts from "known gentlemen that lived and were actors" in the events it relates, and read the relation to the selectmen, who consented that it should "remain" a part of the records. It occupies seven pages of the volume. Its traditionary character appears upon its face. It certainly cannot be relied upon as to dates. Nor can the remainder of this volume be depended upon as an exact transcript of the original. The selectmen ordered grants of land to be transcribed verbatim, but in "other things," the copyist was allowed to use his discretion and skill in reducing them "to the most brief and clear language."

The first volume of the Registry of births, marriages and deaths, is not unlike, in character, to the volume of miscellaneous matter

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<sup>1</sup> This MS. appears to be a part of a Leger, in which the accounts of one of the Guilds, or Trade Corporations of England, were kept. Each name, generally, has a debit and credit. The following is on the credit side of the book :

"Stephen Woodgate of Caufoulde in the County of Suffolk Clothier is dewe to same this laste of November by Suffolke Clothes fifty and seaven poundes for his as journal 2, 57 00 00."

already described. Its earliest date is 1658 — its latest 1797. The leaf at one end of the volume is dated 1663, that at the other 1720. The middle of the volume contains the following record:—

“ A record of all births, deaths and marriages, that hath been in Charlestown since the death of Mr. Thomas Starr who departed this life the twentieth day of the eighteenth mo. 1658, herein recorded. — pr me EDWARD BURTT Clerk.”

One side of the sheet on which this is written, contains a description of the horses shipped from this town in 1664. It was the Town Clerk's “ Toll Book,” wherein he recorded all the ages, colors, and make, of the horses presented for export. He filled up a few pages with these, and then went on with the births, marriages and deaths. This volume was bound in 1797. Some of the leaves of it are imperfect.

II. Records of the first Church of this Town. These are original records, and commence with the gathering of the Church in 1632. The first volume, a quarto of three hundred and eighty-six pages, is an interesting and valuable relic of the past. The entries in it were made by the ruling elder, John Greene, and the successive ministers. It commences as follows: “ The Book that belongs unto the church of God in Charltowne : which church was gathered, and did enter into Church Covenant the 2d day of the 9th month 1632.” It contains records of baptisms, admissions into the Church, marriages, Church votes, proceedings against delinquents, and ordinations of pastors and deacons. This volume is very minute in detail respecting the proceedings against the Baptists.<sup>1</sup>

III. The Colony Records, the Probate and Registry Records, files of newspapers, the various public libraries, and the collection of manuscripts at the State House, recently arranged into volumes. The latter has supplied many documents of interest and importance. These “ Massachusetts Archives ” constitute an invaluable magazine of materials for Town Histories.

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<sup>1</sup> A full and accurate description of this curious volume, with copious extracts from its contents, may be found in the American Quarterly Register, vol. xii. pp. 247, 250. Rev. S. Sewall, the author of this account, says:—“ The records of this Church are, it is believed, the only records in existence of any Church in the county of Middlesex formed as early as the seventeenth century, which have been kept in regular, and (in the main) unbroken series from the beginning, except the records of the Church of Lexington, gathered 1696.”

IV. Private collections of papers. Wherever these exist and have been called for, they have been most liberally supplied. But they are not very numerous. From many descendants of old inhabitants the same reply has been made, in answer to inquiries, viz: That the family memorials were probably destroyed when the Town was burnt in 1775. Two documents, both by two of its most prominent citizens, once in the possession of Prince, would have been of great value in making this compilation; viz: "Two original books of Deputy Governor Willoughby and Captain Hammond, giving historical hints from 1651 to 1678 inclusive: And "An original journal of the late Capt. Lawrence Hammond of Charlestown and Boston, from 1677 to 1694 inclusive." It is supposed that these were destroyed with other papers in Prince's Library, in the tower of the old South Church, Boston, at the commencement of the Revolution. Belknap cites a journal supposed to have been written by Capt. Hammond.

The author, from such sources, has compiled a History of Charlestown. This place when first visited by Europeans, was known by the name of Mishawum, and was full of stately timber and hospitable Indians. Here a colony, composed of men of moderate fortunes and of high character, founded a town. Many of its inhabitants were men of capacity and enterprise, and were called to fill important situations in the colonial government. Even while discharging these duties they took an active share in the municipal concerns of the town. The board of selectmen shows, for a century and a half, an uninterrupted succession of such men:<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Increase Nowell, a leading character in Church and State, was at the head of the board of selectmen nineteen years, until his death in 1655, and during this period he had as associates, Francis Willoughby, Deputy Governor; Robert Sedgwick, Major General; Francis Norton, a prominent military character; Abraham Palmer, the Spragues and others. After Mr. Nowell's decease, Richard Russell, for twenty years the Treasurer of the colony, was at the head of the board: he served on it twenty-six years in succession. After 1676, Lawrence Hammond, another prominent military and civil character was selectman twelve years; Richard Sprague, son of Ralph, fourteen years; Joseph Lynde, fifteen years; and James Russell, son of the Treasurer, fourteen years. From 1700 to 1765, the following, among others—John Phillips, Jonathan Dowse, Nathaniel Carey, Daniel Russell, Charles Chambers, Isaac Royal, Thomas Graves, Ezekiel Cheever, Chambers Russell, Edward Sheafe, James Russell (1760), and Nathaniel Gorham—all holding high civil offices, as Councillors and Judges and leading men in the colony—appear for

while the corporate action of the town affords evidence of a public spirit, that was acknowledged valuable on important and trying occasions. This is seen especially in the Revolutions of 1689 and 1775. It is not less decidedly seen in the support of religion and education. The Church and the School House stood side by side, quietly diffusing their beneficent influences, until the great day of sacrifice. The burning of their homes rather quickened, than cast down, the public spirit of the citizens. In May, 1776, they gathered in legal meeting, amid the yet smouldering ruins, to respond to a call to sustain a Declaration of Independence; and then pledged their lives to the support of this great measure.

And it is not too much to say, that, at the present day, Charlestown is doing faithfully its part in maintaining republican institutions. Its appearance indicates a prosperous community. It has handsome streets and creditable public buildings. Its religious institutions and common schools are liberally supported. Numerous benevolent associations are constantly distributing their charities. It has a thoroughly furnished and efficient fire-department, and makes ample provision for its poor. Its police is vigilant. Its military corps patriotic. It bears the impress of the commercial enterprise of the day, and is rapidly increasing in population, wealth and consequence. Nor have its inhabitants lost that public spirit that is so conspicuous in the early history of the town.

A town history must necessarily consist mainly of local details, small in themselves, and chiefly interesting to the descendants of the actors of them, or to those who occupy their places. Yet this detail, these little things, if judiciously selected, "illustrate classes of men and ages of time;" and as they show the feelings, opinions, and action of a period, constitute its life. Such, indeed, was the unity of spirit that prevailed in the towns, those of New England especially, and so similar was their internal management, that a history of one will illustrate the history of all. And hence a work

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many years in succession, members of the board. The town clerks were generally particular to prefix their titles in full. As a sample take the record of the board for 1695, — at this time, "The most worshipful James Russell" was commonly moderator of the Town Meetings. James Russell, Esq., Col. Jno. Phillips, Esq., Lieut. Col. Joseph Lynde, Esq., Capt. Samuel Hayman, Esq., Mr. Jacob Greene, Jr., Capt. Jonathan Call, Ensign Timothy Phillips."

of this kind, if accurate, will be a useful contribution to general history.

But there is, or ought to be, a peculiar interest attaching to each town, for each has its peculiar history and traditions. Each has some noted spot, where the Indian may have fought for his burial places, or the colonists for their freedom; that may have sheltered a hermit or a regicide; that superstition may have invested with a fairy legend, or nature have robed with more than fairy magnificence. Each has had its Liberty Tree, its Green Dragon, its Faneuil Hall, where its patriots may have counselled or acted. And each town has had citizens who laid its foundations, perhaps in hardship and danger; who labored for its prosperity, or who went out to suffer in a common cause. Each has had its Man of Ross and village Hampdens. They acted as worthily in their sphere, and deserve as grateful remembrance, as those whose fame is on every tongue. It is for the local annalist to gather up these traditions and histories, for they are to a town, what common recollections are to the country.

But besides such local details, the memorable events that have occurred within its limits, may render a history of Charlestown of much general interest. Salem excepted, it is the oldest town of the Massachusetts Colony. Here the founders of the latter wrestled fearfully with famine and mortality. Yet, when enduring the keenest anguish that can rive the human heart, they persevered in their work in the highest faith that can mark the christian life. The dead "were buried about the Town Hill."<sup>1</sup> They were "the first victims to the cause of liberty."<sup>2</sup> The other heights are redolent with Revolutionary associations. "All are the altars of precious sacrifice,"<sup>2</sup> where patriots, to maintain liberty, acted with a heroism kindred to that which their ancestors displayed in planting it. In consequence of this, how wide has become their fame! Under the rule of the Red Man, Bunker Hill may have been noted as a favorite spot on which to light his council fires. But, in the order of Providence, the council fires are to die away, and, under a new dominion, a new fire is to be kindled, that is to go onward and upward, until it culminates upon its summit. The deeds which the good and the brave here performed for their

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<sup>1</sup> Town Records.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Everett.



country and their race, have made Bunker Hill to America what Marathon was to Greece.

These events will be traced, as much as possible, from contemporary authorities. Although, where so many have gleaned before, but little may be presented that will be new, in relation to the military transactions, yet the nature of this work will justify a narrative more minute, than, perhaps, can be elsewhere found.

Still, it must be borne in mind, that these pages purport to be, not a history of the Country, or of Massachusetts, but simply a memorial of Charlestown. They will contain but little that is not considered necessary to exhibit the condition of its inhabitants, or the events that have transpired within its limits. It will be compiled, mostly, from manuscripts, and it will be the author's aim to set down no fact without an authority for it. Still, errors are almost unavoidable. He will cheerfully correct, in the best manner he is able, those that friends will have the kindness to point out.

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## CHAPTER II.

1614 to 1628. — Early Boundaries of the Town. — Discovery by Smith. — Visit of Plymouth Settlers. — The Fishermen. — Grant to Robert Gorges. — His Colony.

CHARLESTOWN is a peninsula, formed by the Mystic and Charles rivers and a small tract on the main land, with which it is connected by a narrow isthmus. So far as it regards territory, it is the smallest town in the State.

But, originally, Charlestown was far more extensive. It included Malden, Woburn, Stoneham, Burlington, and Somerville, a large part of Medford, and a small part of Cambridge, West Cambridge and Reading.

Woburn, comprising Burlington, was incorporated in 1642 ;

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<sup>1</sup> The dates in this work are altered, so far as it respects the months and years, to correspond with the new style. Up to 1752 the year began March 25. It was altered that year to January 1. To bring the days into

Malden, in 1649; Stoneham, in 1725; Somerville, in 1842. In 1724 and 1725, a large tract called "North Charlestown," was set off, part to Malden and part to Reading. In 1754, another tract, including several large farms, was set off to Medford, and now forms the eastern part of that town. A tract was set off to Cambridge in 1802, and to West Cambridge in 1842. The only one of these towns whose history, to the present day, is connected with Charlestown, is Somerville.

The first Englishman who is known to have visited its shores, was the celebrated navigator, John Smith. In 1614, he sailed on a voyage from London, and while his men were engaged in fishing, he spent three months exploring the coasts. He entered Charles River and named it.<sup>1</sup> On his return, he wrote a glowing description of the places he had discovered, and pronounced "the country of the Massachusetts the paradise of all those parts, for here are many isles, all planted with corn, groves, mulberries, salvage gardens, and good harbors." He found the natives "very kind, but in their fury no less valiant."

In 1621, Sept. 20, ten of the infant colony of Plymouth were sent on an expedition, partly to trade, and partly to conclude peace with the Massachusetts Indians. They landed under a cliff, supposed to be Copp's Hill, where they met with a kind reception from the natives. Though they touched at several places in the harbor, they do not appear to have landed here. Having been absent four days from Plymouth, and collected a considerable quantity of beaver, they returned home with so good an opinion of the country, as to wish it had fallen to their lot to have occupied it.

At this early period, fishermen were frequent visitors to the harbor. In 1622, thirty-five of their vessels were on the coasts of New England. Though they may have run up the Bay, yet there is no account existing of their having landed at this place.

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new style, add for the seventeenth century ten days to the date, and for the eighteenth, up to 1752, eleven days. A full and interesting account of old and new style, double dating, &c., may be found in the American Quarterly Register, vol. xiv.

<sup>1</sup> Smith, in Mass. Hist. Collections. "I took the fairest reach in this bay for a river, whereupon I called it Charles River." Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 410, says that Prince Charles "gave the name of Charles River to what had been before called Massachusetts River." Wood, N. E. Prospect, mentions "Mishaum" River among the Indian names of rivers.

In 1620, King James granted to the Council of Plymouth the territory lying between forty and forty-eight degrees north latitude, and in length by all this breadth throughout the main land, from sea to sea. This was the foundation of all the grants in New England.

In 1622, Dec. 30, this Company granted to Robert Gorges, all that part of the main land "commonly called or known by the name of the Messachusick,"<sup>1</sup> situate "upon the north-east side of the Bay, called or known by the name of the Messachusett." This included the shores and coast, "for ten English miles towards the north-east," and "thirty English miles unto the main land, through all the breadth aforesaid," with all the rivers, islands, minerals, &c. This grant included the limits of Charlestown.

In 1623, the Plymouth Council appointed Robert Gorges, Lieutenant-General of New England. He came over that year to establish a colony, and thus secure his patent. With him came William Morrill, an Episcopal clergyman, who had a commission to superintend the Ecclesiastical affairs. Gorges arrived in the Massachusetts Bay about the middle of September, with "passengers and families," and selected the place that Weston had abandoned.

Morton, in the N. E. Memorial, relates a difficulty Gorges had at Plymouth, after which he took his leave, gratified with the hospitality of the colonists, and "went to the Massachusetts by land."<sup>2</sup> Gorges, for about a year, endeavored to promote the success of his colony. No supplies however reached him from England, and his friends "advised him to return home until better occasion should offer itself unto him." He left his rights to the care of his agents.<sup>3</sup>

Hutchinson, writing of 1626, says: "I find mention made of planters at Winnissemitt about the same time, who probably removed there from some other plantation." It is not improbable

<sup>1</sup>The territory known as Massachusetts was, in the early days of the Colony, confined to the region about Boston harbor, from Nahant to Point Alderton. Thus, Governor Winthrop writes that, June 17, 1630, he went from Salem to "Massachusetts, to find out a place for our sitting down."—Savage's Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 27.

<sup>2</sup>N. E. Memorial, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup>Gorges, chap 27; Hazard, vol. i. p. 91; Hubbard, p. 86.

that these were a part of the colony of Gorges. William Blackstone, the first settler of Boston, is named three years later, as being in the agency of John Gorges; so also is Jeffries, afterwards one of the first settlers of Ipswich. These individuals may have held their lands under the authority of this patent; and this may have been the case, also, with Thomas Walford, the smith, — the European found here by the first settlers.

Hutchinson remarks, that the patent of Robert Gorges was loose and uncertain, and no use was ever made of it.<sup>1</sup> It covered a part of the territory afterwards granted to the Massachusetts Company. The conflicting claim thence arising, was the immediate cause of the settlement of Charlestown.

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### CHAPTER III.

1628. — John Oldham's Lease. — Grant to Massachusetts Company. — Controversy respecting Claims. — Arrival of Endicott. — The Spragues.

ROBERT GORGES died soon after his attempt to occupy his patent. His right descended to his eldest brother, John Gorges. The latter probably in 1628, leased a portion of the territory that fell to him to John Oldham and John Dorrill. The former appears to have managed the negotiations. He was an intelligent and enterprising planter, who had acquired an intimate knowledge of the natives, and had a high opinion of the country. He is the same person whose murder, by the Indians, in 1636, was the immediate cause of the Pequot war. He had been entrusted by the Governor of Plymouth with the charge of Morton, the Merry Mount rioter, and went to England in the summer of 1628. This lease included the limits of Charlestown, and reads as follows:—

“ All the lands within the Massachusetts Bay, between Charles River and Abousett<sup>2</sup> River, containing in length, by straight line, five miles up the Charles River into the main land, north-west from

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<sup>1</sup> Hist. Mass., vol. i. p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Saugus River.

the border of said Bay, including all creeks and points by the way; and three miles in length from the mouth of the foresaid river Abousett, up into the main land, upon a straight line southwest, including all creeks and points: and all the land in breadth and length between the foresaid rivers, with all prerogatives, royal mines excepted."

And on the sight of this grant, "Mr. Blackstone, clergyman, and William Jeffries, gentleman," were authorized to put Oldham in possession of this territory.<sup>1</sup>

The Plymouth Council, whose only source of revenue was the sale of patents, on the 19th of March, 1628, sold this same territory over again to the Massachusetts Company, bounding their grant to a territory three miles north of the river Merrimack, and three miles south of the river Charles, and extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea.<sup>2</sup> This was the Company that colonized Massachusetts. It took immediate steps to occupy its grant.

On his arrival in England, 1628, Oldham first endeavored to obtain from this Company an important agency in its concerns, holding out as the inducement, the prospect of large profits from his management. Having failed in this, he next appears engaged in a controversy with the Company respecting his lease,—the question being the validity of his title; he contending that it was good,—the Company, by the advice of counsel, that it was "voyd in law." Oldham is characterized in the records as obstinate and violent—"so affected to his own opinion, as not to be removed from it neither by reason, nor by any persuasion." They state that, "unless he could have his own way, there would be but little hope of quiet or comfortable subsistence, where he should make his abode."<sup>3</sup>

About the time this controversy commenced, John Endicott, in the ship *Abigail*, Henry Gauden, master, arrived at Salem. This was September 6, 1628. After this arrival, three brothers, Ralph

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<sup>1</sup> Hazard, vol. i. p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> This sale Sir Ferdinando Gorges says, had his approbation only "so far forth as it might not be prejudicial to his son's interests, whereof he had a patent under the seal of the charter."—Gorges, chap. 26, Mass. Col.

<sup>3</sup> Hazard, vol. i. p. 268.

Sprague, Richard Sprague, and William Sprague, with three or four others, with Endicott's permission, "travelled through the woods" to this peninsula. The Town Records give the following relation of this event, preceded by a history of the discovery and settlement of the country. It forms the beginning of the first volume, and was written by John Greene, in 1664.

"Captain John Smith having (in the reign of our sovereign Lord James, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith,) made a discovery of some parts of America, lighted, amongst other places, upon the opening betwixt Cape Cod and Cape Ann, situate and lying in 315 degrees of longitude, and 42 degrees 20 min. of north latitude, where by sounding and making up, he fell in amongst the islands, and advanced up into the Massachusetts Bay, till he came up into the river, between Mishaum, (afterwards called Charlestown,) and Shawmutt, (afterwards called Boston,) and having made discovery of the land, rivers, coves, and creeks in the said bay, and also taken some observations of the natures, dispositions, and sundry customs of the numerous Indians, or natives, inhabiting the same; he returned to England, where (it was reported that) upon his arrival, he presented a map of the Massachusetts Bay to the king, and that the prince (afterwards King Charles the First,) upon inquiry and perusal of the aforesaid river, and the situation thereof upon the map, appointed it to be called Charles River.

"Now, upon the fame that then went abroad of the place, both in England and Holland, several persons of quality sent over several at their own cost, who planted this country in several places, but for want of judgment, care, and orderly living, divers died, others meeting with many hazards, hardships, and wants, at length being reduced to great penury and extremity, were so tired out, that they took all opportunities of returning to England, upon which several places were altogether deserted, and by only some few that upon a better principle, transported themselves from England and Holland, came and settled their plantation a little within Cape Cod, and called the same Plymouth: these, notwithstanding all their wants, hazards, and sufferings, continued several years in a manner alone, at which time this country was generally called by the name of New England.

"At length divers gentlemen and merchants of London obtained

a patent and charter for the Massachusetts Bay, (from our sovereign Lord King Charles the First,) gave invitation to such as would (transport themselves from Old England to New England) to go and possess the same : and for their encouragement, the said patentees, at their own cost, sent over a company of servants, under the government of Mr. John Endicott, who, arriving within this bay, settled the first plantation of this jurisdiction, called Salem : under whose wing there were a few also that settle and plant up and down, scattering in several places of the bay : where, though they met with the dangers, difficulties, and ——— attending new plantations in a solitary wilderness, so far remote from their native country, yet were they not left without company : for in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and twenty-eight, came over from England several people at their own charge, and arrived at Salem, after which, people came over yearly in great numbers ; in — years many hundreds arrived, and settled not only in Massachusetts Bay, but did suddenly spread themselves into other colonies also.”

“ Amongst others that arrived at Salem at their own cost,<sup>1</sup> were Ralph Sprague, with his brethren Richard and William, who with three or four more, by joint consent and approbation of Mr. John Endicott, Governor, did the same summer of Anno 1628, undertake a journey from Salem, and travelled the woods above twelve miles to the westward, and lighted of a place situate and lying on the north side of Charles River, full of Indians called Aberginians.<sup>2</sup> their old Sachem being dead, his eldest son, by the English called

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<sup>1</sup> In a letter of the Company to Governor Endicott, dated May 28, 1629, this description of settlers is alluded to as follows : “ We desire that Thomas Beard may have fifty acres of land allotted to him, as one that transports himself at his own charge, but as well for him as all others that shall have land allotted to them in that kind, and are no adventurers in the common stock, which is to support the charge of fortifications, as also for the ministry, and divers other affairs, we hold it fit, that these kind of men, as also such as shall come to inherit lands by their service, should, by way of acknowledgment to such from whom they receive these lands, become liable to the performance of some service certain days in the year, and by that service they, and their posterity after them, to hold and inherit these lands, which will be a good means to enjoy their lands from being held in capite, and to support the plantation in general and particular.”—Hazard, vol. i. p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> Aberginians was not the name of a tribe, but a general name for Indians.

John Sagamore, was their chief, and a man naturally of a gentle and good disposition, by whose free consent they settled about the hill of the same place, by the said natives called Mishawum, where they found but one English pallisadoed and thatched house, wherein lived Thomas Walford, a smith, situate on the south end of the westernmost hill of the East Field, a little way up from Charles River side, and upon survey, they found it was a neck of land generally full of stately timber, as was the main, and the land lying on the east side of the river, called Mystick River, from the farm Mr. Craddock's servants had planted called Mystick, which this river led up unto; and indeed generally all the country round about, was an uncouth wilderness, full of timber."

This interesting relation is immediately succeeded by a record of the names of the inhabitants that "first settled in this place, and brought it into the denomination of an English town." The record places this also in 1628. But it includes among these names Mr. Graves, who "this year built the Great House," and Mr. Bright, "minister to the Company's servants." Now it is certain that neither Graves nor Bright sailed from England until 1629. Hence there is evidently an error at this point in the date of the records. This error continues for two years, making the arrival of Winthrop to be 1629, when it ought to be 1639. Does the error begin with the account of the journey of the Spragues? They, with their companions, may have arrived here in the summer or fall of 1628, and encouraged by the friendly reception they met with from the Indians, and a desire of the Company, (that may have been already known to them,) to take immediate possession of the country, have here built their huts, and remained through the winter of 1628-9.<sup>1</sup> Yet it appears probable that the Company that came with Endicott would have kept together the first winter. If the Spragues came over after Endicott, unless they came in a private vessel, it would bring it to 1629, as no other ship came over in 1628. The same authority states that it was not until Mr. Graves had laid out the town, that the lots of these pioneers were located, or that they began to build. To understand why so many of the

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<sup>1</sup> Felt (*Annals of Salem*) says the Spragues came with Endicott. E. Evrett (*Orations*) concludes, from the records, they were not of his company.



Company occupied this place the succeeding year, it is necessary to glance briefly at some of its proceedings in England.

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## CHAPTER IV.

1629. — John Oldham. — Sir William Brereton. — Thomas Graves. — Emigration with Higginson. — Instructions to Endicott. — Arrival at Charlestown.

IN 1629, the controversy between Oldham and the Massachusetts Company was concluded by the following vote of the latter, May, 11: "Mr. Oldham propounded unto Mr. White that he would have his patent, &c., and it is agreed by the Court, not to have any treaty with him about it, by reason, it is thought, he doth it not out of love, but out of some sinister respect."<sup>1</sup>

But the Company, by this time, were engaged with another claimant to the land about Massachusetts Bay, who is, throughout, treated with marked respect, — Sir William Brereton. John Gorges, by a deed dated January 10, 1629, conveyed to Sir William Brereton of Handforth, in the county of Chester, Bart. and his heirs, "all the land in breadth lyeinge from y<sup>e</sup> East side of Charles River to the easterly parte off the cape called Nahannte and all the lands lyeinge in length 20 miles north east into y<sup>e</sup> maine land from the mouth the said Charles River lyeinge also in length 20 miles into the maine land north east from y<sup>e</sup> said cape Nahannte: also two Islands lyeinge next unto the shoare betweene Nahannte and Charles River the bigger called Brereton and the lesser Susanna."<sup>2</sup>

Negotiations with Sir William Brereton were continued for a year. His object was to make such an arrangement with the Company, in relation to the settlement of a contemplated colony, as would preserve the title he acquired of Gorges. In this he was

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<sup>1</sup> Colony Records.

<sup>2</sup> Massachusetts Archives. — Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 14. The two islands were, East Boston and Belle Isle. — Lewis's Lynn.

not successful. Nor would the Company, by purchase, acknowledge the validity of his claim. On the 10th of February, 1630, it voted a respectful invitation to him to join it "according to the Charter," and that such servants as he might send over should "receive all courteous respect, and be accommodated with land, and what else shall be necessary as other servants of the Company." At the same time that this decision was formally communicated to him, a committee of two were appointed to "signify the Company's affection and respect unto him."<sup>1</sup>

While these negotiations were pending, the Company were taking efficient steps to further improve their patent. On the 4th of March, 1629, a Royal Charter constituted the "Associates" a body politic. This charter, cherished with so much care for half a century, was regarded as a confirmation of their grant from the Plymouth Council. On the 10th of March, the Company signed a contract with an engineer of high reputation, — Thomas Graves, — who laid out Charlestown. This commenced as follows:—

"This 10th March 1628-9, I, Thomas Graves of Gravesend, in the County of Kent, gent. and by my profession skillful and experienced in the discovery and fynding out of Iron mynes, as also of lead, copper, mineral : salt, and in fortifications of all sorts according to the nature of the place, in surveying of buildings and of lands and in measuring of lands, in describing a country by mappe; in leading of water to pp (proper) uses for millers or other uses; in fynding out \* \* \* sorts of Lyme stone and materiels for building; in manufacturing, have this present day agreed to serve the New England \* \* \* and in their employment to take my passage for newe England in such shippe as they shall appoynt me, and during my stay there according to the conditions heereafter expressed to doe my true and uttermost indeavour in all or any the particulars above mentioned for the most good and benefit of said companie."

The compensation of Mr. Graves was to be, his passage out and back, five pounds a month while in New England, in case he remained but eight months. If he remained three years, the passage of his family, their support until the harvest after their arrival, a house, one hundred acres of land, fifty pounds a year,

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<sup>1</sup> Colony Records.

and the same proportion of land as those who have families. After this time, Mr. Graves was often consulted in relation to the operations of the Company.

In April, the preparations for a large emigration were completed. Rev. Francis Higginson and about two hundred persons, embarked in April and May, 1629. At this time, the Company sent a long letter to Gov. Endicott, which shows how solicitous they were to have the territory claimed by Oldham and Brereton immediately improved. This letter is dated April 17, 1629. It says, in reference to Oldham:—

“We fear that as he hath been obstinate and violent in his proceedings here, so he will persist and be ready to draw a party to himself there, to the great hindrance of the common quiet: we have therefore thought fit to give you notice of his disposition, to the end, you may beware how you meddle with him, as also you may use the best means you can to settle an agreement with the old planters so as they may not hearken to Mr. Oldham’s dangerous though vaine propositions.”

This letter also gives Governor Endicott the following positive instructions to occupy Massachusetts Bay:—

“We pray you and the council there, to advise seriously together for the maintenance of our privileges and peaceable government, which, if it may be done by a temperate course, we much desire it, though with some inconvenience so as our government and privileges be not brought in contempt, wishing rather there might be such an union as might draw the heathen by our good example to the embracing of Christ and his Gospel, than that offence should be given to the heathen, and a scandal to our Religion through our disagreement amongst ourselves. But if necessity require a more severe course, when fair means will not prevail; we pray you to deal, as in your discretions you shall think fittest for the general good and safety of the plantation and preservation of our privileges. And because we would not omit to do any thing which might strengthen our right, we would have you (as soon as these ships, or any of them arrive with you, whereby you may have men to do it) send forty or fifty persons to Massachusetts Bay to inhabit there, which we pray you not to protract, but to do it with all speed; and if any of our Company in particular shall desire to settle themselves there, or to send servants thither,

we desire all accommodation and encouragement may be given them thereunto, whereby the better to strengthen our possession there against all or any that shall intrude upon us, which we would not have you by any means give way unto; with this caution notwithstanding — That for such of our countrymen as you find there planted, so as they be willing to live under government, you endeavor to give them all fitting and due accommodation as to any of ourselves; yea, if you see cause for it, though it be with more than ordinary privileges in point of trade.”<sup>1</sup>

In this letter Mr. Graves is highly recommended, “as much for his honesty as for his skill.” Express instructions were given to the Governor to consult with him in relation to the proposed settlement. He had been “a traveller in divers forraigne parts to gaine his experience.” Therefore say the Company, “we pray you take his advice touching the premises, and where you intend to sit down in, to fortify and build a town that it may be qualified for good air and water, according to your first instruction, and may have as much natural help as may be, whereby it may with the less labor and cost be made fit to resist an enemy.”

This letter, dated April 17, was sent by the *George Boneventure*.<sup>2</sup> This ship arrived at Salem, June 22.<sup>3</sup> The *Talbot* and *Lion's Whelp*, with Higginson and Bright, arrived June 29. During the last week of June, or the first week of July, 1629, Mr. Graves, Rev. Francis Bright, with a part of the emigrants, settled in Charlestown. Describing the colony this year, Higginson says:—“There are in all of vs both old and new planters about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at Neihum-kek, now called Salem: and the rest have planted themselves at Masathulets Bay, beginning to build a towne there which wee doe call Cherton, or Charles Towne.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hazard vol. i. p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> Felt's Salem, 2d ed. p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Higginson in Hutch. Coll.

<sup>4</sup> Higginson in Force's Tracts, vol. i.

## CHAPTER V.

1629 to 1630. — Foundation of the Town.<sup>1</sup> — First Settlers. — Winter of 1629–30. — Indian Conspiracy. — Francis Bright. — Thomas Graves. — Descriptions of the Country. — Charlestown in 1629. — Time's Changes.

IN 1629, when Graves and Bright arrived here, a few settlers had located themselves in the neighborhood. Samuel Maverick, early noted for his hospitality, had a residence at Noddles Island. William Blackstone, an Episcopal clergyman, lived at Shawmut, now Boston. At Mishawum, now Charlestown, Thomas Walford had built his "pallisadoed and thatched house." The precise date when these pioneers of civilization first pitched their tents, is not known.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bartlett (2 Mass. Coll. vol. ii. p. 163,) and Hon. E. Everett, (Orations p. 210, 213) place the foundation of the town in 1628. So do Prince and other writers. The only authority for this date however is the town records. Prince (p. 250) erroneously supposed these written by Increase Nowell; they state Endicott's arrival correctly, but are otherwise erroneous as to dates previous to 1632. Besides:

1. The records indicate that the Spragues came over after Endicott came, yet they say, "in the same summer" of 1628 — which must have been after Sept. 6 — they, with three or four more, settled about the Town Hill. And furthermore, they expressly state that Graves, Bright and the Palmers, were of those "who first settled in this place." But some of these did not come over until 1629.

2. Though the Spragues may have explored this peninsula previous to the arrival of Graves, yet they, the records, expressly say, did not begin to build until he had laid out their lots, which must have been in 1629.

3. Danforth's Almanac, the entries of which were made in 1647, seventeen years before this relation was written, places the foundation of the town in 1629.

The precise date may reasonably be fixed as the day of Graves's arrival. The Talbot, with Higginson, did not arrive at Salem until June 29. But "the George," he writes, (Hutch. Coll. p. 33) "having the special and urgent cause of hastening her passage, set sail before the rest about the middle of April." The imperative nature of the instructions she carried (see p. 17) will explain the "urgent cause." She arrived June 22. Endicott would not be likely to "protract," but to send some of the emigrants to inhabit at Massachusetts Bay. That most accurate of early writers, Prince, (p. 261) places the arrival here of Thomas Graves, under the date of June 24. Add ten days, to bring this to new style, and it will give July 4, 1629, as the only date for the foundation of Charlestown, for which good authority can be adduced.

Several of the early towns had no special acts of incorporation. This was the case with Salem and Lynn. It was also the case with Charlestown. It was the original purpose of the colonists to build a large town, and the Company voted, May 1, 1629, when in England, that, when a site had been decided upon, "no man shall presume to build his house in any other place," — making however the exception, "unless it be in the Massachusetts Bay, and then according to such direction as shall be thought meet for that place."<sup>1</sup> The Spragues and their associates, who this year founded the town, acted under the immediate direction of an agent of the Company, — Thomas Graves; and before there appears on record any precise grant, or the boundaries were defined, proceeded to occupy the land, and the next year even to build in the country towards Cambridge. But they had, undoubtedly, permission from the Company, as an order of September 7, 1630, prohibited any "to plant at any place within the limits" of their patent without leave from the governor and assistants, or the major part of them.<sup>1</sup>

The following is the record of their first proceedings:—

"The inhabitants yt: first settled in this place and brought it into the denomination of an English Towne was (were) in Anno 1628 (1629) as follows, viz :

Ralph Sprague,	Abra. Palmer,	Mr.	Graves
Richd. Sprague,	Walter Pamer,	who had charge of	
William Sprague,	Nicholas Stowers,	some of the servts. of	
John Meech,	John Stickline,	the Company of Pa-	
Simon Hoyte,	Tho. Walford smith	tentees with whom hee	
	yt lived heere alone	built the great house	
	before	this yeare for such of	
		the sd Company as are	
		shortly to come over	
		which afterwards be-	
		came the Meeting	
		house.	

And Mr. Bright Minister to the Companies Servants."

By whom it was jointly agreed and concluded, that this place on the north side of Charles River, by the natives called Misha-

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<sup>1</sup> Colony Records.

wum, shall henceforth from the name of the river, be called Charlestown, which was also confirmed by Mr. John Endicott, governor.

It is jointly agreed and concluded by the inhabitants of this town, that Mr. Graves do model and lay out the form of the town, with streets about the Hill, which was accordingly done and approved of by the Governor.

It is jointly agreed and concluded, that each inhabitant have a two acre lot to plant upon, and all to fence in common; which was accordingly by Mr. Graves measured out unto them.

Upon which Ralph Sprague and others began to build their houses, and to prepare fencing for their lots, which was (were) afterwards set up almost in a semi-circular form on the south and south-east side of that field laid out to them, which lies situated on the north-west side of the Town Hill.

Walter Pamer and one or two more, shortly afterwards began to build in a straight line upon their two acre lots on the east side of the Town Hill, and set up a slight fence in common, that ran up to Tho. Walford's fence, and this was the beginning of that east field."

Some account may be expected of these founders of the town. Ralph Sprague was a farmer and the oldest of the three brothers. Their father, Edward Sprague, was a fuller of Upway, in the County of Dorset, England. Ralph Sprague was about twenty-five years of age when he emigrated. In 1630, he was chosen constable and made freeman, and in 1632, one of the founders of the church. He was selectman several years, and representative nine years, — first in 1637. He was a member of the Boston Artillery Company 1637. In 1639, he was elected Lieutenant. He died in 1650. He was a prominent and valuable citizen, — active in promoting the welfare of the town and of the colony. The General Court, in 1639, granted him one hundred acres of land "having borne difficulties in the beginning." He left four sons: John and Richard, born in England; Samuel born 1631; and Phineas. Also a daughter Mary, who married Daniel Edmands. His widow, Joanna, married Edward Converse and died about Nov. 1680. Of his sons, Richard became a prominent citizen, and Samuel had a daughter who married Ebenezer Austin, — the ancestor of Benj. Austin of Boston and Gen. Nathl. Austin of this town.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Genealogy of the Sprague Family.

Richard Sprague was a merchant, and the third son of Edward Sprague. He was made freeman 1631, one of the founders of the church, 1632, Captain of the Charlestown Military Company, a member of the Artillery Company, Boston, several years selectman, and a representative from 1659 to 1666. He died Nov. 25, 1668, leaving to Harvard College thirty-one sheep and thirty lambs, and thirty pounds, in value, to the church of this town. His estate was valued at £2357, 16s. 8d. of which one item was £600 in money. He left the greatest part of this to his widow, Mary. He bequeathed to Ralph's son, Richard, a wharf and warehouse, and other property; and to his brother William, of Hingham, his sword, which, in 1828, was in the possession of his descendants. He left no children. His widow, Mary, died 1674.

William Sprague was the youngest of the three brothers. In 1629, he visited Hingham, in a boat, and afterwards became one of its founders. His name appears repeatedly as an inhabitant of Charlestown until 1635. In 1636, he obtained a grant of land at Hingham, removed there, and continued to live there, sustaining important town offices, until his death, Oct. 26, 1675. His wife's name was Millesaint. He had eleven children.

Abraham Palmer, a merchant, was one of the prominent men of the colony. He signed the instructions to Gov. Endicott, May 30, 1628. He probably came over in Higginson's fleet in 1629, and arrived in this town with Graves. He was freeman in 1631, and selectman several years, and elected six years a representative, first in 1634, the last time in 1646. His name appears on the records in connection with the most important business. He was sergeant in the Pequot war, in which he is mentioned as doing efficient service, being ordered with twelve men to surround a part of the swamp in the great fight, to prevent the Indians from escaping. In 1638, he is styled Ensign Palmer, and was chosen town clerk, and to make a record of the possessions of the inhabitants. In 1638, he was a member of the Artillery Company, and in 1642, "clerk of the writs." He died at Barbadoes, about 1653. His wife's name was Grace, who died about 1660. He was, probably, a brother to Walter Palmer.

Walter Palmer is mentioned in a jury, Sept. 28, 1630, called to hold an inquest on the body of Austin Bratcher. It found "that the strokes given by Walter Palmer, were occasionally the means of the death of Austin Bratcher, and so to be manslaughter. Mr.



Palmer was tried at the next Court in October, and acquitted. He was freeman 1631, elected selectman in 1635, and constable in 1636. His son Benjamin was baptized in this town in 1642. Soon after he removed to Rehoboth, of which he was one of the founders. He there appears to have been an influential citizen. He died about 1662, leaving property to his sons John, Jonas, William, Gersham, Elihu, Nehemiah, Moses, Benjamin; and daughters Grace, Hannah, and Rebecca. He left to Jonas his "lot at Seaconke," who resided there. His son John remained in town.

Nicholas Stowers was freeman in 1631, and herdsman in 1633. His duties were "to drive the herd forth to their food in the main every morning, and to bring them into town every evening, and to have fifty bushels of Indian corn for keeping the milch cows till Indian harvest be taken in." He was also to have the benefit of keeping such other cattle as came into town during the summer. He died May 17, 1646, leaving property to his wife Amy, to sons Joseph and Richard, to daughters Jane and Abigail, and daughter Starr. Richard Stowers, named as arriving in 1628, died July 8, 1693.

John Meech may have emigrated to Connecticut. Simon Hoyte and John Stickline, were admitted freemen 1631.

Thomas Walford, the smith, remained in town but two years. If he held his land originally from Robert Gorges, or one of his agents, and reluctantly acknowledged the validity of the Massachusetts patent, it will account for the severity of the Court towards him. In 1631, the following order appears upon the records: Thomas Walford of Charlton is fined £10, and is enjoined, he and his wife, to depart out of the limits of this patent before the 20th day of October next, under pain of confiscation of his goods, for his contempt of authority and confronting officers." A month later, he was again fined £2, and "paid it by killing a wolf." Even after he had left the town, the government distrusted him. On the 3d of September, 1633, it was ordered, "that the goods of Thomas Walford shall be sequestered and remain in the hands of Ancient Gennison, to satisfy the debts he owes in the Bay to several persons."

"This severity, Mr. Savage writes, must be regretted." He was the first English inhabitant of the town. And it is not improbable,

that to the good offices he rendered to the Indians, the Spragues and their companions were indebted for their friendly reception.

Walford removed to Piscataqua, now Portsmouth. Here his conduct goes far to show that the severity with which he was treated was undeserved, for he became a prominent and valuable citizen. In 1640, he was one of two trustees or wardens for the church property, one of the grand jury in 1654, and died about 1667. His enterprise was rewarded by a competent estate, for he left property to the amount of £1433, 3s. 8d.

John Walford, probably a son of Thomas Walford was, in 1692, one of the council of Gov. Allen of New Hampshire. Jane Walford, perhaps the wife of Thomas, was in 1656, presented by her neighbors as a witch, and, ten or twelve years later, recovered damages against one for calling her by that odious name."<sup>1</sup>

This little band are all that are recorded as inhabitants in 1629. These had wives and children. But the "servants of the Company of patentees," under the charge of Mr. Graves, — mentioned by Higginson as those who "began to build at Cherton," — are to be added to this list of early residents. Their names are not known. These, until more convenient lodgings could be prepared, lived in wigwams and huts.<sup>2</sup> The work of building went on slowly. By the succeeding June, if Roger Clapp may be credited, there was but one house in town.<sup>2</sup> This is not improbable, as the infant colony experienced more than the common hardships of early settlements. During the following winter, provisions became scarce, and disease so thinned their numbers, that, by April, eighty had died, and those that were alive were "weak and sick." In this situation they were alarmed by rumors of hostile Indians. The early residents of Charlestown shared in these hardships; at one time "all hands, men, women and children" were engaged in providing for self-defence. The town records contain the following significant relation:

"About the months of April and May, in the year of our Lord

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<sup>1</sup> Savage's Winthrop, 53. Adams's Portsmouth. I have not been able to locate precisely the spot of Walford's residence. It is usually fixed on the Town Hill. But the "westernmost Hill of the East Field," was probably, Breed's Hill. He lived on the south side of it, a short distance from the water.

<sup>2</sup> R. Clapp. He refers to the Great House, as the only habitation worthy of the name.

1629, (1630) there was a great design of the Indians, from the Narragansetts, and all round about us to the eastward in all parts to cut off the English, which John Sagamore (who always loved the English) revealed to the inhabitants of this town; but their design was chiefly laid against Plymouth (not regarding our paucity in the bay) to be effected under pretence of having some sport and pastime at Plymouth, where after some discourse with the Governor there, they told him if they might not come with leave they would without, upon which the sd. Governor sent their flat bottomed boat (which was all they had) to Salem for some powder and shot: At which time, it was unanimously concluded by the inhabitants of this town, that a small fort should be made on the top of this Town Hill, with palisadoes and flankers made out, which was performed at the direction of Mr. Graves by all hands of men, women and children, who wrought at digging and building, till the work was done: But that design of the Indians was suddenly broke up by the report of the great guns at Salem, only shot off to clear them, by which means they were so frightened, that all their companies scattered and ran away, and though they came flattering afterwards, and called themselves our good friends, yet were we constrained by their conspiracies yearly to be in arms."

During this time the work of the Gospel was not neglected. The Company had instructed the three ministers they had engaged to come over, namely, Messrs. Higginson, Skelton and Bright, that in case they could not agree who should "inhabit at Massachusetts-Bay," they should "make choice of one of the three by lot," and he, on whom the lot should fall, should "go with his family to perform that work."

In accordance with these instructions, Rev. Francis Bright, of Roily, Essex, "trained up under Mr. Davenport," came to Charlestown. The Company had engaged to give him twenty pounds towards the expenses of his journey, his passage out and back, and a salary of twenty pounds a year: Also, ten pounds for the purchase of books and a dwelling-house and land, to be used by him, and left to his successor in the ministry. If he remained seven years he was to have one hundred acres of land for his own use."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> His contract is printed in Felt's Annals of Salem, vol. i. p. 570.

Mr. Bright resided in town over a year, and is termed on the records, "minister to the Company's servants." He was named as one of the council for the government of the colony. But he was a moderate, rather than a thorough Puritan, and affection for the church of England restrained him from going with his brethren in their increasing non-conformity. Hence, his labors would be likely to grow daily more unsatisfactory to the people. He sailed for England in the ship *Lyon*, in July, 1630. Hubbard says, that he was "a godly minister." On mentioning his departure, he quotes the character another gave him, "that he began to hew stones in the mountains wherewith to build, but when he saw all sorts of stones would not suit in the building, as he supposed, he, not unlike Jonah, fled from the presence of the Lord, and went down to Tarshish."<sup>1</sup> If he was an Episcopalian, he would not be permitted to "hew stones" for the building of the new Ecclesiastical temple of congregationalism. Mather classes him with Rev. R. Smith, a clergyman of opposite tendencies, and then buries "all further mention of them among the rubbish in the foundation of the colony."<sup>2</sup>

There is no record of the gathering of a church, though it is not probable that the people remained a year without the enjoyment of the ordinances. But this brief notice of Mr. Bright is interesting, as it shows, that the institutions of religion were coeval with the foundation of the town.

Of Thomas Graves, the distinguished engineer, there is little that is authentic. He is spoken of as a person of eminent skill, and of extensive travel. He was named one of the council, and consulted often respecting the division of land. In 1629, he had a wife and five children. These circumstances indicate a person somewhat advanced in years.

The papers in the possession of the descendants of "Rear Admiral Thomas Graves," who died in 1653, make the two identical. They state, however, that the admiral was born in 1605, which would make him too young a person to be the engineer. It is probable the latter soon returned to England. But he may have been connected with the family that became so prominent in the town and the colony.

This year, 1629, Mr. Graves sent to England a flattering description of the country. He writes as follows:—

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<sup>1</sup> Hubbard, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> *Magnalia*, vol. i. p. 64.

“Thus much I can affirme in generall, that I never came in a more goodly country in all my life, all things considered: If it hath not at any time been manured and husbanded, yet it is very beautifull in open lands, mixed with goodly woods, and again open plaines, in some places five hundred acres, some places more, some lesse, not much troublesome for to cleere for the plough to goe in, no place barren, but on the tops of the hils; the grasse and weeds grow up to a man’s face, in the lowlands and by fresh rivers abundance of grasse and large meddowes without any tree or shrubbe to hinder the sith. I never saw, except in Hungaria, unto which I always paralell this countrie, in all our most respects, for every thing that is heare eyther sowne or planted prospereth far better then in Old-England: The increase of corne is here farre beyond expectation, as I have seene here by experience in barley, the which because it is so much above your conception I will not mention. And cattle doe prosper very well, and those that are bredd here farr greater than those with you in England. Vines doe grow here plentifully laden with the biggest grapes that ever I saw, some I have seene foure inches about, so that I am bold to say of this countrie, as it is commonly said in Germany of Hungaria, that for cattel, corne, and wine it excelleth. We have many more hopefull commodities here in this country, the which time will teach to make good use of: In the mean time wee abound with such things which next under God doe make us subsist: as fish, fowle, deere, and sundrie sorts of fruits, as musk-millions, water-millions, Indian pompions, Indian pease, beanes, and many other odde fruits that I cannot name; all which are made good and pleasant through this maine blessing of God, the healthfulnesse of the countrie which far exceedeth all parts that ever I have beene in: It is observed that few or none doe here fal sicke, unless of the scurvy, that they bring from aboard the ship with them, whereof I have cured some of my companie onely by labour.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. i. This is an extract from a letter written by Mr. Graves in 1629. There is said to be in the British Museum “A coppie of a letter from an ingineer sent out to New England, written to a friend in England, A. D. 1629, giving an account of his landing with a small company at Salem, and thence going and making a settlement at Massachusetts Bay, laying the foundation of a town, to which the Governour gave the name of Charlestown, with a pleasing description

This commendation of the country was even exceeded by Higginson. "Experience doth manifest," he wrote, "that there is hardly a more healthfull place to be found in the world that agreeeth better with our English bodyes. Many that have been weake and sicklie in Old England, by coming hither have been thoroughly healed and growne healthfull strong. For here is an extraordinary cleere and dry aire that is of a most healing nature to all such as are of a cold, melancholly, flegmatick, rheumatick temper of body." "A sup of New England's aire is better than a whole draught of Old England's ale."

But these accounts were by far too flattering. They raised expectations in England that were doomed to sad disappointment. Deputy Governor Dudley, two years later, writes, that "honest men out of a desire to draw over others to them, wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here."

Such were the events, such the hopes and fears, attending the foundation of Charlestown. It is not difficult to imagine the appearance of the peninsula and the occupation of its inhabitants, during this first year of settlement. The latter, numbering perhaps a hundred souls, arrive here in one of the Company's vessels, and bring with them materials for building. They find Thomas Walford, living "alone," — that is the only Englishman in the place, — in his rude palisaded residence on the south side of Breed's Hill; having a wife, and, probably, children; cultivating his grounds and trading with the Indians. He receives them with coldness and jealousy; but "the gentle and good" Sagamore, the owner of the soil, gives them his "free consent" to commence a settlement. Accordingly they set up huts or tents, for a temporary shelter, about the Town Hill; and then the accomplished Graves proceeds to lay out the streets and divide the ground. Soon, Walter Palmer and a few others, begin to fence in their lots, and prepare for building on the east side of Main-street, not far from Walford's "thatched" residence; while the Spragues and

of the exceeding Pleasantness and Fruitfulness of the country, and of the civility of the natives. In one sheet MS. Ex dono Rev. Alexandri Young, S. T. B."

The author has made two ineffectual attempts to get this letter. It appears to contain interesting historic matter. But it is not in its place in the British Museum and cannot be found. It is not improbable that a part of this letter is quoted in the text.

others, do the same on Bow-street around the Hill. But the most important work is going on in the Square, where Mr. Graves, with a crowd of workmen, is building the "Great House," — anxious, that, when the Governor comes to live in it, and the Court to sit in it, it may be pronounced worthy of his reputation. Such are the six-days' occupations. But as each Sunday comes round, the echoes of the axe and the hammer cease to reverberate in the "uncouth wilderness;" and all join with that "godly man," Rev. Francis Bright, in praise and prayer. At first, health blesses the laborious pioneers; their boards are crowned with plenty, and they rejoice in being at peace. But winter approaches, and brings with it sickness and a dearth of provisions. Spring opens, and their faithful friend, the Sagamore, starts them from their dream of security, by revealing to them the "conspiracy" of the hostile tribes to cut them off. The duty of self-preservation then supersedes all other duties. They all, — "men, women and children," — repair to the Town Hill, and there work at "digging and building," until they complete a fortification.

But the peninsula "is full of Indians," who are attentive spectators of this infant colonization. With what wonder do they regard each note of preparation! They follow the engineer as he goes from point to point with his curious instruments, "modeling" the town; and then carry tidings of the strange things they see, to the Saunks of the late King Nanepashemit. She, in all her Queenly dignity, with the Powwow of the Tribe in her train, comes down from her residence in the woods, to verify for herself the wonderful reports. The "Squa Sachem" gazes curiously upon each household implement; while her son, Wonohaquaham, notes each timber in the construction of the "Great House." As he watches these things his countenance is unmoved, and he utters only the customary "ugh." But as he beholds the white man's stated and simple sacrifice to the Great Spirit, another feeling is awakened; until at length, Indian stoicism relents into the confession, that an answering chord is touched in his own undisciplined breast. Ere he dies, his spirit longs for communion with the "Englishman's God."<sup>1</sup>

And as, at intervals of their labors, the founders of the town

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<sup>1</sup> New England's First Fruits.

survey the surrounding scenery, it is not strange that they kindle into admiration and enthusiasm. Nature blooms in its virgin freshness and magnificence. The peninsula, with its fine eminences sloping gently to the river side, is "generally filled with stately timber;" and over it roam freely the wild tenants of the forest: but it presents to the scientific observer, a site for one of the most beautiful towns in the world.<sup>1</sup> And the prospect from its hill-tops is one, that, for beauty accompanied with variety, is seldom equalled. If the eye turns towards the sea, the harbor<sup>2</sup> reflects like a mirror from its polished surface, the emerald isles that gem its bosom:<sup>3</sup> if toward the land, the hills all around, crowned with forests, form a natural amphitheatre of unsurpassed loveliness. But the only traces to be seen of man are the fortified abode of Maverick on the neighboring island, the cottage of Blackstone by the hills of Shawmut, the smoke from the wigwams of the natives, and their birch canoes gliding over the waters. How changed has become the scene from these summits! The same sky spreads over them; the same waters flow below them; there is the same splendid amphitheatre. But now the works of man mingle with the vesture of nature. Immediately about them are the hum of industry, and the dwellings, school-towers, and churches, of a free population. Where there was the solitary residence of Maverick, there is a thriving city. Tri-mountain is a forest of human abodes, and far-famed for its triumphs of art, and commerce, and freedom; and, nestling among the surrounding hills, are the halls of learning, the asylums of benevolence, and circles of flourishing towns, with their altar-spires pointing towards Heaven. The old trails of the savage are crossed by the iron paths of the steam car. In place of his frail skiffs dancing upon the waves, there are sails from every clime moving among the islands, and among them, the giant forms of our National war-ships, riding in their splendid repose; while, on the Mount of Sacrifice, sublimely rising "over the land and over the sea,"

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight's Travels, vol. i. p. 466.

<sup>2</sup> Hubbard, p. 17, writes that Charles River, "affords as gallant an harbor near the mouth of it, as any river of that bigness in all Christendom."

<sup>3</sup> A. H. Everett.



stands the solemn MONUMENTAL PILE, speaking continually of COURAGE, PATRIOTISM, and LIBERTY.

## CHAPTER VI.

The Indians; their connection with the town.—The Massachusetts.—The Pawtuckets.—Wood's Description.—The Tarratines.—Nanepashemit.—Squa Sachem.—Webcowit.—Wonohaquaham.

THE Spragues found Mishawum<sup>1</sup> full of Indians who were called Aberginians.<sup>2</sup> Their chief gave them his free consent to settle in the peninsula. To follow this friendly reception, there are none other than friendly relations to detail between the early inhabitants and the fading red man. The former took care to satisfy the original owners of the soil before they divided the land; if injury was done, by a reckless citizen, to their corn, or swine, or property, the law ordered prompt restitution; no Indian was allowed to be held in bondage, and their old fishing-places were respected. The inhabitants, on their stated training days, mustered about their wigwams. Though thus intimately connected,

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<sup>1</sup> The records name a spring in the peninsula that was overflowed by the tide, which became so brackish that the prevalent mortality was ascribed to its use; and that the inhabitants, in 1630, were informed by Blackstone that there was plenty of water at Boston. After analyzing a few Indian names for springs, and remarking upon the customs of the natives in relation to them, a writer in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, (vol. xx. p. 173,) comes to the conclusion, that Mishawumut (meaning the Indian name of Charlestown) "meant "a large spring:" and that Shawmut, (the Indian name of Boston,) meant, "fountains of living waters." He says: "The result seems almost conclusive, that when the spring at Mishawumut (Mishawum) "a great spring," was overflowed by the tide, the aborigines were probably in the daily habit of crossing over in their canoes to the opposite peninsula to procure fresh water, where springs were excellent and abundant. Hence the name Shawmut, "fountains of living water." Tradition and the town records,—"west side of the north-west field,"—locates this "large spring," not far from the site of the Winthrop Church, on the shore to the south of the State Prison.

<sup>2</sup> "Aberginymen," a name given by the English to the natives.—Roger Williams Key.

there is no tale of blood to rehearse, of encounters between the citizens and the natives. The "gentle" chief died in peace: the widow of their late King, Nanepashemit, "old and blind," probably here ended her days. A few pages of this work may surely be properly devoted to a remembrance of the first occupiers of the soil.

A few years previous to the settlement of the country, the Indians in this region were exceedingly numerous. Smith (1614) saw on the sea-coasts, "great troops of well-proportioned people," and "salvage gardens;" and estimates the number inhabiting the islands of "the Massachusetts," at three thousand.<sup>1</sup> The mouth of Charles River was their general place of rendezvous. But wars among themselves and disease, so reduced their numbers, that at the time of the colonization of Massachusetts, they presented but the shadow of their former greatness.

The two nations that governed the circle of territory around Boston harbor, and running back into the interior, were the PAWTUCKETS, and the MASSACHUSETTS. The latter "were a numerous and great people." Their chief Sachem was, Chikataubut. His dominion was bounded on the north and west by Charles River, and on the south, extended to Weymouth and Canton."<sup>2</sup> It included Shawmut, whose Sachem's name was Obbatinua. Previous to the terrible mortality of about 1613, this tribe could bring into the field three thousand warriors. At the time of the settlement its numbers were inconsiderable.

The PAWTUCKETS had a dominion extending north and east of Charles River; "and they had under them several other smaller Sagamores, as the Pennakooks, (Concord Indians,) Agawomes, (at Ipswich) Naamkeeks, (at Salem) Pascatawayes, Accomintas (York) and others."<sup>3</sup> It extended as far east as Piscataqua, and north, as far as Concord on the Merrimack.<sup>4</sup> It included Mishawum. They were also a great nation, and could boast of their three thousand warriors; but they were almost destroyed by the great sickness of about 1616. They generally lived in peace with the Massachusetts tribe.<sup>5</sup> In 1621, the Boston Sachem, Obbatinua, was at enmity with the Squa Sachem of the Massachusetts tribe.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Smith in Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. xxxvi. p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis's Hist. Lynn, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Gookin, Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> Lewis.

<sup>5</sup> Gookin.

<sup>6</sup> Young's Chronicles, p. 225.

Wood, in his chapter "On the Aberginians," has furnished the following description of this people: it may, perhaps, answer equally as well for the Indians of Canada or of Florida, so similar have been found their characteristics:<sup>1</sup>

"First of their stature, most of them being between five and six foot high, straight bodied, strongly composed, smooth skinned, merry countenanced, of complexion somewhat more swarthy than Spaniards, black haired, high foreheaded, black eyed, out-nosed, broad shouldered, brawny armed, long and slender handed, out-breasted, small waisted, lank belled, well thighed, flat kneed, handsome grown legs, and small feet: In a word, take them when the blood brisk in their veins, when the flesh is on their backs, and marrow in their bones, when they frolick in their antique deportments and Indian postures; and they are more amiable to behold (though only in Adam's livery) than many a compounded phantastic in the newest fashion. It may puzzle belief, to conceive how such lusty bodies should have their rise and daily supportment from so slender a fostering; their houses being mean, their lodging as homely, commons scant, their drink water, and nature their best clothing."<sup>2</sup>

The dreaded enemy of these tribes, was the tribe of Tarratines, who lived on the bay and waters of the Penobscot. They were more "brave, wise, lofty-spirited and industrious than many others," and on terms of intimate intercourse with the French.<sup>3</sup> They were a "hardy and warlike people," writes Gorges.<sup>4</sup> Their great sachem was Nultonanit.<sup>5</sup> In 1621, when the Plymouth men visited the Massachusetts' tribes, the latter dared not "to lodge a second night in the same place, for fear of them,<sup>6</sup> and after the settlement of the country, they would fly to the houses of the English for a shelter from their fury; for the Tarratines were accustomed yearly, at harvest, to come down in their canoes, and reap their fields, and carry away their corn, and destroy their people."<sup>7</sup> It was this warlike tribe that (1631, Aug. 8) in their

<sup>1</sup> Bancroft, vol. iii. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> N. E. Prospect, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Williamson's Maine, vol. i. p. 215.

<sup>4</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. xxxvi. p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> Lewis's Lynn.

<sup>6</sup> Drake, Hist. Indians, b. ii. chap. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Planter's Plea.

canoes, one hundred strong, at night attacked Sagamores John and James, wounded them and others, and killed seven men.<sup>1</sup>

The great Sachem of the Pawtuckets was NANEPASHEMIT, or the New Moon. He lived at Lynn until the war with the Tarratines in 1615. His dominion, at one time, extended to the Piscataqua River to the east, and to Concord on the Merrimack; while the Nipmucks, as far as Pocontocook, now Deerfield, acknowledged his authority. He removed to the banks of Mystic River, after 1615, where he was killed in 1619.<sup>2</sup> When the Pilgrims of Plymouth visited Boston harbor, they heard of the fame of this chieftain and saw his grave. Winslow gives the following account of his residence and burial place (Sept. 21, 1621). "On the morrow we went ashore, all but two men, and marched in arms up in the country. Having gone three miles, we came to a place where corn had been newly gathered, a house pulled down, and the people gone. A mile from hence, Nanepashemit, their king, in his lifetime, had lived. His house was not like others, but a scaffold was largely built, with poles and planks, some six foot from the ground, and the house upon that, being situated on the top of a hill. Not far from hence in a bottom, we came to a fort, built by their deceased king; the manner thus. There were poles, some thirty or forty feet long, stuck in the ground, as thick as they could be set one by another; and with them they enclosed a ring some forty or fifty feet over; a trench, breast high, was digged on each side; one way there was to go into it with a bridge. In the midst of this palisado, stood the frame of a house, wherein being dead, he lay buried. About a mile from hence, we came to such another, but seated on the top of a hill. Here Nanepashemit was killed, none dwelling in it since the time of his death."<sup>3</sup>

This sachem left a widow and four children. Their names are, 1. Wonohaquaham, Sagamore John, of Mystic. 2. Montowampate, Sagamore James, of Lynn, who died in 1673. 3. Wenepoyken, Sagamore George, of Salem, who, after the death of his bro-

<sup>1</sup> Savage's Winthrop, vol. i. p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis's Hist. Lynn; Smith; Hubbard.

<sup>3</sup> Young's Chronicles, p. 229. Shattuck, Hist. Concord, p. 2, locates his principal place of residence in Medford, near Mystic Pond.

thers and his mother, became Sachem of the Pawtuckets. He died in 1684. 4. A daughter, Yawata.<sup>1</sup>

The Saunks, or queen of Nanepashemit, SQUA SACHEM, continued the government. In 1621, she was at enmity with the Sachem of Boston, and this year the latter made it one of the conditions of submission to the English, that they would grant them protection against her.

Previous to 1635, she married Webcowit, the physician of the tribe — “its powow, priest, witch, sorcerer, or chirurgeon.” She continued to be the Queen, and the Powow became King in right of his wife.<sup>2</sup> “It does not appear that he was much respected or thought of.”<sup>3</sup> The apostle Elliot, in his “Clear Sunshine of the Gospel,” gives the following account of some of the questions he asked, when the English were endeavoring to convert the Indians. This “old Powow’s” question was “to this purpose:” “Seeing the English had been twenty-seven years (some of them) in this land, why did we never teach them to know God till now? Had you done it sooner,” said he, “we might have known much of God, by this time, and much sin might have been prevented, but now, some of us are grown old in sin, &c.”<sup>4</sup>

In 1637, the Squa Sachem, with Webcowit, deeded a large tract of land in Musketaquid, (Concord) — one of the principal villages of the Indians, — to the English. On this occasion, “Wibbacowitt,” in particular, received a suit of cotton cloth, a hat, a white linen band, shoes, stockings, and a great coat, as a part of the consideration. In 1639, the same Indian deeded to Charlestown the tract of land now part of Somerville; also, another tract, to Jotham Gibbons, of Boston. At this time she styled

<sup>1</sup> Lewis’s Hist. Lynn. Shattuck says, p. 2, the king left five children.

<sup>2</sup> The Powow is next the King, or Sachem, and commonly, when he dies, the Powow marries the Squa Sachem, that is, the Queen.—Letchford. Morton, however libellous on the Colonists, is thought to have given a good account of the Indians. Having stated their easy life, he concludes as follows. “They may be accounted to live richly, wanting nothing that is needful; and to be commended for leading a contented life, the younger being ruled by the elder, and the elder ruled by the Powahs, and the Powahs are ruled by the Devill, and then you may imagine what good rule is like to be amongst them.”—New English Canaan.

<sup>3</sup> Drake.

<sup>4</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. xxxiv. p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> Shattuck’s Concord.

herself "Squa Sachem of Mistick." In the deed to Charlestown, the Squa Sachem reserves to her use her old fishing-places and hunting grounds, until her death.<sup>1</sup>

In 1644, the Squa Sachem, and other Sachems, submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. They promise to be true and faithful to the government, to give "speedy notice" of any conspiracy, attempt, or cruel intention, they may hear of against it, and to be willing to "be instructed in the knowledge of God." In relation to this, Winthrop writes, that "we causing them to understand the articles, and all the ten commandments of God, and they freely assenting to all, they were solemnly received, and then presented the court with twenty-six fathom more of wampum; and the court gave each of them a coat of two yards of cloth, and their dinner; and to them and their men, every one of them, a cup of sack at their departure." They went away "very joyful." Having become old and blind, the Squa Sachem is supposed to have died in 1667.<sup>2</sup>

The only other sachem, whose history is immediately connected with Charlestown, is WONOHAQUAHAM, who lived at Mystic, "upon a creek which meets with the mouth of Charles River."<sup>4</sup> This was the Sagamore John, characterized in the Re-

<sup>1</sup> From the description in the deed, the Town Records, and tradition, it is probable that one of the residences of the Squa Sachem was near "Gardner's Row," now part of West Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis's Hist. Lynn, p. 47. The following document, however, shows that the Squa Sachem died previous to this year. It is copied from the Registry of Deeds, Middlesex, vol. ii.

"Mr. Francis Norton and Nicholas Davison, do in the name of the inhabitants of Charlestown, lay claim to the tract of land, reserved to Squa Sachem during her life-time, and which is at present possessed and improved by Thomas Gleison of Charlestown, this land bounded on the east by Mistick Pond, on the west by Cambridge Common, on the south by the land of Mr. Cooke, on the north formerly in the possession of Mr. Increase Nowell.

This demand and claim was made in the person of John Fennell, and Mr. Wm. Sims, the 25th of March, 1662, at the house of Thomas Gleison.

Entered 29th March, 1662, by T. DANFORTH.  
Signed,

JOHN FENNELL,  
WM. SIMMES.

<sup>3</sup> Hutchinson, vol. i. pp. 408. 410. Drake, b. ii. chap. 3, says, however, that he lived at Rumney Marsh, (Chelsea). Rev. John Higginson's deposition sustains Hutchinson. He lived, probably, at both places.

cords as of "gentle and good disposition," who always "loved the English, and gave them permission to settle here, and who revealed to them the conspiracy of 1630." His limits included Winisemit. Dudley describes him as "young, handsome," "conversant with us, affecting English apparrell and houses, and speaking well of our God." But he did not command more than thirty or forty warriors.

In 1631, a servant of Sir Richard Saltonstall burnt two of his wigwams. Dudley gives the following relation of this event.

"Before the depparture of the shipp (w<sup>ch</sup> yet was wind bound) there came vnto vs Sagamore John and one of his subiects requireinge satisfaction for the burning of two wigwams by some of the English which wigwams were not inhabited but stood in a place convenient for their shelter, when vppon occasion they should trauiile that wayes. By examination wee found that some English fowlers haueing retired into that which belonged to the subiect and leauing a fire therein carelessly which they had kindled to warm them were the cause of burninge thereof; ffor that which was the Sagamores wee could find noe certaine prooffe how it was fired, yet least hee should thinke vs not scedulous enough to find it out and soo should depart discontentedly from vs, wee gave both him and his subiects satisfaction for them both."

Sir Richard was ordered to make satisfaction, "which he did by seven yards of cloth, and that his servant pay him, at the end of his time, fifty shillings sterling."

In 1631, he was at Agawam, (Ipswich,) on a visit, when the Tarratines made their fierce attack on Mascononomo, when he was wounded. In 1632, with thirty of his men, he went with Chikataubut to aid Canonicus, chief of the Narragansetts, in a war against the Pequots. He died in 1632, at Winisemit, of the small pox.

In New England's First Fruits, there is the following interesting detail of his last hours:

"Sagamore John, prince of Massaquesers, was from our very first landing more corteous, ingenious, and to the English more loving than others of them; he desired to learne and speake our language, and loved to imitate us in our behaviour and apparrell, and began to hearken after our God, and his wayes, and would much commend English men, and their God, saying (much good

men, much good God), and being convinced that our condition and wayes were better farre then theirs, did resolve and promise to leave the Indians, and come live with us; but yet kept down by feare of the scoffes of the Indians, had not power to make good his purpose: yet went on not without some trouble of mind, and secret plucks of conscience, as the sequel declares; for being struck with death, fearfully cryed out of himselfe that he had not come to live with us, to have knowne our God better: 'But now, (said he) I must die, the God of the English is much angry with me, and will destroy me; ah, I was afraid of the scoffes of the wicked Indians; yet my child shall live with the English, and learne to know their God when I am dead; ile give him to Mr. Wilson, he is a much good man, and much loved me:' so sent for Mr. Wilson to come to him, and committed his onely child to his care, and so died."<sup>1</sup>

He left by will, all his wampum and coats to his mother, and his land about Powder-Horn Hill, to his son, and in case of his decease, to his brother George.<sup>2</sup>

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## CHAPTER VII.

1630 to 1631. — Objects of the Puritans. — The Winthrop Emigration. — Roger Clap's visit. — Arrival of Winthrop. — Situation of the Colony. — Deaths. — Samuel Fuller's Letter. — Fortitude of the Sufferers. — Removal. — Settlements. — Reflections.

WHILE the inhabitants were struggling through the winter, the Massachusetts Company<sup>3</sup> were making preparations to add largely

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<sup>1</sup> Hubbard, p. 651, adds, "Whether the child answered the father's desire or no, is not known, but the contrary feared."

<sup>2</sup> Felt's Annals of Salem, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> In the Massachusetts Archives, Lands, p. 1., there is a document which asserts that Sir William Brereton also sent over several families. It gives the history of his title as follows: — "Sir William Brereton dies leaving Thomas, his only son, afterwards Sir Thomas, and Susanna his daughter. Sir Thomas dies without issue. Susanna marries Edmund Lenthall, Esq., and dies leaving Mary, her only daughter and heir.



to their number. The resolution had been taken, by Winthrop and his associates, to transform themselves, by the bold step of carrying the charter with them, from a Commercial Corporation into a Provincial Government. The causes that led to this result will be found in the general histories: the motives that actuated the multitude that were about to people this then "terrible wilderness," are, perhaps, well and concisely stated by contemporary writers. "Necessitie," says one of them, "may presse some; noveltie draw on others; hopes of gaine in time to come, may prevail with a third sort: but that the most sincere and godly part have the advancement of the Gospel for their maine scope, I am cōfident."<sup>2</sup> "The propagation of the Gospel," — the Company write, 1629, — "is the thing we do profess above all to be our aim in settling this plantation."<sup>3</sup> But though the spread of the Gospel, in the stern form of Puritanism, became the main aim of the colonists, yet both their eulogists and their denunciators admit, that they also looked, both here and in England, to a higher political liberty. "These men," said Laud, "do but begin with the Church, that they might after have the freer access to the State."

The first vessel of the fleet that carried over those who emigrated with Winthrop, arrived at Nantasket on the 30th of May, 1630. Roger Clap, was in this ship, — the *Mary & John*, — and gives the following account of his visit to this town:—

"When we came to *Nantasket*, Capt. *Squeb*, who was Captain of that great ship of *Four Hundred Tons*, would not bring us into *Charles River*, as he was bound to do; but put us ashore and our Goods on Nantasket Point, and left us to shift for ourselves in a forlorn place in this Wilderness. But as it pleased God, we got a boat of some old Planters, and laded her with Goods; and some able men well Armed went in her unto *Charlestown*: where we

Mary is married to Mr. Levett, of the Inner Temple, who claims the said lands in right of Mary his wife, who is heir to Sir William Brereton and Sir Thomas Brereton.

"Sir William Brereton sent over several families and servants, who possessed and improved several large tracts of the said land, and made several leases as appears by the said deeds."

Brereton sided with the Parliament in its contest with Charles I, and led its troops at the siege of Chester, in 1644. In the History of Chester, may be found his summons to this city to surrender, with an account of the siege.

<sup>1</sup> Planter's Plea, written in 1630, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Letter, April 17.

found *some Wigwams* and *one House*, and in the House there was a Man which had a boiled *Bass*, but no *Bread* that we see; but we did eat of his Bass, and then went up *Charles River*, until the River grew narrow and shallow, and there we landed our Goods with much Labor and Toil, the Bank being steep. And Night coming on, we were informed that there were hard by us *Three Hundred Indians!* One *English Man* that could speak the *Indian Language*, (an old planter,) went to them and advised them not to come near us in the night! And they hearkened to his counsel, and came not. I myself was one of the Centinels that first night: Our captain was a Low Country Souldier, one Mr. *Southcot*, a brave Souldier. In the Morning some of the *Indians* came and stood at a distance off, looking at us, but came not near us: but when they had been a while in view, some of them came and held out a great *Bass* towards us; so we sent a man with a Bisket, and changed the cake for the Bass. Afterwards they supplied us with Bass exchanging a Bass for a Bisket-Cake, and were *very friendly* unto us."

On the 12th of June, the ship in which Winthrop embarked, arrived at Salem; on the 17th he sailed, in a boat, up Mystic River; on the 18th he stopped at Maverick's Fort<sup>1</sup> on Noddle's Island; on the next day he returned to Salem, and reported favorably for building at "Charlton." On the 1st of July he had arrived here, and during this month, the greater part of the fleet arrived safely into port.

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<sup>1</sup> By this time, Samuel Maverick "had built a small fort with the help of Mr. David Thomson," Johnson, b. i. chap. 17, who was the first occupant of Thompson's Island in the harbor, where the Farm School is. Hon. James Savage, Winthrop, vol. i. p. 27, concludes, from the language of this writer, that Maverick came either in 1628 or 1629. Josselyn, 1638, praises him for his hospitality, pronouncing him "the only hospitable man in all the country,—giving entertainment to all comers gratis," Voyages in Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. xxxiii., while Johnson sets him down "as an enemy to the reformation in hand, being strongly for the Prelatical power." However the latter might be, the General Court granted to him Noddle's Island. But he was obliged to pay "to the governor for the time being" "either a fat weather, a fat hog, or £10 in money." The Court also reserved to this town and Boston, the right "to fetch wood continually, as their need requires, from the southern part of said Island." "Winisemet Ferry, both to Charlestown and Boston, was also granted to him forever."—Savage's Winthrop, vol. i. p. 27. Oldmixon, 1741, says that "Nettles" Island, "within these few years was esteemed worth 2 or 300%. to the owner, Col. Shrimpton," vol. i. p. 191.

The condition in which Winthrop found the Colony, was sad and unexpected. Smith thus describes it. "They found three-score of their people dead, the rest sick, nothing done, but all complaining, and all things so contrary to their expectation, that now every monstrous humor began to show itself."<sup>1</sup> "All the corn and bread amongst them all hardly sufficed to feed them a fortnight." "But bearing these things as they might,"<sup>2</sup> some began to look about them for places of settlement, while the multitude set up "cottages, booths and tents," about the Town Hill. The Records give the history of this arrival as follows:—

"In the months of June and July, 1629, (1630,) arrived at this town John Winthrop, Esq., Governor, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Knt., Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Pinchon, Mr. Broadstreete, who brought along with them the Charter, or patent, for this jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay, with whom also arrived Mr. John Wilson, and Mr. Phillips, Ministers, and a multitude of people, amounting to about fifteen hundred, brought over from England in twelve ships. The governor and several of the Patentees dwelt in the Great House, which was last year built in this town by Mr. Graves, and the rest of their servants.

"The multitude set up cottages, booths and tents, about the Town Hill. They had long passage; some of the ships were seventeen, some eighteen weeks a coming; many people arrived sick of the scurvy, which also increased much after their arrival for want of houses, and by reason of wet lodgings in their cottages; and other distempers also prevailed. And although people were generally very loving and pitiful, yet the sickness did so prevail, that the whole were not able to tend the sick as they should be tended; upon which many perished and died, and were buried about the Town Hill.

"By which means provisions were exceedingly wasted, and no supplies could now be expected by planting; besides, there was miserable damage and spoil of provisions by sea, and divers came not so well provided as they would, upon a report whilst they were in England, that now there was enough in New England. And

<sup>1</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. xxxiii. p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Dudley's Letter.

unto all this, there were [some, imprudently selling much of the remainder]<sup>1</sup> to the Indians, for beaver. All which being taken into consideration by the governor and gentlemen, they hired and dispatched away Mr. William Pearce, with his ship, of about two hundred tons, for Ireland, to buy more, and in the mean time went on with their work for settling. In order to which they, with Mr. John Wilson, one of the ministers, did gather a church, and chose the said Mr. Wilson pastor,—the greatest number all this time intending nothing more than settling in this Town, for which the governor ordered his house to be cut and framed here.

“But the weather being hot, many sick and others faint after their long voyage, people grew discontented for want of water; who generally notioned no water good for a town but running springs;<sup>2</sup> and though this neck do abound with good water, yet for want of experience and industry none could then be found, to suit the humour of that time, but a brackish spring in the sands, by the water side on the west side of the northwest field, which could not supply half the necessities of that multitude. At which time the death of so many was concluded to be much the more occasioned by this want of good water.”

One witness writes, that “many died weekly, yea, almost daily;”<sup>3</sup> another says that, “almost in every family lamentation, mourning, and woe were heard, and no fresh food to cherish them.”<sup>4</sup> There were, among the deaths, some of the most honored and excellent of the Colonists. Rev. Francis Higginson was one of the victims. Early in August, the Lady Arbella,<sup>5</sup> wife of

<sup>1</sup> The words in brackets are supplied from Prince, p. 313, — the manuscript being illegible.

<sup>2</sup> This “notion” respecting running springs operated, at one time, unfavorably for Roxbury. On the 6th of Dec., 1630, the governor and most of the assistants, and others, met there and agreed to build a town. And a committee was appointed to make the necessary arrangements. But when this committee met at Roxbury eight days later, it was concluded not to build a town there, and one reason that weighed against the place was, “There was no running water; and if there were any springs, they would not suffice the Town.”—Savage’s Winthrop, vol. i. p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson.

<sup>4</sup> Dudley.

<sup>5</sup> “The Lady Arrabella, and some other godly women, abode at Salem, but their husbands continued at Charlestown, both for the civil government and gathering of another church.”—Wonder-working Providence.

Isaac Johnson, died, leaving an envied name; and during this month, Mrs. Pynchon, Mrs. Coddington, Mrs. Phillips, and Mrs. Alcock. On the 20th of September, William Gager died, "a right godly man, a skilful chyrurgeon," who had been chosen deacon; and on the 30th, Isaac Johnson, the wealthiest of the company, and a warm friend of the Colony, followed his deceased partner. He died in Christian peace and resignation; declaring his life better spent in promoting this plantation than it would have been in any other way. On the 23d of October, Mr. Ros-siter died, another highly esteemed associate, and one of the assistants.

Among those present at this gloomy period, was Samuel Fuller, one of the fathers of Plymouth, and an eminent surgeon. He remained several weeks, sympathizing with the sufferers, but unable to supply requisite medicines. On the 2d of August, he writes to Gov. Bradford of Plymouth: "The sad news here is that many are sick and many are dead; the Lord in mercy look upon them! Some are here entered into church covenant, the first was four, namely, the Governor, Mr. John Winthrop, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Wilson; since that five more are joined unto them, and others it is like will add themselves to them daily. The Lord increase them both in number and holiness, for his mercy's sake. I here but lose time and long to be at home: I can do them no good, for I want drugs and things fitted to work with."<sup>1</sup>

"It was admirable to see with what Christian courage many carried it amidst these calamities."<sup>2</sup> It was chiefly Winthrop's calm decision that sustained the courage of his associates.<sup>3</sup> In the midst of the suffering, he wrote to Mr. Johnson, at Salem, "representing the hand of God upon them in the prevailing sickness," and appointing July 30, a day of fasting and prayer. On the 9th of Sept. he wrote to his wife, then in England, in the following language: "I praise the good Lord, though we see much mortality, sickness, and trouble, yet (such is his mercy) myself and children, with most of my family, are yet living and in health, and enjoy prosperity enough, if the afflictions of our brethren did not hold under the comfort of it. \* \* \* I thank God, I like so well to

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<sup>1</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson.

<sup>3</sup> Bancroft.

be here, as I do not repent my coming; and if I were to come again, I would not have altered my course, though I had foreseen all these afflictions. I never fared better in my life, never slept better, never had more content of mind." <sup>1</sup>

Immediately upon the arrival of the colonists, differences arose respecting places of settlement; for Salem, where they landed, "pleased them not." Several were sent "to the Bay," — Boston harbor, — "to search up the rivers for a convenient place." On receiving their reports, — some being in favor of Mystic, some of "Charlton," some of a place "three leagues up Charles River," — the goods were "unshipped into other vessels, and with much cost and labor, brought in July" to this town. But after this, they "received advertisements by some of the late arrived ships from London and Amsterdam, of some French preparations" against them. They changed their original intention of establishing themselves in one town, and for their "present shelter," resolved to "plant dispersedly." <sup>2</sup> "This dispersion," Governor Dudley writes, "troubled some of us, but help it we could not, wanting ability to remove to any place fit to build a Towne upon, and the time too short to deliberate any longer lest the winter should surprise us before we had builded our houses. The best council we could find out was to build a fort to retire to, in some convenient place, if any enemy pressed thereunto, after we should have fortified ourselves against the injuries of wet and cold." The Town Records assign the want of water as the chief reason why the great body of those who had remained here through the months of July and August, determined to remove to Shawmut and other places. Immediately after the paragraph already printed, these Records furnish the following history of the "dispersion:" —

"This caused several to go abroad upon discovery; some went without the neck of this town, who travelled up into the main till they came to a place well watered, whither Sir Richard Saltonstall,

<sup>1</sup> Winthrop, vol. i. p. 377.

<sup>2</sup> Dudley's Letter. As it was written March 12, 1631, it takes precedent of the Town Records, where the two authorities differ. It was written at Boston. The author says, "having yet no table, nor other room to write in, than by the fireside upon my knee, in this sharpe winter; to which my family must have leave to resorte, though they break good manners, and make mee many times forget what I would say, and say what I would not."

Knt., and Mr. Phillips, minister, went with several others and settled a plantation, and called it Wattertowne.

"Others went on the other side of Charles River, and there travelled up into the country, and likewise finding good waters, settled there with Mr. Ludlow, and called the plantation Dorchester, whither went Mr. Maverick and Mr. Warham, who were their ministers.

"In the meantime, Mr. Blackstone,<sup>1</sup> dwelling on the other side of Charles River, alone, at a place by the Indians called Shawmutt,

<sup>1</sup> William Blackstone was the eccentric Episcopal clergyman and the first English occupant of Boston. He was at Shawmut when Charlestown was founded: How long had he been there? He had a cottage: Who built it? He claimed the whole peninsula, and the inhabitants acknowledged his right to it by buying it of him. On what was his claim founded?

Letchford says, *Mass. Hist. Collections*, vol. xxxiii. p. 97, he "went from Boston, having lived there nine or ten years." If ten years, it would bring his arrival to about 1625. Hopkins, *Hist. Rehoboth*, p. 3, who published ninety years after Blackstone's death, says he had been at Boston "so long as to have raised apple trees and planted an orchard," when the Mass. Colony came. Mr. Savage, *Winthrop*, vol. i. p. 45, concludes that he had occupied the peninsula several years before 1628. These authorities unite in establishing the time as far back as 1625, — possibly a year earlier.

It was about this time, or in 1624, that Robert Gorges left his interests here "to the charge and custody of his servants and certain other undertakers and tenants." — Hazard, vol. i. p. 191. Four years later, 1628, the inheritor of these interests, John Gorges, authorized Blackstone, Hazard, vol. i. p. 268, to give Oldham the possession of the land which had been leased to him. Does not this show that Blackstone was connected with this patent? Is not the inference a just one, that he was one of the "undertakers" alluded to above? And if so, that he came over with Gorges and occupied under a grant from him?

Mather, *Magnalia*, vol. i. p. 226, and Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 26, say that Blackstone claimed the whole peninsula upon which Boston is built, because "he was the first that slept upon it." See also, Snow's *Hist.* p. 52. Perhaps Walford might have advanced such a claim in relation to Charlestown, when he "confronted the magistrates." Such claims could not be allowed: for however prodigal or avaricious the Plymouth Council might have been in selling patents, "all the right of soil which the government at home could give, was, by the charter, given to the "Massachusetts Company." (Savage). But it may be asked; why should our ancestors have expelled Walford and bought out Blackstone? Perhaps because of the friendly offices of the latter during the suffering of 1630.

There is a tradition, current in the neighborhood where this eccentric individual last resided, that the Company were disposed at first to deprive him of his land, and that he made a characteristic and spirited resistance. — *Hist. Rehoboth*, p. 3. The early writers say, that he told the Puritans that "he came from England because he did not like the Lord's

where he only had a cottage at, or not far off, the place called Blackstone's Point, he came and acquainted the governor of an excellent spring there, withal inviting him and soliciting him thither. Whereupon, after the death of Mr. Johnson and divers others, the governor, with Mr. Wilson and the greatest part of the church removed thither: whither also the frame of the governor's house, in preparation at this town, was (also to the discontent<sup>1</sup> of some) carried when people began to build their houses against winter, and this place was called Boston.

"After these things, Mr. Pinchon and several others, planted betwixt Boston and Dorchester, which place was called Roxbury.

"Now, after all this, the Indians' treachery being feared, it was judged meet the English should place their towns as near together as could be, for which end Mr. Dudley and Mr. Broadstreete, with some others, went and built, and planted between Charlestown and Waterton, who called it Newtown (which was afterwards called Cambridge.)

"Others issued out to a place between Charlestown and Salem, called Saugust, (since ordered to be called Lynn.<sup>2</sup>)

"And thus by reason of discouragements and difficulties that

Bishops, but he could not join with them because he did not like the lord's brethren."

Blackstone took the degree of A. B. at Emanuel's College, 1617: that of A. M. 1621: (Mass. Hist. Coll.: vol. xxxviii. p. 217,) was assessed to pay for the campaign of Merry Mount, and named as an agent of Gorges, 1628: was freeman 1631: had fifty acres of land set out to him near his cottage 1633: sold all but six acres to Boston and removed to Rehoboth 1634: married Mary Stevenson, widow, July 4, 1659; and died May 26, 1675, leaving a son.

The learned commentator on Winthrop says, that of the exact time when he pitched his tent at Boston "we shall, probably, remain forever unformed." I have been able to add but a fact and a suggestion to his valuable note.

Full accounts of the latter part of his life, may be found in Bliss's Hist. Rehoboth, Dagget's Attleborough, and Mass. Hist. Collections, vol. xxix. p. 174.

<sup>1</sup> In 1632, Savage, Winthrop, vol. i. p. 82, there was also discontent at Newtown, because the governor removed a frame he had set up there, in accordance with a promise he had made to build there. Winthrop's explanation was, "that he had performed the words of the promise, for he had a house up, and seven or eight servants abiding in it, by the day appointed." He gives good reasons for his removal to Boston.

<sup>2</sup> The interleaved Almanacs of Danforth, in Farmer and Moore's Coll., vol. iii. p. 292, give the annexed dates as the time when these towns "began:" 1628, Salem; 1629, Charlestown, Lynn; 1630, Dorchester,



strangers in a wilderness at first meet withal, though as to some things but supposed, as in this case people might have found water abundant in this town and needed not to have perished for want, or wandered to other places for relief, would they but have looked after it. But this, attended with other circumstances, the wisdom of God made use of as a means for spreading his Gospel, and peopling of this great, and then terrible wilderness, and this sudden spreading into several townships came to be of far better use for the entertainment of so many hundreds of people that came for several years following hither, in such multitudes from most parts of old England, than if they had now remained altogether in this town.

“But after their departure from this town, to the peopling and planting of the towns aforesaid, and in particular of the removal of the governor and the greatest part of our new gathered church with the pastor to Boston, the few inhabitants of this town remaining, were constrained for three years after, generally to go to Boston on the Lord’s day, to hear the word and enjoy the sacraments before they could be otherwise supplied.”

From April to December two hundred died: “It may be said of us almost as of the Egyptians, that there is not a house where there is not one dead and in some houses many.”<sup>1</sup> It is not strange that some were disheartened and turned back — sailing

Watertown, Roxbury, Boston; 1631, Marblehead, Cambridge, Weymouth: 1633, Ipswich; 1634, Hingham.

The Town Records date the settlement of Boston after the death of Mr. Johnson, which took place Sept. 30. But in a rate levied by the Court of Assistants, Sept. 28, of £50, Charlestown was assessed only £7 while Boston was assessed £11. Mr. Savage says, Winthrop, vol. i. p. 95, that, in September the greater part of the congregation lived at Boston. The first meeting of the Company at Boston was held Oct. 19: the first Court of Assistants Nov. 9. Snow dates the foundation of Boston from Sept. 7, when Tri-mountain was ordered to be called Boston. Hubbard says, that “about November the Governor and Deputy Governor, with most of the assistants, removed their families to Boston.

The first Court of Assistants at Charlestown was held Aug. 23, on board the *Arbella*, Johnson says, which assertion, as to the place, Mr. Savage, Winthrop, vol. i. p. 30, questions. It was then, however, specially ordered that the next Court should be held “at the Governor’s House.” (the Great House) Sept. 7. There was another Court held Sept. 28, probably at the same place: after which, Oct. 19, the meetings were held at Boston.

<sup>1</sup> Dudley.

with Captain Peirce for England. But this, no more than their suffering, discouraged the survivors. They professed themselves glad so to be rid of them. This experience, however, gave a different tone to the letters from the Colony to their friends in England. "I say this," nobly wrote Dudley to the Countess of Lincoln, March, 1631, "that if any come hither to plant for worldly ends, that can live well at home, he commits an error, of which he will soon repent him." "If there be any endued with grace, and furnished with means to feed themselves and theirs for eighteen months, and to build and plant, let them come into our Macedonia, and help us, and not spend themselves and their estates in a less profitable employment: For others I conceive they are not yet fitted for this business."<sup>1</sup>

Such were the scenes, as described in the simple and touching language of the sufferers, that marked the second year of the history of Charlestown and the settlement of Boston. The dead, say the Records, were buried about the Town Hill.<sup>2</sup> It was chiefly about this hill that the emigrants first built their "cottages." It continued, until the Revolution, to be the most populous part of the town. And there, on another day of trial, the homes of the descendants of these "first victims," became an early sacrifice on the altar of American liberty. Eulogy has exhausted itself in treating of the day of Bunker Hill. But not less worthy of commemoration are the firmness, the self-sacrifice, the Christian resignation, of the men, who thus, in tears and faith, founded the Colony of Massachusetts.

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<sup>1</sup> Dudley's Letter.

<sup>2</sup> There is a tradition that there was anciently a grave-yard on the Town Hill. Human bones have been dug up in various places upon it. The last instance of this was, in digging this year, 1845, the cellar for the stores built by Mr. Joseph Thompson on the Square. Some of the bones consisted of parts of skulls in which the teeth were in a state of perfect preservation. But no part of this hill was ever laid out as a regular burying-place, and the tradition is probably founded on the single instance mentioned in the Records.

## ERRATA.

On page 24, for "Clapp," read "Clap."

On page 37, for the last time "1632" occurs, read "1633."

At the foot of page 13, for "Indians," read "Northern Indians."

There are a few other errors of minor importance.















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