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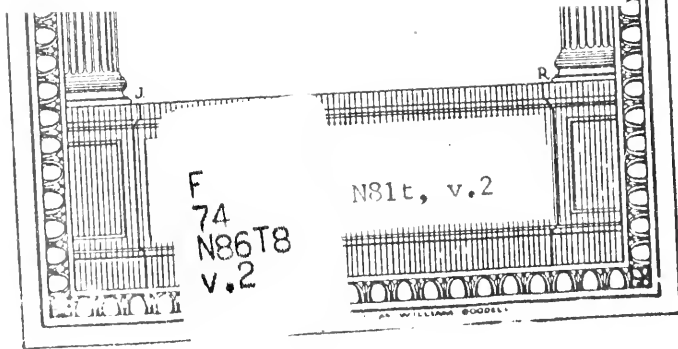
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HISTORY
OF
NORTHAMPTON
MASSACHUSETTS

FROM ITS SETTLEMENT IN 1654

BY

JAMES RUSSELL TRUMBULL

VOL. II

Of Patriotism is Liberty Born

NORTHAMPTON:
1902.

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PREFACE.

The author of these volumes, James Russell Trumbull, was born in Williamsburgh, Mass., Dec. 21, 1825. He had only a common school education, but that proved to be the foundation of a course of study and research which continued as long as he lived. At the age of seventeen he entered the office of the Hampshire Gazette as apprentice, early showing the characteristics which distinguished him through life,—energy, perseverance and painstaking accuracy. His editorial ability was soon recognized, and at the close of his apprenticeship he was made foreman. In 1849, he became editor of the Hampshire and Franklin Express, published in Amherst. Here, with his young wife, whom he married in November of the same year, he made his residence until March, 1853, when he undertook the editorship of the Hampshire Gazette under Hopkins, Bridgman & Co., Proprietors. In October of 1858, he purchased the entire establishment, and a month later the Hampshire Gazette and the Northampton Courier were united under their respective editors with the firm name of Trumbull & Gere. This partnership continued till 1877, when the senior member was obliged to retire on account of his health. But his public service was not ended. As a member of the Village Improvement Society and of the Library Committee he worked faithfully in the interest of the city for many years: and in August, 1884, he was chosen to fill the place of the retiring city treasurer. To this office he was elected from year to year without opposition until his resignation at the close of 1889.

In 1881, Mr. Trumbull came into possession of the Judd MSS., a wonderful monument of patient research, but wanting somewhat in practical value because of its lack of an adequate index. In supplying this deficiency he spent years of careful study, becoming more and more impressed with the worth and interest of these annals of the past. Just when the purpose of writing a History of Northampton matured in his mind it is impossible to state, but it is safe to say that this work had been growing under his hands during all of the last twenty years of his life. As the increasing feebleness of his last few years diminished the prospect of his bringing this cherished hope to fulfillment, his nearest friends felt the depth of his disappointment, though it was borne with absolute silence. Still he persevered, working often far beyond his strength; and when, on the 3d of July, 1899, he was called to the

higher life, his story of Northampton's birth and development was nearly completed. It was never his design to follow its history farther than to the beginning of the nineteenth century, from which point the individual might easily carry it forward for himself by reference to the town records and the newspapers.

The task of editing and publishing this so nearly completed manuscript of the second volume of the History of Northampton was undertaken with reverence and affection, and the desire to carry out the dearest wish of a beloved uncle has overcome many misgivings. That the work cannot fail to have suffered from the fact that other hands than his must bring it to completion, is fully appreciated, but it is believed that its value is such as to overshadow the imperfections of its editing, and to justify the editors in asking for the indulgence of its readers.

The aim of the writer was not only to chronicle past events, but also to inspire the present generation with a just pride and with love for the city which was so dear to him, and to perpetuate the names of its heroes. If the years shall prove that this threefold endeavor has been successful, then will be realized the earnest hope with which this volume is offered to the public, namely that it may be a noble and lasting monument to the memory of its author.

NANCY L. MILLER.

ANNA E. MILLER.

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HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTON.

CHAPTER I.

DWELLINGS—FURNITURE—COSTUMES.

First Houses Built of Logs. No authentic description has been found of any dwelling-houses erected by the first settlers of Northampton. Undoubtedly they were built of logs, though some may have been constructed of plank. It is not probable, however, that the first comers found time to split or rive plank or clapboards. The practice prevailing in other settlements was unquestionably followed here. Each settler, intent upon obtaining shelter as soon as possible, made use of the most available materials, which were the trees growing upon the lot where the house was to be placed. Nearly all of the logs were daubed or plastered on the outside with clay, and the windows were few and small. Little better than huts, the pioneers managed to live in these dwellings till they were able to build better ones. Nearly all of the first houses were but a story and a half high, and many of them had but one room on the main floor. One plan sufficed for all.

More Substantial and Better Dwellings Erected. Scarce a generation passed, however, before larger and better houses were erected. The log house was superseded by a framed structure, covered with plank or clapboards. Nearly all of them were placed broadside to the street, and close upon its border. No use had then been discovered for sidewalks, and the front door was literally the street-door, opening directly upon the highway. Like their ruder predecessors, these houses also were modeled after one design, their

ground plan never varied, and they differed only in size and height. Ordinarily they were two stories high. Forty feet seems to have been the standard length, while twenty feet was the established width. More houses were constructed forty by twenty feet than of any other dimensions, though occasionally one might have been found forty-one by twenty-two, and sometimes thirty-eight and one-half by twenty-two. In some the upper story projected about eighteen inches. It has been stated that this feature was for the purpose of affording better means of repelling an Indian attack, by firing down upon the foe. But the style was evidently imported, as houses were built in England after that pattern. The house was placed close to the ground, with very little underpinning. In many instances the floor was below the sills. All these framed dwellings were substantially built: the timbers were usually of oak, all hewed, and in some cases the posts were eight and one-half by nine inches square. Every house had two rooms on each floor, separated by a huge chimney, which held the place of honor in the center of the structure. These chimneys were of various sizes. Some of them measured at the base ten by twelve feet, others nine by fourteen, and still others were nine by twelve. The rooms on the main floor were usually about seven feet high, and in a house forty-one by twenty-two feet, would be about sixteen by twenty in dimensions. One noteworthy feature of the chimney was the huge fireplace. As it formed the only means of heating the room, it was made as large as the size of the chimney would permit. It is probable that a few of these chimneys may have been constructed of wood, thickly plastered on the interior. But these were dangerous and not infrequently the means of setting the house on fire. Stones gathered on the premises or on the commons were most generally used, though afterwards chimneys were built of brick.

Interiors of these
Houses.

In front of these huge fireplaces, piled with blazing logs, gathered the family, burned or nearly blistered by the heat on one side, and chilled or nearly frozen on the other by the "eager and nipping" blasts that forced their way through every crack

and crevice. Opposite the front door, built against the chimney, was the narrow, steep and crooked stairway, to the upper story, leaving an entrance-hall barely wide enough to swing the door. These four rooms constituted the house. Those on the lower floor were commonly wainscoted to the ceiling, which was usually sheathed. For many years very little plaster was used. In the second story the rooms corresponded in size with those below, but were without a fire-place. One of the first floor rooms was kitchen, dining-room, living-room, and frequently contained a bed, and the other, though termed the parlor, was mainly a store-room, and when the family became large, was sometimes used as a bedroom also. Neither of these apartments had ordinarily more than two windows, one in front and the other in the end, but none in the rear. They were square, set with small panes of glass, for which oiled paper was sometimes substituted. Previous to 1750, diamond-shaped glass was commonly used. The panes were set in lead, and the frames swung inwards on hinges. When square panes of glass came into use, windows were made larger, and moveable in the casings. Closets in those early days were an unknown quantity, and they never found space upon the ground-plans of any house. Moveable clothes-presses, and sometimes corner cupboards were preferred. Chests, many of them elaborately carved and highly finished, that had been brought across the ocean, were not uncommon. Nearly every house was provided with a cellar, but it was small, and extended only under a portion of one of the rooms. Sometimes it was walled with stone, occasionally with logs, and in some instances with nothing but the bare earth, as it was left when the excavation was made. A good sized cellar was eleven feet square. It was entered, if at the rear of the house, through a trap-door in the floor, usually by means of a ladder; if near the front, ordinarily by a flight of stairs under the stairway in the hall.

An Increasing Family Demanded more Room.

While the family was small the house as above described was ample. But as the household increased,—in those days ten or even twelve children were not uncommon,—greater accommodations were required and the house must needs be en-

larged. This was usually accomplished by an addition in the rear. The roof on a two story house was continued at the same angle, down to the height of the first story, and sometimes lower. This was termed a "lean to," or in the vernacular of the times a "leanter." In it generally, a kitchen and buttery, and occasionally a bedroom, were provided.

Front Door. Outside doors were of oak, more especially the front door, which was double sheathed, strong and durable, sometimes studded with huge nails or spikes,¹ and nearly always divided horizontally. Fastened by stout oaken bars, they were practically impregnable against the assaults of the savages. Occasionally, however, they managed to tomahawk a hole sufficiently large to admit a gun-barrel, but seldom are they reported as having demolished a door. The solid wooden latch was raised from without by a heavy cord or leathern thong, thrust through an aperture. When the latch-string was out friends were welcome, when it was withdrawn, enemies found it difficult to enter, even if the bars were not in place.

Roofing. Shingles were used somewhat when the town was first settled, though thatch-grass was plenty along the banks of the Connecticut. Houses were covered with thatch in the neighboring towns of Hatfield and Hadley, as late as 1679. Undoubtedly the first houses built in Northampton were thatched, and it is very probable that the first meeting house erected here was covered with the same material.

Piazzas and Paint Little need existed for the modern luxury
equally Unknown. of a piazza; indeed there were convincing reasons against any such comforts. They greatly increased the danger from fire, whenever any little difficulty with the Indians occurred, and the sturdy pio-

¹ There is a tradition that the old house which stood on the lot on Pleasant Street, near the present location of the brick house, occupied by the late Dr. Graham, was picketed during the Indian wars, and that a heavy oaken door, filled with spikes to resist the Indian tomahawks, with the date 1703 upon it, had been seen on the premises within the memory of persons recently living. This was undoubtedly the homestead of Preserved Clapp, and was one of the houses fortified, at the commencement of Queen Anne's War.

neers had scant leisure to loiter under their pleasing shade. Paint was never used about these structures. The early settlers did not cultivate the esthetic faculty, and for many years found no employment for a painter. While the coloring of the exterior of their houses was speedily accomplished by the elements, the ornamentation of the interior proceeded as rapidly under the agency of smoke from the fireplace, as well as from the pine torches that were their first candles.

Barns. In such plain but substantial dwellings lived the first generations of the original inhabitants. Near by stood the barn, constructed in the same durable manner, and of similar materials. Ordinarily it was placed as close to the street as possible, sometimes overstepping the boundary; being built wholly within the limits of the highway as often as the town could be induced to grant land therein for "barn spots." The offal was thrown directly into the street, which was simply a wide lane, in many places bristling with tree stumps, between which a single cart track found its sinuous way.

Kitchen and other Furniture. The people who inhabited these structures were as hardy and rugged as their homes were uncouth and comfortless. In these dwellings, with floors—innocent of carpets except among the wealthier classes—covered occasionally with a coating of sand, but kept always clean and spotless by means of repeated and thorough scrubblings, they passed the largest part of their toilsome if not cheerless lives. In summer these houses were barely endurable, but in winter, compared with modern conveniences, they must have been torture houses indeed. Their furniture was the simplest, and judged by the standards of to-day, the most uncomfortable of its kind. In the kitchen, which was also the living-room, in front of the capacious fireplace, stood the long wooden "settle," with its straight high back; this latter appendage being apparently intended as a shield against the cold blasts of winter, that forced their way through every opening, great or small. A few chairs, as angular and ugly as the family bench before the fire, stood about. In one

corner might have been seen the spinning-wheel and reel, when not in use, without which no house was suitably furnished. In another the cupboard, or it may be a bundle of candlewood. Placed against one wall was the dresser, or a huge wooden chest, sometimes elaborately carved, unless the space should be needed for a bed. Near the center of the room, or possibly pushed back against the wall, was the table, under which were the "jointed stools" used at meal time. Over the fireplace, across the chimney breast, as high as a man's head, was the narrow shelf, called the "mantletree." On it were arranged the pewter candlesticks, maybe the candlewood iron, the tinder-box, and perchance the family Bible, or such other books as were in possession of the household. At the back of the chimney, were the hooks upon which, from the trammels, hung the pots and kettles and other cooking utensils, before the crane came into general use. Against the jamb of the fireplace leaned the shovel and tongs and possibly the long handled "peel" or shovel, belonging especially to the oven. In one corner, particularly in war time, stood the trusty flint-lock musket. In more peaceful days it rested on hooks above the mantel.

Furnishing of one Parlor. In the parlor was usually a miscellaneous collection of many things, more for use than ornament. It did not then appear to be a room whose sacred precincts were to be invaded only on special and important occasions. A glimpse at the inventory of David Wilton, who died in 1673, exhibits the contents of one parlor in those early days:—

"Bed and complete furniture, viz., Curtains 20^s; rug 25^s; blankets 25^s; sheets 25^s; 2 bolsters, 2 pillows, coverlid: all £13. 0. 0. Table and four joint stools, 5 chairs 14^s; Carpet¹ and small table 40^s; 9 cushions 23^s; 2 scales and weights, 3 pair steelyards 40^s; 4 weights: waumpum 30^s; Lead 4^s; 2 jugs, cupboard 30^s; 4 glasses and earthen dishes and 2 baskets 9^s; powder 5^s; hand irons, lanthorn, tongs, fire shovel 25^s."

Beds and Bedding. Beds were plenty everywhere. They were composed of feathers, corn husks, and of wool, the latter being called "flock beds." "Dust beds" are also mentioned in many inventories, and have been inter-

1 Carpet was the name ordinarily given to a table-cover.

puted to mean "drest" or dressed beds, but their significance is uncertain. Bolsters, pillows of similar material with the beds, coverlids and blankets abound. Sheets, whether of linen or of other material is not always stated, were usually found in profusion. They were of calico, wool, cotton called linen, and were sometimes designated as "Flaxen and coarse." Much Holland sheeting is noticed, and in one inventory "9 negro sheets" are named. In Wilton's inventory twenty four pairs of sheets are mentioned, and in others there always seemed to be an ample supply. In every enumeration may be found "pillow beers" (pillow-cases) and napkins. Valences for beds were not unknown, but bed curtains are rare. The four post canopied bed with curtains, seems not to have been in very general use in this part of New England in the eighteenth century, though occasionally one is mentioned.

Tables and Table Furniture. Other furniture, only in sufficient quantity for the real needs of the family, was strongly made, but of coarse texture, and not at all celebrated for graceful proportions. Tables were round, square, oblong or oval. They were made of oak, black walnut, mahogany, pine, etc.; but few if any had folding leaves. Forms or benches, jointed (folding) stools, were used at meal-times, chairs seldom. Among the poorer classes tables had usually no covering, though the "well-to-do" were well provided with table-cloths. Napkins seem to have been one of the essentials of housekeeping, and are found in every family, and among all classes. Some were of calico, some of damask, some of linen, and some of "huckabuck." These conveniences were often found to the number of 60, 80, 100, and 125 to a family. They are seldom named in inventories from 1760 to the Revolution, though "tea napkins" sometimes appear. With the advent of knives and forks, napkins gradually went out of use. When people ceased to eat with their fingers, napkins were no longer deemed indispensable.

Tableware of all kinds was made largely of pewter, more particularly spoons, cups, basins, dishes, plates, bowls, tankards, porringers, bottles, tea-pots and cans. Wood

also entered to a great extent into the manufacture of trenchers, plates, platters, trays, bowls, cans and bottles. Earthenware, red and brown, was much used in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Pie plates, milk-pans, mugs, bowls, pitchers, pudding dishes, and after the introduction of tea, tea-pots, and "tea dishes," were kept in stock at the stores or sold from house to house, by peddlers. It was not till the last decade of the century that crockery, blue and white, gradually displaced the coarser and heavier articles of table furniture.

Knives and Forks. These indispensable articles did not come into use in New England till about the opening of the eighteenth century, and many years elapsed before they found their way into the households of farmers in the interior. In 1707 no forks were used to eat with, and knives were seldom found at table, although the latter were much employed for other purposes. They did not become popular for twenty years or more. The first notice of sales of them in this town, is to be found upon the account-books of the second Joseph Hawley. In 1735, in the inventory of his stock of merchandise, were many knives, apparently for table use, but no forks, though for a number of years previous he had been in the practice of selling them. He purchased in 1726, two dozen "women's horn spring knives." His sales of these articles were quite limited. After 1760, they became much more common. Timothy Dwight, who traded here for a long time, down to within a dozen years of the Revolution, sold them in sets of six each. Some persons, who evidently could afford no more, bought one-third of a set, others one-half, and some more ambitious or better able financially, purchased an entire set, which cost them 6s., equal to one dollar. In the more wealthy families, silver knives and forks are often inventoried, but in many cases they were only silver handled. Silver knives and forks were found in the inventory of Col. John Stoddard, who died in 1748. His father, Rev. Solomon Stoddard, who died about twenty years before, had ten knives and nine forks, but they were of the ordinary kind.

Chairs and Seats. Chairs were classed among the luxuries. A few were usually found in every house, but they were heavy, clumsy articles, neither comfortable to use, nor artistic to behold. Forms, benches, stools, all without backs, and "settles" were the most common seats. Occasionally an "arm-chair" or a "great chair," is mentioned, but that modern convenience, the rocking-chair, seems to have been unknown. At least such chairs were seldom or never named among the personal belongings of people in Northampton. Seats with backs were not intended for rest, so much as for protection against the cold drafts that pervaded the best constructed tenements. Flag, wicker and cane seat chairs: stuffed and leather covered seats came in later. Many cushions and coverings for chairs are noted, but apparently they were for ornament rather than use. The first settlers had little occasion and less time to spend lolling in cushioned chairs.

Cooking Utensils. Kitchen utensils for cooking purposes, which are now of tin or iron, were made of brass to a great extent, though some were of copper, and occasionally something in iron might have been found. An iron pot was an important utensil in New England, and some were so highly prized as to descend by will from generation to generation. But pots and kettles, pans for milk, for baking, for stewing and other purposes, skillets, skimmers, porringers, "posints," etc., were all of brass. In one inventory (not in Northampton, however), a brass gun is named, though that kind of implement was not in general use, in the common run of kitchens.

Warming-Pans and Foot-Stoves. The central source of warmth in these houses was the blazing fire in the huge fireplace, and to it there were few supplementary aids. One of the most universal of them, however, was the warming-pan. It was truly an institution of "y^e olden tyme," made of brass and indispensable in every household. Scarcely an inventory can be found upon the probate records, in which one or more of them is not catalogued. It was an article for which there was no substitute in the cold and freezing bedroom, and usually it was the only artificial heat ever allowed to enter there.

Closely allied in usefulness to the warming-pan was the foot-stove, but there are no indications that its use was by any means as universal. They are seldom found in the earlier inventories, though they were for many years the only source of heat in the meeting-house. Of special service as a Sunday heater, they were undoubtedly of no insignificant value in every-day life at the farm-house.

Clothing. As substantial in texture and as uncouth in shape as the other surroundings of the settler, was the clothing he wore. Much of it was of domestic manufacture, made from the wool grown upon the farm, or from the flax raised in the meadows. At first they were spun, woven and made into garments by the inmates of the farm-house. Weaving, however, soon became a distinct trade, and those who carried it on were found in every community. It was customary for every farmer to raise an acre or more of flax, which was usually dressed and prepared for the loom at home.

Men's Garments. The most common material for men's every-day wear was serge, a mixture of cotton and wool. Knee-breeches, with long stockings, waistcoats, with long flaps, and coats short and long, resembling the dress-coat of modern times, are everywhere named. Breeches were fastened at the knee, sometimes with buckles, sometimes with ribbons, and often with a simple band. Red suits, many times of serge or more costly material, were quite popular, and there are few inventories in which they do not appear. The "quality" and the clergy wore black broadcloth. Among farmers and mechanics leather garments were not uncommon. Comparatively few had leather suits, but nearly everybody had at least one pair of leather breeches. Stockings, reaching to the knee, were an important article of male attire. Ordinarily they were made of wool or worsted, but among the wealthier classes many pairs of silk are noticed. "Trowses," "trowzes," "trouses," are found nearly everywhere, but the word had not then the significance of to-day. They were evidently loose outer garments of the nature of overalls, and were in fact intended for that purpose. Pantaloons

or trowsers as known at the present day, did not usurp the place of knee-breeches and stockings till after the opening of the nineteenth century. Many persons had doublets, which seem to have been a loose undergarment, with or without sleeves, gathered at the waist, and ordinarily worn under the coat. This garment apparently went out of fashion before 1800, and was abandoned for the waistcoat. "Boot hose" are frequently enumerated. They were coverings for the legs, to protect the stockings and small-clothes, and were usually worn by horsemen. David Wilton had "doublets and drawers" as well as "boot hose." The drawers were simply another name for overalls. Fine shirts, Holland shirts, calico shirts, were abundant. Checked shirts, made of wool or flax, were much worn in the Connecticut river towns during the latter part of the eighteenth century. In Worcester County, white shirts were the most fashionable, and people living there averred that they could always tell Connecticut river men by their checked shirts, saying that they wore their mother's aprons for shirts. In 1768, Benjamin Tappan, who had just removed to Northampton, was much impressed by the number of checked shirts he saw in the meeting-house on Sunday. All the men, he said, had them on but five or six.

As the material for these garments¹ was nearly all made at home, the merchants did not usually keep much cloth in stock. They dealt mainly in trimmings, silk, twist, buttons and linings. Occasionally a few yards of broadcloth would be purchased by thrifty farmers or mechanics, but ordinarily the cloth for every-day garments was not to be found at the village store.

Men's Clothing Nearly all the men's clothing was made up
 made by Seam- by women. Few tailors could be found in
 stresses, any of the inland towns. Sometimes tail-
 ors and shoemakers went from house to house. They were
 newsmongers as well as artizans, and retailed the gossip of

1 For a coat, vest and breeches about three and one-half yards of broadcloth were required and about five yards of kersey or other narrower material. The three garments were usually made from the same or similar cloth; no vestings were manufactured. For the vest about as much cloth was used as for the breeches; it was quite long and had enormous flaps. Buttons were of brass or other metal, or of mohair or silk. An ordinary coat required usually three dozen buttons, to keep it in proper shape, and occasionally room was found for the fourth dozen.

the neighborhood or the news of the day. There were also itinerant tailoresses, though some of them carried on the business at their own homes. They plied their trade in different families, much as do the dressmakers of the present day. Catherine (Phelps), wife of Simeon Parsons, carried on the tailoring business for more than forty years, during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Commonly she employed three or four apprentices, and sometimes more. Those who boarded themselves served for a year; if she boarded them, they worked for her eighteen months. She made garments for most of the men in Northampton, and for many in other towns. Major Hawley, Major Dwight, Mr. Stoddard, and a few others, had their coats made in Boston, but their vests and knee-breeches were made by Mrs. Parsons. Her price for coats was from 6s. to 10s.; for breeches, if made plain, 4s.; but if more elaborate, she charged 6s. For making vests her charge was 4s. Major Hawley and others would employ her to turn their coats, after they had become worn. For many years after Mrs. Parsons was married, in 1752, there was no tailor in town.

Women's Garments. The every-day dress of women, like that of men, was of homespun material. It was worn and reworn, perhaps not so often made over as at the present day, but the goods were much more durable. Linen and woolen, cotton and silk were used. Almost every one purchased "speckled calico," but ordinarily not in sufficient quantities for dresses. A material called "garlix" or "garlet," was in great demand. It was a species of linen, indispensable in every household. "Lockram" was much used by both sexes for undergarments, before people manufactured cloth of flax for that purpose. "Slesy" (silecia) was another kind of cloth much in use. The fashions were plain, and the dresses were intended for service rather than show. There was always a dress for Sunday of better material and more fashionable cut than the working-day garments. It was preserved with great care for many years and sometimes for more than one generation. Women bought many things of the merchants, but very few dress-goods. Most of the material used for gowns and

undergarments was made at home. It was coarse and heavy, but well made and substantial. The trimmings were of the greatest importance, and these with aprons, "scarves," hoods, stays, and articles of neckwear were purchased at the stores. Apparently everyone was her own dressmaker, and though there may have been sewers who made themselves useful throughout the town, dress-making establishments did not flourish in the country. No bonnets seem to have been sold in those days, milliners were unknown, and the traders dealt in nothing that is named as belonging to the head, except hoods, and very little for the feet. Some bought hats at the hatters, and others, hoods, coifs, etc., of the storekeepers. The shoemakers made all the shoes, the ladies knit their own, as well as the family stockings and mittens, and manufactured most of their own head-gear.¹

A Girl's Setting Out. Mindwell, daughter of John Lyman of Northampton, married John Montague Jr., of Hadley, in 1712. She had for her "setting out" the following articles:—

"7 chairs, and one great chair	0.16.6
Pillion and Pillion Cloth	0.05.0
Spinning Wheel, flyers, & Spindle & quill	0.06.0
Pr Andirons 15 ^s , Slice and tongs 11 ^s	1.06.0
Trammel 4 ^s , Warming Pan 16 ^s	1.00.0
Frying pan 6 ^s , Iron Kettle 11 ^s	0.17.0
Iron Pot 14 ^s , Brass Kettle 68 ^s	4.02.0
7 pewter platters 45 ^s	2.05.0
6 pewter plates 7 ^s 6 ^d , Tin pan 3 ^s 6 ^d	0.11.0
3 Basons, Salt cellar, 7 porringers dram cup and ten tumblers	0.12.0
Chamber pot 4 ^s , Beer qt. pot 7 ^s 4 ^d , and 5 alchemy spoons 7 ^s 4 ^d	0.11.4 sic
2 brass skillets with frames	0.10.0
Box and irons 5 ^s 6 ^d , Candlestick 1 ^s	0.06.6
Vinegar Earthen jug & other Earthen	0.05.0

1 Women did much needlework outside of their own families. They made garments of all kinds for men, women and children. Early in the last century the average price for making a gown was 3s. 6d., though a crape gown cost 4s., while one of a more ordinary kind cost but 1s. 6d.; for making stays 5s. 6d. was charged; for a pair of leather breeches, 5s.; for a coat and jacket, 3s. 6d.; linen breeches, 2s. 6d. Samuel Pomeroy Jr., was a tailor in 1720. He cut and made men's garments and was called "Stitcher" Pomeroy."

2 wooden bowls, 3 dishes 3 platters & 10 trenchers	0.04.8
Cupboard 60 ^s , carved chest 30 ^s	4.10.0
Plain chest 5 ^s , Table 12 ^s	0.17.0
Looking glass & drinking glass	0.03.0
Trunk 6 ^s , 4 Cushions 6 ^s	0.12.0
Feather bed, bolster, pillows & beers	6.00.0
Coverlids 60 ^s , Curtains & Valence 48 ^s	5.00.0 sic
4 prs. pillow beers, 6 napkins, 2 table cloths, 8 towels & a cupboard cloth	1.08.0
11 sheets 95 ^s	4.15.0
	<hr/>
	37.03.0''

CHAPTER II.

FATHER RÂLE'S WAR.

Another War Cloud Darkens the Horizon. AFTER an interval of peace, lasting something less than ten years, another Indian war broke out in the eastern section of the colony. During that brief period the towns scattered along the banks of the Connecticut, recovered from the disasters of former conflicts, and became thrifty and prosperous. The twice abandoned town of Northfield had been permanently reoccupied, Deerfield had greatly increased in wealth and population, and a new settlement had been commenced at Swampfield (Sunderland).

England and France not engaged in this War. The fourth conflict with the Indians, known as Father Râle's war, was not an international conflict. In it England and France took no active part. Massachusetts and New Hampshire only were engaged in hostilities with the tribes inhabiting what is now the State of Maine. The Indians with whom it was waged, while not openly aided by the French in Canada, were secretly encouraged by the government of that country. Though active hostilities were in progress but four years, and though the principal battle-ground was in the far eastern section of the province, there was universal alarm along the western frontier, and the valley towns were in a state of constant trepidation. While little actual bloodshed occurred in this section, there were occasional inroads, and uninterrupted vigilance and circum-spection were demanded. Anything more than a brief summary of the causes which led to the rupture is unnecessary in this connection.

The Abenaki Indians encouraged by the Jesuits to Oppose the English.

By the treaty of Utrecht, Acadia and Nova Scotia came into the possession of Great Britain. But the Abenaki Indians, inhabiting that territory, disputed the claims of the English, when the latter began to repeople the abandoned settlements and establish new ones. The red men could not understand how their allies could have relinquished the country to their common enemies. Appealing to the French in Canada to ascertain if the country had changed owners, they were encouraged to resist the advance of the English, and claim proprietorship in the soil. The boundaries of these two provinces had not been clearly defined, and a controversy arose concerning them. Having been advised that the treaty with the English made no mention of their territory, the Abenakis decided to resist any further occupancy of their hunting-grounds. For more than twenty-five years missions had been established by the Jesuits among these tribes, by means of which they obtained a powerful ascendancy over the Indians. Most conspicuous among these institutions was that of Father Râle, and it was owing mainly to his influence that the Abenakis were constrained to oppose the further intrusion of the English. An attempt was made to establish a Protestant mission, in order to counteract in some degree the influence of the Catholics, but it met with no success, and on its final abandonment, left but an intensified bitterness of feeling that only paved the way for future hostilities.

War Declared.

Gov. Shute, in 1717, negotiated a satisfactory treaty with the Abenakis, which was observed for three years. But when on the death of the old chief, he attempted to renew it, he was thwarted by Jesuit influence. Finding that it was impossible, owing to the instructions of Father Râle, to carry on further negotiations, Gov. Shute, in Dec. 1721, sent an armed force to capture the priest. Having been notified of its approach, the latter fled to the woods. His papers fell into the hands of the English, and his perfidy, as well as that of the Governor of Canada, already suspected, was amply confirmed. In June following, the Indians, under instructions from Father Râle, went on the war-path, captured a number of

persons near Merry Meeting Bay, and burned the town of Brunswick. During this time negotiations for a settlement of these troubles were in progress with Vaudreuil, Gov. of Canada; but while apparently friendly towards Massachusetts, he adroitly managed to foil them all. It was in connection with this service that Joseph Kellogg and Thomas Baker visited Canada,¹ as bearers of dispatches. Though hostile acts had been performed by both parties, no formal declaration of war on the part of the government of Massachusetts was made till July, 1722. At the same time a bounty of £15, which was soon after increased to £100, was offered for every Indian scalp obtained. A body of English troops was at once dispatched to the scene of operations, and the Abenakis were reinforced by nearly 200 Indians sent from Canada.

Commanders in Hampshire County. The immediate theater of the war was remote from this section of the Province, but it was uncertain how soon a horde of savages might invade the Hampshire villages. Preparations for the defence of the valley towns were promptly begun. Col. John Stoddard was second in command in the county, under the venerable Col. Samuel Partridge of Hatfield, then in his 77th year. Capt. Samuel Barnard of Deerfield, with ninety men garrisoned the towns of Northfield and Deerfield. His company contained sixteen men from Northampton, and was in the service from July to November. Both towns were put in a good posture for defence, and scouts were sent up the Connecticut River, eastward to the great Monadnock, and across the Ashuelot and Contocook Rivers. No enemy, however, appeared during that year.

Attempts to Negotiate with the Canada Indians. When it became known that Vaudreuil was giving encouragement to the eastern Indians, fears were entertained lest the tribes in Canada, influenced by the French, should declare war and attack the western towns. Attempts were made to form treaties of neutrality with them, but without success, for the French had already arrayed them against the Eng-

¹ See vol. 1, p. 490.

lish. It was considered of the first importance to conciliate the Indian nations, and either to secure their alliance or a pledge from them to observe strict neutrality. Commissioners were sent to negotiate with the Five Nations in 1721, Col. Stoddard being one of them. A proposition was entertained for a conference with a delegation from the Indian nations to be held at Deerfield, but it was not carried out. Negotiations were resumed in the fall of the following year, which resulted in an Indian delegation being sent to Boston in August, 1723. But no arrangement could be made with the red men. While professing friendship, and eagerly accepting the presents offered, they were averse to joining in open hostilities, though permission was granted to their young men to take service with the English on their own responsibility. It was feared that the Canada Indians, piqued by these proceedings on the part of the white men, would at once swoop down upon the river settlements.

Gray Lock Appears. These forebodings were in a measure realized when Gray Lock, with four companions, appeared on the northern frontiers about the middle of August. Two men were killed at Northfield, three at Rutland, and two others captured. In the latter encounter, one of the Indians was shot and another wounded. The marauders fled to Canada with their prisoners, both of whom were subsequently redeemed. Gray Lock was one of the chieftains with whom an alliance had been sought.

Cavalry Ordered on Duty. At this time there were two companies of cavalry in Hampshire County, one under the command of Capt. Henry Dwight of Hatfield, and the other commanded by Capt. Adijah Dewey of Westfield. Capt. Dewey was ordered by Col. Partridge, on the 30th of August, to march to the upper towns with his company, to serve fourteen days, "scouting and repairing to the places of most danger." He was then to be relieved by Capt. Dwight's company, and they were to serve, relieving each other every two weeks, for a campaign of eight weeks. Intelligence was received from Albany that a body of fifty Indians had crossed the lake, September 1st, with the intention of attacking the frontier towns. On the

11th of October Capt. Dewey was ordered to march forthwith to Deerfield, send one half his company to Northfield to guard the people while gathering their harvest, and to range and scout the woods to the northwest.

Assault on North-
field. These orders came too late: the enemy were at their bloody work before the troops received them. On the 9th the Indians assaulted a party of men at work in the Northfield meadows. One man was killed, two were wounded, and a third, Samuel Dickinson, captured and taken to Canada. He had been previously taken prisoner at Hatfield. In June of the following year he was redeemed, and returned to Deerfield, bringing important information concerning the movements of the enemy. After this alarm a company of Connecticut troops was on duty at Northfield four weeks. In November the General Court ordered that a company of forty men should be enlisted, and placed under the command of Lieut. Joseph Kellogg, who was commissioned as its Captain. This company remained at Northfield during the winter.

Capt. Benjamin
Wright offers
his Services. Capt. Benjamin Wright, whose exploits form a brilliant page in the history of his time (being then a resident of Northfield), proffered his services to the government, asking the "liberty of commanding forty or fifty men to go on the track of this army, which came to Northfield, as far as Otter Creek, and then round to White River and home by Connecticut River." Col. Stoddard, about this time, suggested that an expedition to St. Francis, the headquarters of the Canada Indians, would be of great service, and that four hundred men would be sufficient. But "as the winter was far advanced," it was not thought "best to attempt the march, but of service to send forty or fifty men to Otter Creek and White River." Nothing, however, was done at this time.

A Blockhouse Built
above Northfield. When affairs became serious and threatening, the authorities decided to construct a blockhouse above Northfield, and there maintain a garrison, for the purpose of scouting along the frontier, and giving seasonable warning of the approach of

an enemy. Authorized by the Legislature on the 27th of December, 1723, it was built on "Equivalent Lands" in the town of Brattleboro, on the west bank of the Connecticut River, on what is now known as "Brooks Farm."¹ Col. Stoddard was ordered to superintend the building of the fort. In February, 1724, he writes that he had committed the work to Lieut. Timothy Dwight of Northampton, who had under him a detail of "4 carpenters, 12 soldiers with narrow axes, and 2 teams." The structure was built of yellow pine logs, hewn and laid up after the manner of an ordinary log house. This blockhouse was about one hundred eighty feet square, houses being built against the walls, leaving the center open and unobstructed, for a parade-ground.

Opposition to the Building of the Blockhouse. Allusions in the correspondence of Col. Stoddard, indicate that there was considerable opposition in Northampton, if not in other places, to the establishment of this fort. In November, Col. Stoddard writes, "Many find fault with it (the blockhouse), some out of ignorance, and more out of perverseness." The opposition, however, amounted to but little, and was not long continued. It had some effect upon the political fortunes of Col. Stoddard, and contributed largely to his defeat in the contest for representative in that year, though dissatisfaction with the Sewer Commission, already noted,² had perhaps as great an influence. The fort was of great value during the war, and served an excellent purpose. Col. Stoddard frequently alludes to its utility. Writing to Gov. Dummer, in August, he says:—"No party of the enemy hath passed the fort without being discovered, which has been the means of preserving many lives." For some time after its erection it was known as the "Blockhouse," but was afterwards named "Fort Dummer," by Capt. Dwight, in honor of the then acting Governor of the Province. Capt. Dwight, with a company of fifty-five men, held command of the fort during the war. According to his report, its cost in labor and materials was £256.4.1.

1 Sheldon's History of Deerfield, vol. 1, p. 407.

2 Vol. 1, p. 521.

Lieut. Searl, Chap- When Capt. Dwight was ordered to build
lain Daniel and garrison the blockhouse, he selected
Dwight. for his second in command Lieut. Elisha
Searl, who when a boy, had been captured by the Indians
at Pascommuck, carried to Canada, and afterwards re-
turned.¹ Col. Stoddard thus endorses him: "He is now a
Sergeant under Capt. Kellogg; was put in at the request of
the assembly, on his return from Canada, where he had
long been a prisoner. He seems to be a discreet and care-
ful man." Capt. Dwight had not long been on duty at the
new fort, before he applied for a Chaplain. He writes:
"We shall lead a heathenish life, unless a chaplain be
allowed" them. Consequently, in July his request was
granted by the appointment of Daniel Dwight² of North-
ampton, who served two years. His salary was £100. The
muster-roll of Capt. Dwight's company contains the names
of but three Northampton men, Captain, Lieutenant, and
Chaplain.

Col. Stoddard Sug- In March, Col. Stoddard reiterated the propos-
gests the use of al of his father, made twenty years be-
Dogs. fore,³ that dogs should be used in the pur-
suit of Indians. Another twenty years passed, however,
before the suggestion was carried into effect in this vicini-
ty. In a letter dated Northampton, March 27th, 1724, Col.
Stoddard writes:—

"If the Indians do not join us shortly, it will be best that a number
of good dogs be provided, which I hope may near as well answer our
design, for I think they may be instructed to pursue an enemy, and if
they should kill an Indian it will more effectually prevent their coming
than the killing of 20 in any other way."

Indians to Serve in Fort Dummer was an outpost, headquarters
the Fort. of observation, from which scouting parties
were sent in all directions, and as Indians
were thought to be expert in such business, an attempt was
made to engage them for service there. Capt. Kellogg was
sent to Albany to enlist them, but few only were obtained,
and those who were employed were careful to absent them-
selves when any fighting was to be done.

¹ Vol. 1, p. 496.

² Daniel Dwight was the third son of Nathaniel Dwight of Northampton, and was afterwards a minister at Charlestown, S. C.

³ Vol. 1, p. 477.

Garrisons in North-
field and Deer-
field.

Garrisons, composed largely of men from the valley towns, were kept constantly in Northfield and Deerfield. Capt. Kellogg was in command there, his Lieutenant being John Pomeroy of Northampton. The utmost vigilance was required to ward off threatened danger. Reports that bands of Indians were seen in various directions, were frequent, and traces of them were everywhere visible.

Disaster at Hatfield.

Gray Lock, who had returned to the scene of his former exploit, made an attack on the 18th of June, upon a party of men who were haying about three miles above Hatfield. Benjamin Smith was killed and Aaron Wells and Joseph Allis taken captive. The savages also killed two oxen in one of the farm wagons and disappeared as suddenly as they came. Col. Partridge immediately sent out men in different directions in pursuit, but as usual, the enemy escaped. Joseph Allis was killed the next day, and a detachment of twenty-one men, in addition to those already ordered out, started for Otter Creek. It was commanded by Sergt. Joseph Clesson and Joseph Wait, both of whom were Northampton men. They suffered greatly in their hurried and hazardous pursuit. When they started "they were Lusty & in good plight—Effective men;" when they returned they were "much emaciated & their feet so Swolen and galled that they could scarce Travel." Gray Lock spent the summer hovering about the settlements, and succeeded in killing several men in different towns. His headquarters were at Missisquoi Bay, just above the Vermont line in Canada.

Scarcity of Men.

The necessity for constant scouting so depleted the settlements of men that there were not enough left to carry on the customary work and do guard-duty. The need of additional soldiers in every town was most conclusively shown by the above attack. On this point Col. Partridge writes:—

"Our Towns all the day are so emptied of men that we are very much exposed & the Enemy seem to shape there course upon the lower Towns and our men abroad at their work in a moments tyme may be shot down before anything can be seen who it is that doth it."

In this connection Joseph Hawley writes from Northampton to Col. Partridge, suggesting that this and other towns should have eight or ten men to scout and do guard duty, and that stores, especially Indian shoes and "biscake," should be provided in each town.

An Indian Ambuscade.

Traces of a party of Indians, to the number of forty, were discovered on the east side of Connecticut River, in June. Col. Partridge ordered out forty men from Northampton, Hadley, and Hatfield to follow the enemy and protect Sunderland. Another detachment led by Capt. Wells, went from Deerfield, on the same errand. Neither party discovered any Indians and it was believed that the savages had fled. As the men from Deerfield were returning in fancied security, the leading file was fired upon by Indians in ambuscade, about three miles above that place, and Ebenezer Sheldon¹ of Northampton, Thomas Colton and Jeremiah English, a friendly Indian, were killed. The soldiers immediately charged upon the enemy, as they were scalping the slain, but they fled into the woods and escaped, though briskly pursued. Ten packs were recovered, and it was afterwards ascertained that two of the Indians died of their wounds. Ebenezer Sheldon was the son of Ebenezer, and grandson of Isaac Sheldon, the first of the name who settled in Northampton. He was about twenty-five years of age, and a member of the military company stationed at Deerfield.

Proclamation against Selling Liquor to the Indians.

While these bloody tragedies were in progress, while it was uncertain whether the crops upon which the inhabitants depended for their subsistence could be gathered, while the government was straining every nerve to conciliate the western tribes, and treat with those in Canada, sending them thousands of pounds in presents, while soldiers were scarce, and the air was thick with rumors of hostile inva-

¹ "There is a tradition in the Sheldon family that Ebenezer was killed by a hatchet thrown by one of the enemy, which stuck in his skull; that he wore silver shoe buckles, which an Indian was trying to get off when interrupted by the fire of Capt. Wells. The buckles were bent in the attempt, but not secured. The hatchet and the buckles were long kept in the Sheldon family at Northampton, as mementoes of that bloody day."—Sheldon's History of Deerfield, vol. 1, p. 421.

sion, there were men living within the sound of the guns that killed their neighbors and friends, so lost to all sense of honor and patriotism, as to furnish fire-water to the Indians, receiving for it in many instances, the very gifts which the government had just presented to them. So pronounced had this evil become that Lieut. Gov. Dummer, in June, was forced to issue his proclamation against the nefarious practice. He says :—

“Divers evil minded persons, especially in Hampshire County, for the sake of lucre, have taken and received arms, ammunition, clothing and provisions of divers Indians of the 5 nations for strong drink, sold to them contrary to law,” and warns them not to continue the evil practice.

Aid Solicited from Connecticut. Rumors from Canada of the departure of seven hundred Indians in small squads to slay and pillage in New England, added greatly to the alarm in the valley, and upon their confirmation an appeal was made to Connecticut for reinforcements. Gov. Saltonstall sent up Capt. Goodrich with seventy-five men, Capt. Walter Butler with thirty men, and a company of forty-two Indians. The first named company and the Indians remained only a short time, but Capt. Butler and his command stayed till October.

Conference with the Five Nations. Col. Stoddard and Col. Schuyler, appointed to treat with the Indians, were in conference with them for several months. Capt. Kellogg acted as interpreter, and in company with Capt. Ebenezer Pomeroy, of Northampton, who had been appointed one of the commissioners, went to Albany in the latter part of May. Negotiations were continued during the month of June, and on the 3^d of July, a treaty of peace was concluded with the Canada Indians, and a covenant made with the Five Nations. The latter undertook to persuade the eastern Indians to treat for peace, and in case they refused, agreed to compel them to do so by force of arms. This arrangement, like so many others entered into with the red men, was of no especial value. The Five Nations did not succeed in intimidating the Abenakis, who refused to make peace with the English till their lands were restored to them and their hostages returned.

Express Messengers
and Couriers. Official communication between the extremities of the Commonwealth was made by means of posts, express riders or couriers, always on horseback. This was toilsome and difficult in the best of times, but positively dangerous when the Indians were hostile. Yet there were hardy and courageous men constantly employed in this duty, most of whom, even when the peril was greatest, went alone. Particularly during the wars were the services of these men important and valuable. They made most excellent time, almost marvelous, when the state of the country is taken into account. Not only was the way beset with dangers from Indian scouts, but the paths, for most of the distance, were but single trails. Roads, in the common acceptation of the word, there were none, even within the limits of the oldest plantations. Yet these men were scarce twenty-four hours on the way between Albany and Northampton, or between Northampton and Boston. Man or beast had little time for rest while on duty.

One of the most prominent and courageous of the men employed in this section, was Benjamin Alvord of Northampton. His first experience was during this war, from 1722 to 1726, and he acquitted himself so acceptably, that his services were in demand for many years after. While the above negotiations were going forward, he seems to have been almost constantly on the road. He started with dispatches from Albany on the 19th of June, was in Northampton the next day, and set out for Boston the day following. Another person engaged in this work was Benjamin King, and on one occasion at least, they went in company. At this time Joseph Hawley, in a letter to Col. Partridge, writes as follows:—

“According to your desire I have procured a man to go to Boston on his Majts Service: viz: Daniel King. * * * Sir since I wrote the above Benj Alvord is come from Albany, ordered to Boston, and to travel to-day. I would advise y^r King go along with Him think it to much boldness for one to travel alone especially upon public service. * * King is now at Hadly wth Alvord waiting your Honors pleasure.”¹

The following year the horse of John Kingsley of Northampton, was impressed for Alvord's use to go to Albany,

1 Sheldon's History of Deerfield, vol. 1, p. 419.

and Kingsley received £4 in payment for its hire. He claimed that the horse was left for some days in the woods and thereby injured.

The Indians get in
More Work.

Meanwhile the war continued. Parties of marauders lurked in the woods, plundering at every opportunity, killing, scalping, or making prisoners of any white men upon whom they came unawares. In July, a party of savages plundered several unoccupied houses at the "Bars" in Deerfield, the settlers having retired within the stockade for safety during the night. A day or two afterwards a party of farmers at work in Deerfield north meadow, were attacked while on their way home, near nightfall, and two of them wounded. The whole country was alarmed, and in the upper towns guards of thirty or forty men were sent out daily, while the work of harvesting was in progress. Indian signs were discovered in Springfield, and the inhabitants petitioned for a guard while gathering their harvest. They were referred to Connecticut, and about thirty Pequots came to their aid.

A Northampton
Party Attacked.

Notwithstanding the general alarm and constant danger from roving bands of Indians, much carelessness or foolhardy courage was manifested on every hand, else such incidents as the following had not occurred. On the 26th of August, Nathaniel Edwards 2^d, Abram Miller, Reuben Corse, and one other, whose name has not been preserved, all from Northampton, went with teams to the vicinity of Bartlett's Mill (Easthampton) to gather flax in Pomeroy's Meadow, on Manhan River. They were without a guard, and evidently took no precautions for safety. The Indians, concealed by the roadside, were watching the party, and as they started to return, fired upon them, killing Nathaniel Edwards, and wounding Abram Miller. Edwards was with the last team, and having been detained at the ford, fell behind his companions. The tragedy occurred "on the Northampton side of the brook, this side of Ocran Clapps house"¹ "nere unto Joseph Bartlett's house, about

¹ Judd MSS.

4 score rods from s^d house, towards Northampton,"¹ "a few rods south of the residence of Samuel Phelps."² He ran about twenty rods after receiving the fatal wound, and fell dead. The savages took his scalp and his gun. Miller and his companions fled to Northampton, reporting that they had been attacked by a large number of Indians. A party at once set out in pursuit, but were unable to find the enemy. They brought the body of Edwards back with them. A pile of stones marked the spot where he fell, near the top of the hill, for fifty years. Reuben Corse was the brother-in-law of Edwards.³ Nathaniel Edwards was the son of Samuel, and grandson of Alexander Edwards, a first settler; he was thirty-nine years of age. Within a few days, Samuel Edwards, brother of Nathaniel, and several others who were putting hay into stacks at Baker's Meadow (Florence), were ambushed by the Indians, but escaped unharmed.

Edwards' Gun Re-
covered.

On the day following the above disaster, a number of Indians were discovered in the vicinity of Westfield. In the pursuit, one white man was wounded and one Indian killed, upon whom was found the gun of Nathaniel Edwards. Noah Ashley, who shot the Indian, received £100 for his scalp.

Death of F a t h e r
Râle.

In August an expedition consisting of two hundred eight men, under command of Capts. Harmon and Moulton, was sent to destroy the headquarters of the Abenakis at Norridgewock, and capture Father Râle, if possible. They succeeded in surprising the enemy, and killed a number of noted Indian chiefs. The Jesuit Missionary Râle, the instigator and promoter of the war, was among the slain. He was killed in the heat of battle, while encouraging his men, and aiding them in their own defence. The town was plundered and burned. A large number of Indians were slain and many scalps taken to Boston. From this blow the Norridgewock tribe never recovered, and the disaster sensibly dampened the spirits of the Canada Indians.

1 Col. Partridge's Letter, Aug. 27, 1724.

2 Lyman's History of Easthampton, p. 19.

3 Tradition, see Lyman, p. 19.

Capt. Lovewell's Fatal Expedition.

Capt. Lovewell, from Dunstable, with a company of volunteers, made several expeditions against the eastern tribes, in two of which he was quite successful, killing a dozen or more of the enemy. In April, 1725, he started on another enterprise, with a party of forty-four men. Coming suddenly upon a large body of Indians near Ossipee, a desperate fight ensued, in which Capt. Lovewell and most of his men were killed.

Another Unsuccessful Peace Negotiation.

In December, in response to a dispatch from Col. Schuyler, stating that Mons. Vaudreuil was ready to render assistance in arranging a treaty with the Indians, Lieut.-Gov. Dudley appointed an embassy, consisting of his son William Dudley, and Col. Stoddard, to proceed to Canada, and enter upon negotiations. The Governor of New Hampshire appointed Thomas Atkinson to represent that colony. Col. Stoddard was unable to accept the appointment. Probably he had not forgotten his diplomatic encounter with the wily Frenchman twelve years before, when he sought the release of the English captives. Samuel Thaxter was substituted, and the commissioners set out on their journey. They reached Montreal on the 13th of March, 172 $\frac{1}{2}$, and three days afterwards had their first interview with the French Governor. Several other conferences were had with him, but with his usual tact he parried all their propositions. It was not till the 24th of April, that the Indian delegates and the commissioners met, and then it was found that the former were in no mood to negotiate, except upon their own terms. Acting under the advice of Vaudreuil,¹ they demanded the restitution of their lands, indemnity for the death of Father Râle, and the demolition of their

1 "Being persuaded that nothing was more opposed to his Majesty's interests than peace between the Abenakis and the English, the safety of the Colony on its eastern frontier having been the sole object of this war, M. de Vaudreuil thought of sounding the chiefs of these Indians on their arrival and before they should speak to the English, and of insinuating to them that it was not enough to demand of the English the demolition of the forts they had built on the Abenakis territory, and the restitution of their lands and prisoners, but that the death of Father Râle and of a great number of their people, whom they had killed, and the burning of their Church, ought to make them demand heavy indemnities, without which they ought not listen to any proposals for peace, or a suspension of hostilities."—N. Y. Col. Documents, vol. 9, p. 948.

church. To yield all that the Abenakis insisted upon was impossible, and the envoys could only return home and report.

Three Northampton Men Drowned. While this commission was carrying on its work, a large scouting party was dispatched towards the frontiers of Canada, under Capt. Thomas Wells of Deerfield. On their return, on the 24th of April, a canoe, containing Lieut. Joseph Clesson, Samuel Hammum, Simeon Pomeroy, Thomas Alexander and Noah Allen, while crossing the Connecticut, was upset near the mouth of Miller's River, and Pomeroy, Alexander and Allen, all soldiers from Northampton, were drowned. Simeon Pomeroy was the son of Ebenezer Pomeroy (grandson of Medad), and twenty-two years of age; Thomas Alexander was the son of Nathaniel Alexander and was twenty-eight years old; and Noah Allen was the son of Joseph Allen, about twenty-one years of age. This was the most serious loss that befell Northampton during the war.

In November, Ebenezer Pomeroy, Samuel Allen, Joseph Clesson, Samuel Hammum, and Nathaniel Alexander, petitioned in behalf of themselves and relatives in the service as volunteers, for pay for clothes, guns, blankets, etc., lost at this time. Capt. Pomeroy was allowed 90s.; Lieut. Joseph Clesson, £8.5.0; Samuel Allen, 80s.; Samuel Hammum, 80s.; Nathaniel Alexander, £5. Alexander represented that he had spent a great part of his life in service against the Indian enemy, was now old, and his son Thomas was drowned under Capt. Wells.

Gray Lock and his Fort. The noted chief Gray Lock was quite conspicuous during this war. Not only was the first attack in this county attributed to him, but to his tribe were charged many of the atrocities committed within its borders. Having formerly lived at Warranoak, or on the Westfield River, he was familiar with this entire section of country, and was able to accomplish much mischief. Several attempts were made to conciliate him, but without result. His headquarters were at Missisquoi Bay, within the borders of Canada, where he had a

fort. From the opening of hostilities the authorities cherished a plan for demolishing this stronghold. Its capture was included in the proposed raid upon the St. Francis Indians, and the fighting captains in Hampshire County were eager for permission to lead an expedition for its destruction. But nothing was accomplished, and it was not till May, 1725, that any decided movement was made to that end. Early in that year, Gov. Dummer suggested to Col. Partridge that Capt. Benjamin Wright should be sent upon an expedition to the Canada frontiers. Though the Governor¹ may not have had in mind Gray Lock's fort as an objective point. After Gov. Dummer had suggested the enterprise to Col. Partridge, Capt. Wright sent the following letter to his excellency : —

“ Northampton, May 29, 1725.

Sir I Received an order from Co^l Partridge Pursuant to your Houner's directions for me, to wait upon him, In order to Inlist men to Goe in Quest of the enemy. Sir. I am very Willing to Goe and doe what I can but y^e undertaking being so very difcolt, and y^e fitting out so chargable y^t the men Cant Possibly Goe upon y^e Encorridgment but if there was a suitable Encorridgment, No doubt but men would Goe (but y^e unhappy Loss of y^e men in y^e Last Expedition, by y^e mismanigment of y^e officers² has very mneh disspirited People young and old) and it seems to me y^e Probable Place to be attained, and y^e most Sarviceable when done, is Messesquich Gray Lock's fort but I would not Prescribe to your houner, but only Just offer my opinion, if y^e cannoes which was Last vsed In y^e expedition, was secured for y^e Government It Would be Well. I Remain Sir your obident and most Humb^le Sar^t.

BENJ. WRIGHT,

To y^e Hon^{bl}e Will^m Dummer Esq.

Left. Gov. & Command^r In chief &c.”

Capt. Wright's Expedition.

Col. Partridge advised that Wright's party should be allowed double pay if “ they return with scalps.” Capt. Wright speedily raised a company of sixty or seventy men, started from Northfield for Missisquoi Bay on the 25th of July, and returned on the 2^d of September. No traces of the enemy were found till they were well on their homeward way. Three Indians were discovered near Miller's River, but being mistaken for friends, they were permitted to escape.

1 In January, Gov. Dummer in a letter to Col. Stoddard, regretted that an attack had not already been made upon Gray Lock's Fort. But Stoddard thought the time inopportune, as commissioners were then in negotiation with the Indians.

2 Very probably he refers to the drowning of the three Northampton soldiers, alluded to above.

On the 23^d of August, their provisions having become nearly exhausted, the party turned homeward, not having been within sight of Gray Lock's fort. Capt. Wright's journal, showing the course and extent of the march, was forwarded to the Governor, and has been several times printed.¹

Special Military Guard Ordered for Northampton. About the middle of June, Lieut. Gov. Dummer ordered that ten men from this town should be detailed to scout, guard and watch within the town of Northampton. They were under the control of Capt. Ebenezer Pomeroy, but were commanded by Sergt. Joseph Clesson. One half the squad served at a time, alternating every few days. The following twelve names, however, are upon the muster-roll:— "Joseph Clesson, Sergt. John Miller, Samuel Allen, Josiah Pomeroy, and Benjamin Lyman, alternately; Joseph Wait, Ebenezer Corss, Ebenezer Kingsley, Gideon Parsons, Samuel Hannum, Medad King and Joseph Phelps, alternately." They were on duty from June 23^d to October 25th, at an expense for wages and subsistence, of £135.18.4.

Carelessness and its Results. Thus far the experience gained in Indian warfare seems to have been of little avail. The folly of visiting the outskirts of the settlements without a sufficient guard, which had so often proved fatal, taught the people nothing. Although the military authorities were persistent in their efforts to obtain a sufficient number of soldiers to protect the inhabitants in their necessary work, and the commanders zealous in their endeavors to caution and warn the citizens against too great carelessness, men constantly went about their usual employments without taking reasonable precautions for safety. On this point Col. Stoddard writes in September, in a letter to the Governor, as follows:—

"Our people live too careless, most of them live in secure places in the town where they depend upon being alarmed before they are in danger themselves. * * * I protested to our officers against our careless way of living, & used all arguments I was capable of to persuade them to order a watch that might be of some significance, in case of the approach of an enemy, but to very little purpose."

1 See History of Northfield, pp. 210-212; History of Deerfield, pp. 145, 416.

The heedlessness which caused the disaster in this town in 1724, was repeated at Deerfield in the following year. In August, five men went into the woods, searching for cattle, having but one gun among them. They were way-laid by Indians, and Dea. Samuel Field of Deerfield wounded. In September, a scouting party of six men, sent out from Fort Dummer, was attacked while at dinner; two of them were killed, three were captured and one escaped to tell the tale.

Capt Wright again
Ordered Out. Scarcely had Capt. Wright returned from his expedition (after Gray Lock) than he was again ordered to enlist another company of forty men, and scour the woods. He succeeded in obtaining twenty-five soldiers from among the northern troops and came to Northampton for the rest. But the sudden appearance of the enemy who caused the mischief in August and September, brought him an order to look after the safety of the upper towns, and very materially delayed his preparations. Col. Stoddard thought that if he could start immediately for Otter Creek, there might be a possibility of intercepting the marauders. But men and stores were hard to get, the pay of the soldiers was in arrears, cold weather was at hand, the duty was hazardous, the way difficult, and the impression prevailed that the red men were ready to bury the hatchet. Consequently Capt. Wright did not get away until the 10th of October; was gone about a week, but discovered nothing.

Peace Declared. Marquis de Vaudreuil died on the 25th of October, 1725. He was succeeded by the Marquis de Beauharnois, and soon after a treaty of peace was prepared. It was signed by both parties at Boston, December 15th, and ratified at Falmouth, Me., in August of the following year. Within a short time presents to the value of £300 were made to the Indians.

CHAPTER III.

LEGISLATIVE CONTEST—SOUTHAMPTON SETTLED.

The War Unnoticed
on the Town Rec-
ords.

SCARCELY anything appears upon the records of the various town-meetings held during these eventful years, relative to the war. The condition of affairs was similar to that which obtained during previous periods of strife and bloodshed. There was the same sudden enlistment and impressment of soldiers, the same billeting of men upon the inhabitants, the same excitement of guard-mounting, watching, warding and scouting. The startling alarm, followed by the same quick gathering, the same hurried pursuit, was supplemented by the sad and melancholy return, bearing the mutilated remains of friends, neighbors or kindred. The history of these four years was but a repetition of the daily life of the community during all those other years of Indian warfare. Through all the horrors of the situation, no notice of the possible danger, nor any suggestion for adequate protection, was deemed necessary by the town in its corporate capacity. Precautions were taken to guard against surprise, and for safety in case of a raid, but all these matters were left to the care and supervision of the military authorities. No real apprehension of a concerted attack upon the town was at any time manifested. Danger was most imminent from roving bands of Indians, small detachments of whom were known to be watching the settlements. As heretofore, men planted their fields or gathered their crops in constant fear. From all quarters came appeals to the authorities for guards, lest interruption to the work of the husbandman should bring famine and starvation. Throughout the war the enemy by means of a series of movements made by small bands, kept the country in a state of constant alarm, and steadily enlarged their collection of scalps. No attack was made upon

any town in the valley, but the Indians, constantly on the alert, fell upon such small unguarded companies of the settlers, engaged in their daily tasks, as came in their way.

No Fortifications deemed Necessary. Very little seems to have been done in the way of fortification during this war. But a single item of that nature appears upon the town books. In December, 1724, among the accounts allowed and paid by the Treasurer, is one for five loads of "poles" for "Mr Stoddard's fort, 2 lbs. of candles and wood and poles for the watch," the whole amounting to 46s. 8d. Mr. Stoddard's fort must have been either a palisade about his house, or a tower or place of rendezvous for the guard. The former method of enclosing the town with palisades was not again employed. A few years afterwards, during the next French and Indian war, a system of fortified houses was adopted. Other "forted houses" may have existed at this time, but in all probability the fortifications, if any, were erected by their owners and not at the public expense.

Schoolmaster's Wages Increased. No material interest of the town was neglected in consequence of the unsettled state of affairs. Though the citizens quarrelled among themselves, they were apparently united in carrying forward the work of sustaining those institutions that were vital to the welfare of the community. For a number of years the schoolmaster had been paid at the rate of £40 per year. An increase of £5 was voted in 1725, when Mr. Allis was employed. That sum was to be paid him for two years "provided He Continue in the School among us." Mr. Samuel Allis¹ lived in Hatfield, and there is an entry of 3s. paid "for going to Hatfield after the schoolmaster." The next year he was paid £48.

The Sewer Controversy Becomes a Political Factor. A division of sentiment of some years standing, existed in the community, arising from questions growing out of the acts of the sewer commission appointed to change the channel of

¹ Samuel Allis was the son of Ichabod Allis of Hatfield. He was graduated at Harvard College and ordained at East Enfield in 1727.

Mill River. That undertaking and its successful issue have already been detailed.¹ The controversy reached its height after the work had been accomplished, apparently centering upon the matter of assessments. Public opinion differed in regard to this question, and it entered largely into the representative election.

And upon it Turns
the Legislative
Contest.

For ten years, from 1716 to 1725, legislative honors were divided between Joseph Parsons Esq., and Col. John Stoddard. Previous to this date, five times in succession, from 1711 to 1715, Mr. Parsons had been elected. Col. Stoddard, then a young man, but of approved courage and ability, was first chosen in 1716. The year following Mr. Parsons was elected, and during the next three years Col. Stoddard bore the honors. In 1721, Col. Stoddard was defeated by Mr. Parsons, but was again successful in 1722 and 1723. Mr. Parsons came to the front again the next year, and from a sentence or two in the correspondence of Col. Stoddard, the inference may be drawn that the sewer quarrel was the main cause of his success, though dissatisfaction with the establishment of the blockhouse—Fort Dummer—may have aided in bringing about that result. Gov. Dummer in a letter to Col. Stoddard, written in May, 1724, says:—“I observe the choice your town has made. I am sorry for this ignorance and ingratitude.” Col. Stoddard replies, May 22^d:—“I hear that Mr. Parsons has promised to some whom it suits, two things, both unreasonable I think, 1st That the Block House shall be demolished or at least slighted; 2^d to obtain the dismissal of the commission of the Sewers.” The following year, however, Mr. Stoddard was again chosen.

Characters of the
Candidates.

Mr. Parsons, son of Cornet Joseph Parsons, was an old man, then in his 77th year. He was a wealthy landowner, and to him was accorded that title, so common in the rural districts of England, where each little community had its village squire. One of the few among the early settlers, to whom was given this significant appellation, he was one of the

¹ See vol. 1, pp. 518-524.

most honored, respected and influential men in the town. Col. Stoddard also belonged to the Puritan aristocracy. His father was the well-beloved and venerated minister, and to the confidence and popularity commanded by his own talents, were added the inherited dignity and esteem that descends from father to worthy son. During these ten years Mr. Stoddard was elected representative seven times, and Mr. Parsons three.

Other Controversies. Testimony of Jonathan Edwards.

This, however, was only one among the many dissensions that had occurred in the community, since the first controversy in which Edward Elmore was charged with having caused a disturbance which created "a breach or rent in the town concerning the Lord's dayes meetings." Rev. Jonathan Edwards bears the following testimony:—

"There were some mighty contests and controversies among them, in Mr. Stoddard's day; which were managed with great heat and violence: some great quarrels in the Church, wherein Mr. Stoddard, great as his authority was, knew not what to do with them. In one ecclesiastical controversy in Mr. Stoddard's day, wherein the church was divided into two parties, the heat of spirit was raised to such a degree, that it came to hard blows. A member of one party met the head of the opposite party, and assaulted him, and beat him unmercifully. * * There has been for forty or fifty years, a sort of settled division of the people into two parties, somewhat like the *Court* and *country party*, in England, (if I may compare small things with great). There have been some of the chief men in the town, of chief authority and wealth, that have been great proprietors of their lands, who have had one party with them. And the other party, which has commonly been the greatest, have been of those, who have been jealous of them, apt to envy them, and afraid of their having too much power and influence in town and church."¹

History Corroborates the Statements of Mr. Edwards.

While the previous history of the town too plainly corroborates the general statements of Mr. Edwards, no evidence has been discovered in any way bearing upon the cause of the bitter contest to which he alludes. One or two controversies crop out as the record advances, and in them all an evident jealousy between clans or parties is plainly noticeable. A difference of opinion whether upon an ecclesiastical or any other question, so pronounced as to lead to

¹ Dwight's Life of Edwards, pp. 463, 464.

blows, would naturally be expected to bring the antagonists before the criminal courts, but no record of any such result was made. The acts as well as the actors in that disgraceful episode, must remain forever hidden. There seems to have been on many occasions a lively clashing of opinions, which undoubtedly lead to other heated debates, and possibly to other knock-down arguments.

Caring for the Poor. Though measures had been taken early in the century to provide a poorhouse, it is not probable that such an institution was in existence at this time. The number of paupers must have been small. For 1728, the Treasurer's account names but four persons who were cared for by the town, at an expense of £19.4, and they were distributed among as many different people. Between six and seven pounds per year were paid for their entertainment, and in most cases they were cared for by their own relatives. A brother would be paid for boarding his sister, or a son or son-in-law for the care of his mother. Under such circumstances there seems to have been little need for a poorhouse.

Thomas Porter's Bargain. Items of expenditure for the care of paupers abound. Usually these accounts, never very large to any individual, were paid annually, but a departure from this practice was made in 1727. During that year Thomas Porter was given a small house and three quarters of an acre of land, near "Bartlett's gate," at the lower end of Pleasant Street, "where His Mother Now Lives," on condition "that He Shall free and Endemnify the Town from any Charge Respecting The Maintenance of His Mother in default of which the s^d House and Land to Revert to the Town again." Porter seems to have had the best of the bargain, for his mother died in the following year, and in 1730, he sold the place to Jonathan Burt for £40. This lot was first granted to Robert Danks, probably during the Indian war, he built a house upon it, and lived there several years. In 1684, the town gave him other lands in Nashawannuck, in exchange for the homestead. It was owned in more recent years by the late Asahel Wood.

First Settlement in Southampton. The prophecy¹ of Mr. Stoddard, made at the opening of the century, that "many young men would plant themselves" on the strip of land between Northampton and Westfield, and that vicinity, "and so make a village in time," showed the first sign of fulfillment about the time of his death. Settlers began to turn their attention in that direction in 1729,² though definite action was not taken till the following year. Measures were then adopted which resulted in the settlement of the town of Southampton. A division of the land in that section was made by the proprietors of Northampton, in 1730, and the first settlers planted themselves there permanently during that and the succeeding year. This division was made "amongst the original or ancient proprietors, their heirs or assigns or to any that hold by purchase under the ancient or original proprietors." The design seems to have been to grant the land only to actual settlers, the conditions being that they should occupy their home lots within two years. Some to whom grants were made, declined to remove, and others were substituted. The first mention of the new plantation upon the Northampton records was made December 11, 1732, when an order was passed to "Lay out a Highway over the Branch of Munhan River, at or Near Pumroy's Meadow, or Some other Sutable and Convenient Place, so as to Accommodate the New Settlements." Preaching was provided the next year, and Rev. Joseph Ashley³ was the first minister named as having been employed there. In December of that year, Northampton voted to pay £5 to those persons who had advanced that sum "for Divers Ministers who preached at the New Settlement Over Munhan River." From that time onward, appropriations were annually made to sustain preaching at "Newtown," till it was incorporated as a Precinct eight years afterwards. Mr. Ashley received from Northampton, £44, in 1734, for preaching and board, at the "new place over Munhan," and £50 in 1735. Two years afterwards, Mr. Noah Merrick is named as the New Town

1 See letter to Gov. Stoughton, vol. 1, p. 465.

2 There is a tradition that the first houses were built in Southampton in 1722 or 1724.

3 Rev. Joseph Ashley was the son of Samuel Ashley of Westfield, and was graduated from Harvard (?) in 1730. He was settled as pastor at Winchester, N. H., in 1736.

Minister, and he was paid £48. For a number of years £63 was paid to the Second Precinct for ministerial purposes.

Trespassers upon the
New Town Fined. No sooner had the new settlement begun before trespassing upon the territory commenced, or rather was first discovered.

It may have been and probably was practiced with impunity for many years. People residing to the southward, at Westfield and elsewhere, had been appropriating timber and using land to which they had no claim. Consequently in 1733, the town voted to prosecute

“all Such Persons as Have already or Shall Hereafter Committ any Trespass on the Lands belonging to the Town in the additionall Grant on the Southwardly Part of the Township, and Lying between the old Grant and Westfield bounds.”

This action, however, did not prevent the continuation of the unlawful practice. Fourteen years later Joseph Hawley was chosen agent to proceed against all such trespassers, and nine persons, residents of Westfield, were brought before the court, and fines to the amount of £73.16 were paid into the town treasury.

Destruction of Dea.
Ebenezer Hunt's
Shop by Fire. Dea. Ebenezer Hunt, a descendant in the third generation from Jonathan Hunt, one of the first settlers, came to Northampton from Lebanon, Ct., about the year 1729. He was by trade a “Felt Maker,” and in 1730 purchased the homestead, shop and business of Benjamin Stebbins, at the corner of Main and South Streets, now occupied by the Hampshire County Bank building, and adjoining stores to the west as far as the head of South Street. On the night of January 19th, 1733, his shop and contents were destroyed by fire. The loss was estimated at a trifle less than £200; the shop being valued at £50, and its contents at £147. Insurance was then an unknown quantity, and the friends and neighbors of Dea. Hunt subscribed the sum of £50 towards reimbursing his losses. Nearly every person in town gave something; a few individuals gave 30s. each, a number 20s., and the rest smaller amounts. The gifts were not all from Northampton, a number of persons residing in other towns participating. At that time silver was valued at 25s. per ounce.

It appears also that his friends were liberal in something besides money. Dea. Hunt alludes in his journal to the kindness of his

“christian friends and neighbors. They freely contributed in many ways to restore me into business. In nine days time I got to work at my trade in my new shop. The fire happened on Saturday morning; some timber was got that day for another shop and the remainder on Monday, and all hewed and some framing done; Wednesday it was raised; Thursday it was shingled, boarded and my bow room filled in with brick. Saturday I did something at my trade, and on Monday I was settled to business.”¹

Baiting Stock Restricted. In 1734, persons were prohibited from baiting cattle or horses in the common field and leaving them

“teddered in the Night time Nor In the Day time Save In His owne Land: or on Such part of the Highway as borders on His own Land and that No Cows be at any time Baited In s^d field: And that No person Bait any Cattle or Horse Kind In s^d field Save on His own Land.”

¹ Hunt's Journal, Judd MSS.

CHAPTER IV.

JONATHAN EDWARDS SETTLED AS COLLEAGUE PASTOR.

Pastorate of Rev. REV. Solomon Stoddard, the venerable and
Mr. Stoddard. venerated minister, had now reached his
82^d year, having passed by three years the
half century line of his pastorate. His life had been an
uncommonly active one. Town and church had prospered
greatly under his spiritual lead, and he had grown old and
infirm in the service of the people.

“While the existing members of the church, with scarcely an exception, regarded him as their spiritual father, all the acting inhabitants of the town, had grown up under his ministry, and had been accustomed, from infancy, to pay a respect to his person and character, and a deference to his opinions, such as children pay to those of a loved and venerated parent.”¹

Since his ordination the town had suffered the miseries, uncertainties and vicissitudes of four Indian wars. Friends and neighbors had been killed, wounded or carried away captive; houses had been burned; seasons of want and hardship had intervened; and yet notwithstanding all these discouragements the town had increased in wealth and population, and great additions had been made to the church. Always interested in the material as well as spiritual welfare of the town, zealous for everything that tended to its prosperity, few questions of real importance concerning its best interests, were decided without the approval of the venerable pastor. The large congregation was by no means harmonious, either in an ecclesiastical or worldly point of view. Wrangling and contention were rife, and rare tact and judgment were required to guide or arbitrate between them. But with the expansion and increase of the town came more arduous and exacting labors

¹ Dwight's Life of President Edwards, p. 109.

for the minister. Up to this time he had performed all his duties unaided, but the weight of years, together with other accumulating infirmities, rendered assistance in his work imperatively necessary. So feeble had he become that only with great difficulty was he able to preach more than once on the Sabbath. When his people began to realize the true condition of affairs, they at once and without hesitation set about providing a colleague. However much they may have been divided upon other matters, they were united and generous upon this proposition. At a town meeting held April 4th, 1725, the annexed votes were unanimously adopted:—

“The Town taking into Consideration that their Reverend Pastor Mr Solomon Stoddard being far advanced into years And that through His Age And Some Infirmity that He is attended withall the whole work of the Ministry being too Hard for Him.

“1st. Voted Unanimously to Gett Some Meett Person to Assist Him In the Work as above s^d.

2^y. Voted to Chuse a Committee to Manage the affair In Providing Such Person as above s^d.

“The Committee then Chosen for that Service Was :

JOHN STODDARD, Esq
 Capl. EBENEZER PUMROY
 Dea. EBEN^r WRIGHT
 Dea. JOHN CLARK
 Dea. SAM^l ALLYN
 JOSEPH HAWLEY
 JOSEPH PARSONS, Esq.”

Prompt Action by the Committee. Full powers were given to this committee to act in the premises, and they proceeded in their work without delay. Apparently some uncertainty existed as to the proper person to fill the position. Though many young clergymen throughout the country were eligible, public opinion had not then crystallized upon any individual. A question had undoubtedly come suddenly upon them, which no one was quite ready to decide. At all events there is no indication that the person who was finally selected, was at that time the choice of the committee. Their first move was to send one of their number in search of a candidate. Accordingly Dea. John Clark was speedily dispatched to Hartford, Ct. He was

absent eight days, but seems to have accomplished nothing. Whom he interviewed on his journey is not recorded. In May, 1725, he was paid 38s. "for going to Hartford for a minister." Jonathan Edwards was at that time Tutor in Yale College, living at New Haven. If application was made to him, illness soon rendered it impossible for him to entertain a proposition. In the fall of 1725, he was severely ill, and did not fully recover till about the middle of the following year. Soon after, Dea. Clark went again on the same errand, and was paid 4s. "for going twice to Hadley."

Rev. Israel Chauncey Engaged Temporarily.

An engagement was made with Mr. Israel Chauncey¹ of Hadley, and he was employed during the latter part of that year, and till August, 1726. Mr. Chauncey was paid £13 for assisting Mr. Stoddard one quarter, which ended in February 1725 $\frac{1}{2}$. From this it appears that about three months elapsed before an assistant was procured. The town took no action relative to the employment of Mr. Chauncey. He was hired by the committee evidently without thought of a permanent engagement. It is possible that the community already had Mr. Edwards in view as a suitable person for colleague pastor, and while awaiting his decision, delayed as it may have been by illness, Mr. Chauncey was employed temporarily. It may be believed that the venerable pastor himself suggested the name of his grandson for the position. At all events Mr. Edwards came to Northampton early in August, 1726, though he did not resign his tutorship till September, after he had received a call from this church and town. The last payment to Mr. Chauncey was made on the 3^d of August, and the first to Mr. Edwards on the 29th of the same month. He then received £5 "for his travel and one months assistance to Mr. Stoddard in the ministry."

1 Israel Chauncey was the son of Rev. Isaac Chauncey, second minister at Hadley. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1724, and taught school at Hadley, during a portion of that year. After his services in this town, he preached at Housatonnuck, but becoming delirious he returned to his father at Hadley. On account of his infirmity he was confined in a small house near the parsonage. This building caught fire in the night, and he was burned to death. He was accustomed to cry fire during the night, and consequently no notice was taken of his cries at this time. He had been invited to settle at Norwalk and Glastonbury, Ct., but declined.

Mr. Edwards com-
mences Preaching
in Northampton.

Mr. Edwards preached here about a month before an invitation was extended to him to settle. A longer probation was not needed. He was by no means a stranger to this community, and the proposition to become colleague pastor with his grandfather, was quite satisfactory to himself and his friends. Previous to his appointment as tutor, he had been selected to preach to a small Presbyterian church in New York City, and had occupied the pulpit there for nearly nine months. Proposals had subsequently been made to him from other congregations, all of which he declined.¹

Propositions for the
Settlement of Mr.
Edwards.

Formal action was first taken and an invitation extended to Mr. Edwards during the last days of the month of August, but there is no record of any town meeting at which any such vote was passed. A favorable response was received, and before November the way was paved for the ensuing action on the part of the town:—

“At a Legall Town Meeting In Northampton, November :21th: 1726 The town taking Into Consideration: a vote Passed by the town Agst:— 29th Last past For the Invitation of the Reverend Mr Jonathan Edwards to assist our Reverend Pastor:Mr Stoddard In the work of the Ministry. In order to a Settlement: and from what Experience we Hane Had of Him by His preaching And conversation as also from His character from other Places.

“The Question was put: whether it Was the Mind of the Town that the Committee Should Invite the Rev^d Mr Jonathan Edwards to Settle amongst Them In the work of the Ministry And In Convenient time to take office Amongst them: And it Passed In the affirmative by a very Great Majority.

“Attest Ebenezer Pumroy Moderator.

“Then the Matter Being Considered that a Sutable Settlement and Support Should be offered to Mr Edwards for his Encouragement to take s^d office and Trust upon Him: Then the Town Proceeded to Make the following votes:

“Viz. 1st: The town voted to Gine to Mr Edwards (Provided He take office among vs) ten Acres of Land Against Slow Bridge Next by John Alexanders Land: to be Laid out by the Direction of the Committee as shall best Sute And A Comodate Him for a Pasture.

1 In 1723, Mr. Edwards received an invitation from the church in Bolton, Ct. The terms and conditions on which the settlement was arranged were definitely fixed, and in November of that year he signified his acceptance of them over his own signature. Just at this time he was elected Tutor in Yale College, which he accepted, and the church in Bolton waited in vain two years for him and then settled some one else.—New Englander, vol. 43, p. 620 (Sept. 1884).

“ 2th : The Town Voted to Give him forty Acres of Land Up Munhan River about Pumrys Meadow : So as Not to Enterfere upon Either division. But to be Laid out In Common Land: by the direction of the Committee as aforesd.

3th : The Town voted to Give M^r Edwards three Hundred pounds toward Or for a Settlementt : to purchass Him a Homestead, or building : or both as Their shall be Ocation.

4th : The town voted that if the aforesd Sum of three Hundred pounds be Not Sufficient to Commodate M^r Edwards with a Sutable Habitation : that they would doe And Give afterwards that which Should be Sutable And Convenient To A Commodate Him.

5th : The Town voted that one Hundred pounds of the Interest Money In The trustees Hands of the towns Proportion of the fifty thousand pounds Loan Should be Implied for the vse aforesd In Part toward M^r Edwards Settlement.¹

“ 6th : The town voted to Give M^r Edwards as His Salary one Hundred pounds A year : but if the value of the Money Should Rise then they would not be obliged to Give So Much : but Not to deminish So Much of it but that He Should by the Sallery Have an Honourable And Sutable Maintainance according to the dignity of His office.

“ 7th : The town voted that if Either by the deficiency or Lessening the value of Bills or Money that Passeth Now or by the Encrease of M^r Edwardses Family He Should Stand In Need of a Larger Salary In order to his Sutable And Honourable Maintainance : that they would add to it So as to Make His Support Sutable And well adapted to that Honourable office.

“ The abonesd votes being Separately pntt to vote They were all voted the day first abonesd.

“ Test Ebenezer Pumroy Moderator.”

Sale of Land to raise Money to carry out the Preceding votes. In order to meet the obligations incurred by the above votes the town decided to sell “Some Land to pay Part or all the two Hundred pounds Remaining to pay towards Mr. Edwards Settlement.” A committee composed of “Co^l John Stoddard, Lieut. Joseph Hawley and Capt. Ebenezer Pumroy” was appointed to dispose of the land. Subsequently they reported the sale of “the Wholle of the Common Land on the Hill Called the Round Hill,” to John Stoddard in “Consideration of fourty pounds Paid or Secured to be paid to the Town;” * * “there being in the whole about twelve or thirteen acres.” This purchase gave to the Stoddards in connection with the homestead of Rev. Solomon, the control of the large part of this

¹ See vol. 1, p. 564.

charming eminence, including its summit and rear. This is the first reference to this locality by name upon the records. At this time it was covered with forest trees, and its future possibilities as the "Paradise of America" had not then entered the imagination of any person. Another lot near "Baker's Meadow," containing six acres was also sold to Mr. Stoddard for £10. Dea. John Clark bought "fourty acres," * * "Lying In a Place Called Pancake Hill¹ Plain," for "Seventy-Eight pounds, fiveteen Shilling." Here again comes in a nomenclature not heretofore in use, but which has been retained to the present day. Josiah Parsons bought "fourty acres" * * "at a place Called Slow Hill," for which he paid "one Hundred and twenty pounds." Though the orthography has been slightly changed, "Slough Hill" is by no means forgotten. On a plan of the "Inner Commons," prepared in 1754, by Nathaniel Dwight, these two lots, lying just above "Elwell's Island," between Pine and Slough Brooks, are designated as "land sold by the town to settle a former minister." To Nathaniel Curtice was sold about an acre of land adjoining his homestead, near Baker's Marsh, for which he paid £3. The entire amount received from these sales was £251.15.

Ordination and Installation of Jonathan Edwards.

On the records of the First Church, written by Rev. Mr. Stoddard, whose hand was then tremulous with age, is the following entry, and that is the only contemporaneous allusion thereon to the settlement of Mr. Edwards over the church:—

"22 febr 1722.

"Mr. Jonathan Edwards was ordained A pastour of the Church of Northampton." ²

It was however on the 15th of February, and not on the 22^d as noted by Mr. Stoddard, that Rev. Jonathan Edwards

1 Pancake Hill or plain is a slight rise of ground in the vicinity of the State Lunatic Hospital. It undoubtedly derived its euphonious title as did Round Hill, from its shape, which is broad and somewhat flat, about two hundred feet above the mean sea level, sixty feet less than its more ambitious rival. For many years criminal executions took place in this vicinity, and it was at one time called "Gallows Hill or Gallows Plain."

2 In Dwight's Life of Edwards, page 107, the ordination is said to have occurred on the 15th of February, and in accordance with the date of the letter missive to Rev. Mr. Williams, given above, Mr. Stoddard must have been in error. The entry may have been made some time after the event, and his mind, uncertain like his hand, failed in point of memory.

was ordained to the work of the gospel ministry, and installed as colleague pastor with his grandfather, over the church in Northampton. The sermon on that occasion was preached by Rev. William Williams¹ of Hatfield, from II Cor. 4 : 7. No other record of the exercises on that occasion has been found, and there is nothing but the following letter to show who of the neighboring clergy were invited to be present. This letter not only indicates the then prevailing laconic style of such missives, but it also establishes the date of the ordination. "This day three weeks" from the 25th of January, would be the 15th and not the 22^d of February :—

" January 25, 1727.

.. Rev. Sir. Our church do desire your presence and attendance to ordain Mr. Jonathan Edwards, this day three weeks.

Your Servant,

Solomon Stoddard.

To Rev. John Williams, Pastor at Deerfield."

He enters upon his
Ministry under
the most favora-
ble Auspices.

Mr. Edwards was in the twenty-fourth year of his age, well known to the people personally, and came with the best of recommendations, the indorsement of his revered grandfather. Whatever may have been the controversies, contentions and divisions existing in the community, there was practical unanimity in the choice of the colleague pastor. The sums voted for his settlement as well as the amount named for his salary, were generous, and the votes adopted from time to time were highly honorable to both pastor and people.

Homestead Pur-
chased for the
new Pastor.

One of the first subjects that engaged the attention of the assistant minister was that of procuring a dwelling-place. Within a month after his ordination, "the Reverend Mr. Edwards being about to purchase a Homestead" the town voted to give him eighty pounds, "and that to be in full for His Settlement," although £300 had already been appropriated for that purpose. The place selected by him was situated on King Street, at the corner of what has since been named

¹ Mr. Williams married for his second wife, Christian, daughter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, Aug. 9th, 1699.

in his honor, Edwards Street,¹ and extended to the south line of the estate owned by the heirs of the late J. D. Whitney. It was purchased of Jonathan Sheldon of Suffolk, in May, 1727. Originally it embraced a portion of two home lots, granted when the town was first settled, to Isaac Sheldon and Thomas Woodford; but one half of the Woodford lot came by will into possession of the Sheldons. At the time of the sale the property was described as a "Mansion house, barn and home lot, in Northampton, where s'd Edwards now resides," containing three acres of land. The price paid for it by Ebenezer Pumroy, Town Treasurer, was £330.

"Waiting on Mr. Edwards." Among the courtesies extended to the new pastor was one for which there seems now to be no adequate explanation, and which is not known to have prevailed elsewhere. Whenever Mr. Edwards went on a journey he was accompanied by some member of his congregation, whose expenses were paid by the town. This custom prevailed only in the time of Mr. Edwards, and was confined to the first half dozen years of his residence here. From 1728 to 1733, there are entries on the Treasurer's books of sums paid to different individuals for this purpose. The first account of this nature is that of Joseph Miller, in 1728, who was paid 48s. for "waiting on Mr. Edwards to New Haven, Horse & 17 days." The next year Sergt. Samuel Clapp for "waiting on Mr. Edwards to Boston" was allowed £3. In 1729, Dea. John Clark and Phineas King were each paid 48s. "for waiting on Mr. Edwards to New Haven. Whether they both went at the same time is not stated, but as both accounts appear, without date, in the same warrant, it may be inferred that he had two waiters on that trip. The last payments of this nature appear in 1733³, when Dea. Allen was allowed £4.4 "for his son's waiting on Mr. Edwards to Boston." On this occasion Mr. Edwards was absent two weeks, and Rev. Mr. Barber supplied the pulpit. At another time previous to this, Benjamin Sheldon went with the minister to New Haven, and received £2.10. As these

1. When the railroad grade crossings were abolished, in 1896 and 1897, the street was changed to its present position.

accounts form a part of the annual budget of town expenses, and are without date, it is impossible to obtain a clue to the reason of these journeys. Yet as they were only to Boston and New Haven, it may be conjectured that they were made for the purpose of attending commencement exercises at Harvard and Yale colleges.

Duties of those who waited on Mr. Edwards. What may have been the duties of these persons is nowhere stated. Probably they went as companions or protectors, rather than in the capacity of servants, though they may have combined the duties of both. During the times of Indian disturbances, it was not deemed safe to travel long distances alone, and out of that consideration probably grew the custom, though at this time peace prevailed. In a few years, as soon as affairs became permanently settled, the practice was discontinued. It is possible, however, that these men had other duties to perform. In those days everybody traveled on horseback, and undoubtedly one service rendered was the care of the horses. Clergymen then, more than at the present day, were the guests of their brother ministers, and whatever assistance could be rendered by these attendants, was grateful alike to host and guest. From the payments allowed, the legitimate conclusion may be reached that these waiters or companions made themselves comfortable at the taverns. These journeys were slow and tedious compared with the rapid and luxurious modes of travel that now prevail. Seventeen days were consumed in the visit to New Haven and return. But a small portion of this time, however, could have been spent upon the road. The journey to Hartford was usually made in one day, and another day would have been ample in which to reach New Haven. Of the seventeen days to New Haven, two weeks at least, might have been passed in that city. This journey was undoubtedly made in the year 1727, as the account was allowed on the 3^d of January 1728, and may have been on the occasion of the marriage of Mr. Edwards, which occurred in July of that year. The expenses for the attendant and horse on this occasion were 48s., equal to 88, or about 47 cents per day. The minister paid his own expenses, except it may have been the keeping of his horse.

About forty-five miles were considered a fair day's travel when on a journey of two or three days, though on occasion persons covered fifty or even sixty miles in a day. Roads were poor and uneven, settlements widely scattered, and the route in whatever direction, tiresome and lonely. There is little wonder that travelers went in company if possible, or that the minister found great convenience in having an attendant. The journey to Boston was the most expensive of them all. In 1733, the cost to the town of providing an attendant to that city was sixteen dollars.¹

Mr. Edwards' Salary
Increased from
year to year. 1729
to 1745.

After the death of Mr. Stoddard, when the entire burden of the parish fell upon the shoulders of the young pastor, the town doubled his salary. According to the vote, £100 was granted "for His Support besides his Stated Salary." The next year, but £40 was added, but in 1732, the stipend was placed at £200. This was in accordance with the vote at his settlement, which obligated the town to give him an adequate support, whatever might be the fluctuations in the value of money. During the next five years the salary remained at these figures. In 1738 he was paid £250, in 1739 but £220, and in 1740 it was increased to £280, with fire-wood in addition.² The next year twenty pounds were added, and he was to have the use of one half of the

1 The journey from Northampton to Boston required usually a little more than two days, during the first half of the eighteenth century. But a few hours, however, of the third day were necessary. If an early start were made but two days were consumed. On the return it was customary to leave Boston late in the afternoon, travel ten or fifteen miles and rest over night, reaching home on the third day. People generally were careful to go on these journeys in company, both for sociability and safety. Hartford was easily reached in one day. Horse hire seems to have been charged at the rate of one and one half pence per mile, though the established price to Boston—one hundred miles—was for many years twelve shillings, but in 1733, had advanced to eighteen shillings; to Hartford the charge was five shillings, and these were probably the prices in Mr. Edwards' time. Mr. Robert Breck, a merchant of Northampton, expended in 1774, £2.19.9 in the round trip to Boston for business purposes, including horse hire, which was two pence per mile. The first Joseph Hawley, in 1680, charged twelve shillings "for horse to the bay." Samuel Clapp's allowance for attending Mr. Edwards to Boston—£3—was about the same—a trifle more—as the expense of Mr. Breck.

2 Enormous quantities of wood seem to have been needed to meet the necessities of the case. Until a permanent basis for the salary had been decided upon, wood was furnished in addition to the figures quoted above. The first account was in 1730-41, when he had 75 loads; 82 loads were required in 1741-2; 78 in 1742-3; 95 loads in 1743-4; 64 loads in 1744-5; 80 loads in 1746-7; and 80 loads in 1747-8. The price paid varied from 10s. and 14s. to 25s. and 30s. in 1747-8.

sequestered land, and his fire-wood. Within the next two years, his compensation was increased to £50, and for three years more it remained at £350. In 1745, owing to the continued depreciation of the value of money, Mr. Edwards desired to have a fixed and definite salary, renewing his request from year to year, till a basis for a permanent compensation was adopted, the controversy regarding which will be noted in its proper sequence. While this discussion was in progress, a liberal salary was voted each year.

CHAPTER V.

REV. SOLOMON STODDARD.

Death and Funeral
of Mr. Stoddard.

REV. Solomon Stoddard died on the 11th of February, 1728, at the age of 86, two years after the settlement of his grandson as colleague pastor. It was a day of genuine sadness and grief when the last rites of sepulture were rendered. The meeting-house was filled with reverent mourners, and with swelling hearts and tear-stained faces the great congregation listened to the last tributes paid to one whom they loved as a parent and revered as a teacher. The funeral sermon was preached by Rev. William Williams of Hatfield, son-in-law to Mr. Stoddard. In silence the long procession wended its way to the cemetery, and when the last ceremony ended, there was sorrow and lamentation everywhere. This universal sentiment of distress was recognized throughout the province, and words of tender sympathy towards his people, as well as of sincere respect to his memory, were uttered from many pulpits throughout the Commonwealth.

At the following March meeting, a committee was chosen to obtain and have printed a copy of the funeral sermon of Mr. Williams, and of that preached by Rev. Mr. Edwards, on the Sabbath after Mr. Stoddard's death. The two sermons were bound together, but no copies of the pamphlet have been handed down, though extracts from the sermon of Mr. Williams still exist.

Parentage, Birth
and Early Life.

Mr. Stoddard was the son of Anthony Stoddard of Boston, a man prominent in the early history of the colony, and of Mary, daughter of Emmanuel Downing of Salem. He was born

October 4th, 1643. At the age of nineteen, having pursued his preparatory studies under the famous Master Corlet, at Cambridge, he was graduated at Harvard College, and the same year was elected "Fellow of the House." In 1667, he was chosen Librarian of the college, being the first incumbent of that office, and held the position seven years. Impaired health, induced by too close mental application, caused him to accept the offer of Chaplain to Barbadoes under Governor Searle, where he remained two years preaching to dissenters. He returned to Boston a short time previous to the death of Rev. Eleazar Mather. Accepting the invitation to settle in Northampton, he became a permanent resident of the place in 1670. Thenceforth his life became part and parcel of that of the people to whom he ministered.

His Position and Influence in the Community. Much of his biography, embraced in the historical details of his time, has already been spread upon these pages. During sixty years of active service, he left an ineffaceable impress upon the ecclesiastical, moral and business life of the town. Established as pastor here within eighteen years of its first settlement, and but ten years after the formation of the church, he grew up with the community, molded and shaped the religious education of two generations, and died revered, honored and sincerely mourned. A discussion of the position of the church at the time of his ordination, and its action soon after, may be found elsewhere in these volumes.¹ That which has been termed "Mr. Stoddard's system," more particularly as relating to baptisms, but which was in reality the outcome of the Synod of 1662, having been adopted by the church previous to his arrival, was put into working order within two months of his settlement. Before the close of the following January, more than one hundred persons had taken the covenant, and a large number of their children had been baptized. Within the first six months of his pastorate, fifty children had received this rite, and during the next four years one hundred more were baptized. This half-way opening of the church doors was soon followed by a still further widening

¹ Vol. 1, pp. 213, 214.

of them; the unregenerate were admitted as communicants, and the record of baptisms ceased. This occurred in 1677, and the practice was not revived till five years after the death of Mr. Stoddard.

Religious Awakenings. His labors were very successful and many were added to the church. Five times within the term of his ministrations, was there a liberal outpouring of the spirit. Revivals of religion occurred in 1679, 1683, 1712, and 1718. The most remarkable of these "harvests," as he called them, were the second, third, and fourth, though many were admitted at other times.¹ During the next nine years, there was a time of stupidity and immorality among the young, and contentions between the "Court and Country Party," which the influence of the aged pastor was powerless to assuage. This was undoubtedly the time alluded to by Mr. Edwards, in the passage heretofore quoted. The whole number of members admitted during the fifty-seven years that Mr. Stoddard occupied the pulpit here, was six hundred thirty.

His Influence. Solomon Stoddard was a man of great learning and undoubted piety, and he also possessed business talents of no mean order: consequently he soon commanded the respect, confidence, and esteem of his people. Not only did he win the love and good-will of his townsmen, but his talents soon gave him the position of leader among the churches in Western Massachusetts, and he "possessed, probably, more influence than any other Clergyman in the province, during a period of thirty years."²

The Distinguishing Peculiarity of his Pastorate. A characteristic feature in the pastorate of Mr. Stoddard was the peculiar doctrine which he advocated concerning the admission of adults to the Table of the Lord. Though he was not the originator of the practice, yet he defended the prin-

1 "And he was favour'd with a more than ordinary Presence of God in his Work, and many Seals of his Ministry; in the Course of which there were three remarkable Seasons, in which the Spirit of God so mov'd upon the Hearts of his People, that it became almost the general cry of the place, What must I do to be saved?"—Boston Weekly News Letter, Feb. 20, 1729. Obituary probably written by Rev. Jonathan Edwards.

2 Dwight's Travels, vol. 1, p. 331.

eiple with so much vigor and ability, that his name soon became identified with it, and "Stoddardeanism" gained a strong foothold throughout the Province. While an ecclesiastical controversy does not properly come within the scope of this work, an outline of the position assumed by him is perhaps needed in order to form a correct estimate of the character of Northampton's second minister.

Stoddardeanism
Defined.

The sentiments as well as the practice of Mr. Stoddard, as understood in his time, are thus succinctly summarized in an anonymous volume entitled "The Life and Character of the late reverend Mr. Jonathan Edwards, President of the college at New Jersey," published in 1765:—¹

"Mr. Stoddard, Mr. Edwards's grand-father and predecessor, in the work of the ministry, was of the opinion, that unconverted persons, consider'd as such, had a right in the sight of God, to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; that therefore it was their duty to come to that ordinance, though they knew they had no true goodness or gospel holiness. He maintain'd that visible christianity does not consist in a profession or appearance of that wherein true holiness or real christianity consists: that therefore, the profession which persons make in order to be received as visible members of Christ's Church, ought not to be such as to express or imply a real compliance with, or consent to the terms of the covenant of grace, or a hearty embracing the gospel. So that they who really reject Jesus Christ, and dislike the gospel way of salvation in their hearts, and know that this is true of themselves, may make the profession without lying and hypocrisy. Accordingly, he endeavoured to form a short profession for persons to make, in order to be admitted into the church, and come to the sacrament, answerable to this principle. And it, took place and was practised upon in Northampton: and persons were admitted into the church, and to the sacrament, not under the notion of their being true saints, or that they had any real goodness."

His Practice.

This principle, which was the legitimate outgrowth of the "half-way covenant," was at all points antagonistic to the position assumed by the Puritan churches of New England, and caused considerable commotion among the divines of that day. In the first place it may be well to consider what his practice really was. Did he enroll as church members in full communion, those whom he admitted under the half-way cov-

¹ This book was very probably prepared by Rev. Dr. Samuel Hopkins, fourth minister in Hadley, settled in 1754. He was a nephew of Rev. Jonathan Edwards.

enant, though they gave no evidence of regeneration? The general belief, supported by the combined testimony of all who have written upon the subject, is that such was his practice. Yet he "preached earnestly and powerfully upon the necessity of regeneration and a holy life in order to salvation."¹ It should be borne in mind that the half-way covenant was adopted for the purpose of admitting persons far enough into the church to allow the baptism of their children, with the hope that when once entered and brought under religious influences, they would grow in grace, and come within the fold. It was simply in furtherance of this purpose, that the church in Northampton put its candidates "into a state of education," requiring them "publicly to take hold of the covenant of the Lord as a grace bestowing covenant."

Mr. Stoddard's Peculiar System a Means of Religious Education.

Mr. Stoddard's idea seems to have been but another step in this system of religious culture. He claimed that "the Lord's Supper is instituted to be a means of regeneration," and so to be employed as an incentive towards the adoption of a religious life. The church doors were not even partially opened to any who were not willing to publicly acknowledge their belief in the tenets of salvation, by "owning the covenant," and "subjecting themselves to the teachings & government of Jesus Christ in this church & engaging according to their place and power to promote the welfare of it." By this means they formed a connection with the church sufficient to admit themselves and their children to the rite of baptism. To emphasize and accelerate this process of education was the design and purport of "Stoddardeanism." Mr. Stoddard complained of having been misunderstood and misrepresented. He did not believe nor did he argue that the rite in itself had any saving efficacy.² Admission to the Lord's Table was not in his view the only qualification for salvation. But whatever may have been the opinion of the pastor, the church had

¹ Rev. J. P. Thompson, *Bib. Sacra*, vol. 18, p. 819.

² "As Mr. Stoddard explained his view it was not that non-believers of whatever grade should use the Lord's Supper as a saving ordinance, but that those whom he regarded as nominally in church connection by baptism, though timid and unsatisfied as to their spiritual state should use this ordinance as a means of grace."—*Bib. Sac.*, vol. 18, p. 819.

prescribed the method of admitting persons to full membership, and the records contain no intimation that it had ever been changed. Neither is there anything to be found in them authorizing the statement that Mr. Stoddard adopted a form of confession in accordance with his own peculiar views.

The Reforming Synod of 1679, declared that persons must make profession of faith and repentance in order to gain full admission into the church, and Mr. Stoddard admits that he voted in its favor. Though the doctrine advocated by him was only partially discussed in that assembly, the inference is undoubted that notwithstanding the admission to partake of the holy rite of communion, which was then practiced in other churches if not in Northampton, candidates must also make a profession of faith and repentance. Mr. Stoddard was not so inconsistent as to preach one doctrine and practice another.

The Scheme Pro-
mulgated.

No reliable data are at hand sufficient to determine when this method was introduced here. There is a probability, however, that

it was in practice in Northampton as early as 1677, within five years of the settlement of the second minister. In that year, Increase Mather, in an election sermon, denounced the prevalence of "Stoddardeanism" among the clergy.¹ Two years later Mr. Stoddard seems to have upheld this theory at the session of the Reforming Synod, as far as he was permitted. It was not, however, till the opening of the eighteenth century that he alluded to the subject in the pulpit. The public discussion of the question between Increase and Cotton Mather on one side, and Mr. Stoddard on the other, commenced in the year 1700, though the sermon in which the latter fully explained his views was not delivered till 1704, nor published till three years later. Books, pamphlets, sermons followed each other in quick succession for eight or nine years. In 1709, Mr. Stoddard published the final vindication of his system in a sermon entitled, "An Appeal to the Learned, Being a Vindication of the Right of Visible Saints to the Lord's Supper, Though they be destitute of a Saving Work of

¹ Walker's Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism, p. 280.

God's Spirit in their Hearts ; against the exceptions of Increase Mather." Here the matter rested till twenty years after the death of Mr. Stoddard. The discussion was revived by Jonathan Edwards in 1749, and was continued through the century.

Its Popularity. The doctrine advocated by Mr. Stoddard was popular during his lifetime, and nearly all the churches in the Hampshire Association, which embraced the old County of Hampshire and three towns in Connecticut, practiced the system. At the time of the dismissal of Mr. Edwards, not more than three of the twenty-five settled pastors within the limits of the Association were decidedly anti-Stoddardean.¹

Tradition Concerning His own Conversion. In connection with this belief, and so curiously explanatory of it in part that one might wish it were unimpeachable, comes the tradition concerning the conversion of Mr. Stoddard himself. Nothing appears to establish the reliability of the story, yet the possibility of its truth wonderfully illuminates the position of the Northampton pastor. It would, of course, have more value and force, had Mr. Stoddard been the originator of the practice he so strenuously upheld.

This tradition is related by Rev. Dr. Lathrop, who settled at West Springfield soon after Mr. Edwards was dismissed, when the recollection of that bitter struggle was fresh in mind. His statement is that, when Mr. Stoddard was installed over the church at Northampton, he had not been converted. His wife, widow of his predecessor, Rev. Eleazar Mather, becoming convinced of this fact, arranged a series of weekly meetings with other Christian ladies of the congregation to pray that the pastor might experience a change of heart. "At length Mr. Stoddard was led to notice that on a certain day of each week, in the afternoon, his wife was wont to go out as to some appointment." His curiosity becoming excited, he asked her "what it was that called her away with such an unvarying regularity each week. She told him frankly, * * * This set Mr. Stoddard upon a course of most serious and earnest thinking,"

¹ "Stoddardeanism," *New Englander*, 1846, vol. 4, p. 350.

and some time afterwards, while administering the Lord's Supper, he suddenly had such "a new and wonderful revelation of the gospel scheme," that he was scarcely able to complete the service.¹

Proposes to Establish a National Church. About this time he advocated the establishment of a "National Church." He contended that individual churches should be accountable to some controlling authority, else "every particular Congregation is absolute and independant, and not responsible to any higher Power." The proposition, however, did not meet with general acceptance, and no attempt was made to carry out the suggestion.²

Takes Part in the Reforming Synod. In the fall of 1679, a Synod of the churches, called the "Reforming Synod," was convened at Boston by order of the General Court.³ Mr. Stoddard was a member of it and took a prominent part in its deliberations. No published report of the proceedings of this body was ever made, and the Journal of Peter Thacher⁴ seems to be the only record of its transactions at present available. Its results were printed by order of the General Court, but not its proceedings. An episode in the debate in which Mr. Stoddard prominently figured is thus related by Mr. Thacher:—

"After Lecture y^e sins of oppression was in debate & soe m^r Whellock declares y^t yer was a cry of injustice in y^t magistrates & ministers were not rated [taxed] w^c Occasioned a very warme discourse. M^r stodder charged y^e Deputy [Whellock] with saying what was not true & y^e Deputy Govern^r told him he deserved to be laid by y^e heals &c., after we brokeup y^e Deputy asked forgiveness of him & told him hee freely forgave him, but m^r Stodder was high.

"19 Sept. '79. Y^e Deputy owned his being in to great a heat & desired y^e Lord to forgive &c : & m^r Stodder did something tho' very little by a Deputy."

1 New Englander, 1884, vol. 43, pp. 624, 625.

2 Dexter's Congregationalism, p. 510.

3 Its duty was "the reuisall of the platforme of discipljne agreed vpon by the churches, 1647, and what else may appeare necessary for the preventing schismes, haeresies, prophaness, & the establishment of the churches in one faith & order of the gospell."—Records of Massachusetts, vol. 5, p. 215.

4 The entire Journal is published in Walker's Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism, pp. 417-419.

The System Dis-
cussed.

Mr. Stoddard seems to have been greatly exercised by this affair, and was not easily appeased. As was the custom in the plain-spoken debates of that time, there was undoubtedly an interchange of sharp words, all the more bitter because of the earnestness of the disputants. On the same day the "Half way Covenant" was partially discussed. Thacher thus refers to it under the above date:—

"Ys day y^e discussed y^e remedies and debated at y^e end of each Paragraph: y^e was much debate about Persons being admitted to full communion & M^r Stodder y^e minister offered to dispute against it & brought one argument. M^r Mather was respondent M^r Oaks Modrat^r, but after some time y^e rest of his argumts were deferred & at present it was eased."

Mr. Stoddard's Ver-
sion of the Debate.

The opposition of Mr. Stoddard was to the report of the committee, and not to the proposition to allow unregenerate persons to come to the communion table. His own version of this affair is annexed:—

"The words of the Synod are these—It is requisite that Persons be not admitted unto Communion in the Lord's Supper without making a Personal & Public Profession of their Faith and Repentance. I shall give the world an Account how the matter was acted. Some of the Elders in the Synod had drawn up a Conclusion, That persons should make a Relation of the work of God's Spirit upon their hearts, in order to coming into full Communion. Some others of the Elders objected against it, and after some discourse it was agreed to have a dispute on that question. Whether those Professors of Religion as are of good Conversation, are not to be admitted to full Communion, provided they are able to Examine themselves, and discern the Lord's body. Mr. [Increase] Mather, held the negative; I labored to make good the Affirmative; the result was That they blotted out that clause of Making a Relation of the work of God's Spirit, and put in the room of it, The Making a Profession of their Faith and Repentance: and so I Voted with the Rest, and am of the same judgment still."¹

According to Mr. Thacher, the discussion was evidently cut short. The Synod was unwilling to enter upon an interminable debate upon a question that had not been propounded for its deliberation.

1 Mr. Stoddard's Appeal to the Learned.

Published Sermons. Many sermons were published by Mr. Stoddard, several of which have since been reprinted. The list of his printed discourses numbers twenty-two. In 1703 he preached the "Annual Election Sermon" before the Legislature.

Personal Appearance. Very little is known concerning his personal appearance, and no portrait of him has been handed down. "His Stature was something taller than the common Size, his countenance comely, his Presence venerable; his whole Look and Behaviour such as gave those who convers'd with him, occasion to say of him, as the Woman of the Prophet, I perceive that this is a holy Man of God."¹ "His conversation was grave but delightful and very profitable, accompanied by a very sweet affability and a freedom from moroseness, often pleasantness, but not lightness or vanity."² Imagine a tall, spare man, of sober and solemn demeanor, stern in aspect, clad in the regulation ministerial costume of the day, sedate in manner, alert and business-like in action; yet with a courtesy and affability of bearing that speedily won the respect and veneration of all with whom he came in contact.

He Preached without Notes, but Carefully Prepared his Sermons. He not only preached without notes himself, but argued strongly against their use by others. In a sermon published in 1724, entitled, "The Defects of Preachers reformed," he denounces the custom of reading sermons. The practice he says, "may be tolerable when men's memories become imperfect by age, but ordinarily it is not to be allowed." "Till his 86th year (in which he died) he was a constant Preacher one Part of the Lord's days and at a Monthly Lecture, without the use of Notes at all."³ Apparently his discourses were all carefully prepared, but were not usually completely written out. One hundred fifty of his sermons are contained in a small 12^{mo} MS. volume, five and one half by three and one half inches in size, on a page and a half of which is written the notes of an entire sermon. The whole contains one hundred thirty-

1 Boston Weekly News Letter, Feb. 20, 1729.

2 Rev. Mr. Williams' Funeral Sermon.

3 Boston Weekly News Letter, Feb. 20, 1729.

one lines and averages about sixteen words to a line. It would occupy about five pages in type such as these pages are printed upon. This little leaf, written more than two hundred years ago in characters so minute that they cannot be deciphered, though the ink has not faded, nor the paper been defaced by much handling, represents but a minute portion of the labor and thought of a man whose "Light and influence went out thro' the whole Country, and * * gaue a Name and Reputation to the Town."¹

His Preaching Powerful and Convincing.

His sermons were argumentative, full of thought, and his manner plain and convincing. "He was well skill'd in the learned Languages; well vers'd in the religious Controversies that relate either to Points of Doctrine or Church Government; and was himself a ready & smart Disputant."² His disputation with the Mathers gave him a reputation equal to that of any elergyman of his time. Throughout life he was a close student and acquired a fund of general knowledge, as well as a copious "measure of all useful learning, especially in Divinity."³ He denounced with vigor whatever he thought to be sinful or frivolous in the social life of that day. Judge Sewell records that, in a sermon delivered at Boston, at Commencement time, in 1707, he "Spake plainly in Several Articles against Superstition. Spake against excess in comencem't entertainments. Gov^r called at night with M^r Stoddard, and told me I should cause them to conclude."⁴ This last remark may be construed to mean that the Governor thought that Judge Sewell, by the authority of his office, had great power of reform in these particulars.

Pastor.

"As a pastor he was diligent, laborious, constant: wise, faithful, compassionate."⁵

In spiritual matters he ruled the town with a firmness and authority that was seldom disputed. In fact, so complete was his control ecclesiastically, that his opponents in derision, named him "Pope."

1 Boston Weekly News Letter, Feb. 20, 1729.

2 Boston Weekly News Letter.

3 Rev. Mr. Williams' Funeral Sermon.

4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, series 5, vol. 6, p. 191.

5 Boston News Letter.

Repeated Visits to Boston. Mr. Stoddard made for many years an annual visit to Boston, where his father lived and where his brothers, who were honored and respected citizens, resided. But there is no evidence that he was ever allowed any one "to wait on him," as was the case with his colleague and successor. There are indications, though no positive proof, that many of these journeys were made in the company of some of the neighboring clergy. Aside from the attractions of home and kindred, it is certain that Harvard College Commencement was the controlling motive of these visits, and probably nearly all of them were arranged so as to embrace that honored anniversary of his Alma Mater.¹ On many of these occasions, indeed on nearly all of them of which there is any record, he preached one or more sermons either on Sunday or Lecture day.

Judge Sewell's Diary. Strong mutual friendship existed between the Northampton pastor and Judge Samuel Sewell, whose guest he was on many of these occasions. Many notices of these visits appear in Judge Sewell's Journal. From 1685 to 1719, thirteen of them are recorded. Many allusions are made in the Journal to the sermons and lectures of Mr. Stoddard, and in every instance with evident marks of hearty approbation. The Judge was in the habit of sending some little remembrance to his friends in the country though he may not always have made it a matter of record. In 1707, he writes: "I gave Mr. Stoddard, for Madame Stoddard, two half pounds of chockolat, instead of comencement cake and a Thesis." The following year Mr. Stoddard was again present, and on commencement day he "craved a blessing in the Hall, & Mr. Williams of Hatfield, returned thanks." Eleven years afterwards, he records: "I send to Mr. Stoddard of Northampton, 2 or 3 p^d of Reasons [raisins] and 1 p^d of Almond in a paper bag by Dea. Sheldon."

In 1716, Judge Sewell journeyed into the Connecticut valley, and of course paid a visit to his friends in North-

1 "He us'd for many years together to make his Annual Visits to Boston, at the time of the Commencement: and the day after to preach the Public Lecture to a numerous audience, expecting and glad to hear him."—Boston Weekly News Letter.

ampton. He writes: "Tuesday went to Northampton, Frary going to Westfield, Piloted us. Staid 2 or 3 hours with Mr. Stoddard, dined with him and Madam Stoddard, who is lame of Sciatica, and yet spins at the Linen Wheel. Mr. Stoddard brought me going to Pascomack."

The friendship existing between these men was still further exemplified on the occasion of the death of Judge Sewell's wife, which occurred in 1717. Under date of Dec. 9th, the following entry may be found: "Am much refreshed with Mr. Stoddard's Letter of condolence, which is excellent. I soked in Tears at reading. * * * I take Mr. Stoddard's letter to be an answer to my Prayer for God's gracious looking upon me."¹

Mr. Stoddard a Business Man.

He was not only a minister of the Gospel, but he was a man of good business abilities. Besides preaching two sermons on Sunday, delivering the weekly lecture, and attending to his pastoral duties, he found time to cultivate his farm, as indeed all ministers in those days were compelled to do, and gave not a little attention to the every-day affairs of the town, as has been abundantly manifested in the preceding pages of this work. With a keen interest in the welfare of the settlement, he gave much thought to various business projects which resulted in great advantage to the community. It is needless to repeat them. His correspondence with the authorities is invaluable; his suggestions were in the main practical, and in some instances shadowed forth methods that in after years were adopted. His letters are the most reliable, and in several instances the most satisfactory record of the events they relate. Honored and venerated by all, "a wise & judicious Casuist, whose Advice & Council were much sought & valu'd by the perplex'd & scrupulous,"² he was not only regarded as a spiritual guide, but his counsel was also sought in secular affairs. His opinions were quoted in the correspondence of prominent townsmen with the provincial authorities, and his guiding hand has already been noted in many affairs of importance.

¹ Massachusetts Historical Collections, ser. 5, vols. 5, 6, 7.

² Boston Weekly News Letter.

Indian Tradition. The respect and deference bestowed upon the clergy by the Puritan settlers, were also extended to them by the Indians, who regarded them with much the same feelings shown to their own medicine-men. The incident related by the Canadian Indians concerning Mr. Stoddard,¹ may have been correct, but in all probability it was but the repetition of the story related by Rev. Hope Atherton, first minister of Hatfield, concerning his experience in the Falls fight. In this case the narration of Mr. Atherton was corroborated by the savages, and may be regarded as truthful.² These men were contemporaries, and it is easy to conceive how the same tradition may have been made to do service for both of them.

Marriage. On the 18th of March, 1670, he married Esther, widow of his predecessor, Rev. Eleazar Mather. They had eleven children, six daughters and five sons. Mrs. Mather had three children by her first husband, the eldest of whom was six years old at the time of her second marriage. They took up their residence at the parsonage given to Mr. Mather by the town, and lived there till about the time Eliakim Mather, the youngest son, came of age, when the Mather homestead was sold to John and Moses Lyman. In 1684, Mr. Stoddard bought the Clesson place, on the eastern slope of Round Hill, and within a few years built a house there.

Estate. Mr. Stoddard accumulated a large estate for the times in which he lived. It was inventoried at £1126, exclusive of books and wearing apparel, besides "several hundred pounds" due on bonds lodged in Boston. His real estate comprised one hundred twenty-eight acres, fifty of which was meadow-land, and the rest scattered in different parts of the town. In his library were four hundred sixty-two volumes, four hundred ninety-

¹ The tradition related by the Canada Indians to their English captives in that country was that once when Mr. Stoddard was passing "Deweys Hole," between Northampton and Hatfield, a Frenchman in ambush, leveled his gun at the minister, but his Indian companion advised him not to shoot, as that was the Englishman's God. An experience of a similar nature is said to have occurred while Mr. Stoddard was meditating upon a sermon in an orchard at Deerfield.—Dwight's travels, vol. 1, p. 331.

² Vol. 1, p. 334

one single sermons and pamphlets. By will he left his wife the use of one half the house, one half the meadow land, the income of the money at interest, also "my servant man during the remainder of his service;" £60 were also placed at her disposal, and £12 in meat and meal. The eldest son, Anthony, pastor of the church at Woodbury, Ct., was given £220, with what he had received (his education at Harvard College), and all the books and apparel. To each of his six daughters, all of whom were married, he left the sum of £120, with what he had already given them. Col. John Stoddard had one half the real estate, and all the homestead after the death of his mother, and if he should live four years in Northampton, all the land wherever situated. Mrs. Stoddard died in 1736, at the advanced age of ninety-two years.

CHAPTER VI.

NEW MEETING-HOUSE.

A New Meeting-
House under
Discussion.

MORE than seventy years had passed since the second meeting-house had been erected. It was becoming old and shaky, and was, moreover, altogether too small to accommodate the large and increasing congregation. Every year it was found necessary to expend considerable money in repairs,¹ but not enough seems to have been done to arrest the hand of decay, and the building was becoming more and more dilapidated. The question of building a new meeting-house was in agitation several years before definite action was taken. It was first brought forward in town-meeting in March, 1733². As usual there was a conflict of opinion on the subject. A disagreement concerning the location of the building seems to have been developed before the matter was presented to the town.

A Decision to Build.

The first vote upon it declared "that When they did Build a Meeting House; it Should be Set on the Meetting Hill; as Near as it Can be Conveniently to the Presentt Meeting House." Undoubtedly this division of sentiment delayed the work, for no more is heard about it till the latter part of 1735. In November of that year, a vote was "passed in the affirmative by a very great majority," to "build a Meeting House, Get the timber, fraim it, Raise and Cover it, by the End of y^e next Summer." In the same vote it was provided that the house should be "about seventy foot long and about forty-six or forty-eight foot in weadth, with a Steeple or Bell Coney

¹ The boys delighted in making targets both of the meeting-house and school-house, and scarcely a year passed when the town was not called upon to expend, sometimes as much as a pound to replace broken glass in these buildings.

(balcony) at the end." The exact dimensions of the building were left to the judgment of the committee appointed to carry the vote into effect. This body was composed of Col. John Stoddard, Eben^r Pumroy, Capt. John Clark, Capt. Preserv^d Clapp, Ensigne Eben^r Parsons, Ensigne Ebenezer^r Clark, & Joseph Wright.

The Probable Reason for Building.

Probably the determining cause of the above vote was the extraordinary revival of religion that prevailed during the summer of 1735.¹ Under a state of feeling where sixty, eighty and one hundred persons presented themselves for admission to the church at successive communion seasons,² the absolute need of larger accommodations for Sunday services, was apparent.

Committee sent to View Meeting-Houses.

Before the decisive vote was passed, probably during the two years which elapsed after the first one was adopted, and the final decision to build reached, Joseph Wright and Nathaniel Curtis, undoubtedly under instructions from the selectmen, "viewed" many meeting-houses with reference to procuring a plan for the proposed building. Without doubt they examined some of those more recently erected. It is only known that Curtis went to Lebanon, Ct., and that they were allowed 60s. for expenses and services. Both were master workmen, and were employed in building the new house. With the final vote to build was coupled another authorizing the expenditure of £100 for the purchase of glass and nails.

Gathering Materials.

During the succeeding winter and spring materials were gathered for the edifice. Timber was cut on the commons, and men were paid by the load, both for cutting and carting. Some of it was brought from "over Beaver Brook," some from the south side of Manhan River, some from "over Robert's Meadow," and some was obtained at a nearer point. There are accounts for carting eighty loads of timber, "5 loads of sleepers,"

¹ The entire population seemed to be under conviction of sin. "There was scarcely a single person in the town, either old or young, that was left unconcerned about the great things of the eternal world."—Rev. Jonathan Edwards' Narrative of Surprising Conversions, p. 12.

² Ibid, pp. 18, 19.

“9 loads of poles,” “2 loads of sprouts,” &c. In connection with the account for cartage, is another covering about one hundred seventy days’ labor. The men were paid according to the season of the year, some 4s. and others 5s. per day. They were undoubtedly employed in felling the timber and preparing it for transportation. Most of the stone used in the foundation was brought from the “mountain,” probably from Mt. Tom, and from Rocky Hill. The prices paid for carting were from 7s. to 15s.; generally from 10s. to 12s. These materials were placed in the highway in the vicinity of the old meeting-house, and there the timber was scored, hewed and framed, ready for raising. Stone for door-steps were purchased of Samuel Bartlett of Bolton, and he received £10 for them.

An Attempt to Change the Location. When the frame was nearly ready for raising, an attempt was made to change the location of the house, and place it on the “Sand Hill between Moses Lyman’s and Jonathan Wright’s.”¹ But the proposition was negatived, and a vote passed that the new house should be set “partly on North West Side of the present Meeting House, and partly from thence North Eastwardly, on the Ridge of Land whereon Edward Bakers fence now standeth.”² As some dissatisfaction was still manifested concerning the position of the new building, the town two weeks afterwards reaffirmed the latter vote, and ordered “that the New meeting House, when framed Shall be Set at y^e place where it is framing.” This building stood in the present highway, and the steeple, at the east end of it, was about on a line with the center doorway of the present church edifice.

1 From existing topography it is impossible to name with certainty this proposed site. In all probability it meant merely another position on Meeting-House Hill, but no sand-hill is now in existence by means of which the place can be identified. Moses Lyman, grandson of John Lyman, owned at this time the northerly half of the Rev. Eleazar Mather property (now comprising the southerly side of Main Street from Pleasant Street to the Hampshire County Bank) and Jonathan Wright, grandson of Samuel Wright Sr., was one of the owners of the lot at the corner of Main and King Streets (First National Bank and Williston homestead), and it was probably at the extreme southeast extremity of Meeting-House Hill, that it was desired to place the new structure, which is the only point that seems to satisfy the above conditions.

2 From the above description it is probable that there was an error in the location of the second meeting-house, and that it may have stood opposite the present entrance to Gotbie Street, and not at that of Center Street as heretofore stated. See vol. 1, p. 120.

The Frame Raised.

During the summer the foundations were laid, Gideon Hale being paid £6.12 for "moulding the underpinning," and the timber was made ready for the frame. Everything was prepared for raising in September, and on Tuesday, the 21st day of the month, the work was commenced. It was apparently the intention that the raising should be done by voluntary labor, but after the sills were laid, the town voted to hire men for that purpose, paying them 5s. per day and furnishing liquor. In a week's time the entire frame of the building, with the exception of the spire, was in place. The town treasurer's account shows that seventy-six men were employed in that work, fifty-four of whom labored five days, and the others a shorter time. Forty-nine gallons of rum, and thirty-six pounds of sugar were required to get the timbers into place, and twenty gallons seem to have been consumed while the framing was in progress, making in all sixty-nine gallons of liquor that were required for this part of the work, besides a number of barrels of "cyder," as well as several barrels of beer. Dea. Ebenezer Hunt thus describes in his Journal the work of raising the frame:—

"In November, 1735, we passed a vote to build a new meeting house 70 feet in length, 46 feet in breadth, and proceeded to get the timber the winter following; and in the summer of 1736 we framed it—Mr. Joseph Wright master—and on the 16th day of Sept. we laid the sills, it being on Thursday, and appointed to begin to raise on Monday following, but that proved a wet day; so the town met together and agreed to hire 60 men to raise the meeting house and to give them 5s. the day, they keeping themselves excepting drinks, and on Tuesday morning they began to raise, it being the 21st day of said Sept. and they raised all the posts in the length of the house, excepting two of a side; and on Wednesday, the 22^d, they finished the body of the house, and put up two beams; and on Thursday the 23^d we put up all the beams and made some preparations for raising the upper part of the bellfree; and on Friday the 24th, we finished the scaffolding and raised one half of the bellfree; and the next day the 25th it rained till noon, and in the afternoon they finished the body of the bellfree: and on Monday, the 27th of said month, we finished the raising of the house: and we have abundant cause to take notice with thankfulness of the kindness of God to us in protecting and preserving the lives and limbs of all those that were active in the building of the house, for except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.

"On Thursday, the 21st day of July, 1737, the spire of our meeting house was raised with good success, for which we have cause to be

thankful. On Friday, the 5th day of May, 1738, we pulled down the old meeting house, without hurt to any man, or to the new house."

Accidents. Notwithstanding the amount of intoxicants consumed, the laborious task of raising the huge frame was accomplished without accident. But during the following year, two persons were injured, while at work on the building. Jonathan Strong was paid £3 for "setting his bone, broken while working at y^e meeting house," and £3.10 was paid to "y^e bonesetter for setting Ebenezer Burt's thy."

The Spire, Pews and Seats. At the annual town-meeting in 1737 $\frac{1}{2}$, the building committee reported progress and were discharged. A vote to complete the structure during the year immediately followed, and a new committee was chosen to carry on the work. The question of building a spire or steeple had not been previously settled, and the matter was entrusted to the discretion of this committee, with instructions to "advise with some Workmen with Respect to the Height, manner and method of Building the Same." It was also "voted that in the meeting House now a Building, there Shall be Pews made round the meeting House and only Seats on both Sides of the Alley." Accordingly pews were placed along the outer walls on all sides of the building. The "alley,"—"broad alley," as it is elsewhere called—or broad aisle, extended through the middle of the audience room, from the south door (there were doors on three sides of the edifice) to the pulpit. Twenty-five wall pews were built on the ground floor, and these seem to have been all the pews authorized by the above vote. But the earliest seating plan extant, very probably the first one ever made, contains another tier of twelve pews along three sides of the narrow aisle which gave access to the wall pews. These pews were undoubtedly put in when the house was built, and the vote prescribing "only seats on both sides of the alley," was construed to mean that all other parts of the house should be provided with pews. This view is confirmed by the fact that there remains no record of the addition of any pews till 1762, when five were constructed, probably in the gallery. The plan referred to shows a tier of wall pews,

flanked by a narrow passageway, then another tier of pews with a narrow alley, then a row of benches or "seats," then the "broad aisle." In 1766, four "hind seats," two on each side of the broad aisle, were taken out and the "ground made into pews." Twenty years elapsed before the benches were all discarded, and the entire floor occupied with pews.¹ The vote ordering this change was made in 1785.

Money Borrowed
to Pay Current
Expenses. An
Ungallant Vote.

When the vote about seats was adopted, an appropriation of £300 was made for the purpose of finishing the edifice. While the work was in progress, £60 were borrowed of three individuals—£20 from each—to pay current expenses. In 1738, an order was made to place benches "before the deacons seat, before the fore seats, and before the pews against the inner corner pews" for the children. At the same time Samuel Phelps and others asked "Liberty to make a pew for their daughters in the new meeting house on the back side of the north gallery and it passed in the negative." An exclusive ownership of sittings was not sufficiently democratic for the times, and the people protested against it, even to the verge of being deemed ungallant. No definite sum is named as the cost of this building, but the treasurer's accounts show an expenditure of more than £3000, for which taxes were laid.

The Interior of this
Edifice.

Access to the house was obtained through three entrances. The principal one was at the south side of the building, facing Main Street, and opening into the broad aisle; there was another through the steeple, and a third at the westerly end of the structure. The pulpit was on the side opposite the main entrance, canopied by a huge sounding-board, which bore the figures, 1735, the date of the first vote to build. The pews were either square or oblong, with high straight backs, and the seats were hinged so that they could be raised, in order to allow more room for the occupants while

¹ At the commencement of the nineteenth century there were forty-nine pews on the ground floor of this meeting-house, and seventeen pews and fourteen long benches in the gallery. At that date the duty of seating the meeting-house devolved upon the selectmen, and the schedule of 1808, signed by the selectmen of that year, contains the names of 1036 persons to whom seats were assigned.

standing during prayer or while singing. In some houses the pew rail was supported by a row of short balusters, which gave an ornamental appearance to these pen like structures. It is not certain that any kind of adornment prevailed here.

Galleries. These were reached by stairways in the corners of the room, on both sides of the main doorway, and the galleries extended along three sides of the building. There was a passageway from the gallery to the steeple, but no stairs in the belfry. On the plan already referred to, five pews only are indicated in the gallery, and those were on the side opposite the pulpit. Women were seated on the left of the pulpit and men on the right.

Four other Houses like this one. Four meeting-houses, situated respectively in Boston, Springfield, Hatfield and Longmeadow, resembled this one. They were nearly of the same dimensions, and similar in style of architecture. A picture of either of them would sufficiently well represent the Northampton edifice. The steeple of each was surmounted by a weather-vane, intended to counterfeit chanticleer.¹ All had bells much alike.

Seating the New Meeting-House. When the new house of worship was nearly completed, the problem of seating the congregation in it assumed special importance, and in connection therewith arose the question of allowing the sexes to sit together. Public opinion in this respect was growing more liberal, but there was still a strong sentiment in opposition to seating men and women side by side on the Sabbath. During the closing months of the year 1737, a series of votes was passed relative to these matters. The first, in November, provided that males should be at the south end of the new meeting-house, and females at the north; that the men should sit at the right of the pulpit and the women at the left. A proposition to appoint

¹ It is stated that the cocks used for weather-vanes were all imported, and were composed of two thicknesses of copper, which were spread about three inches apart at the center. When the new meeting-house was built in 1812, the fowl weather-vane was omitted.

a seating committee of three persons was negatived, and the former number of five was adopted. This committee was composed of "John Stoddard, Esq, Ebenezer Pumroy, Esq, Timothy Dwight, Esq, Samuel Mather, and Dea. Samuel Allyn." They were instructed to "draw up their Scheam or Platt for Seating of the meeting House and present it to the Town," for approval. On this committee were some of the leading citizens of the town, and yet so important was the matter deemed, that their work was to be supervised by the people. In December the town refused to allow men and their wives to be seated together.

The Seating Com- At the same meeting it was voted that
mittee Instructed. the committee appointed at the November
meeting should be established and contin-
ued, and instructions were to be given them "for their di-
rection and conduct in prosecuting the design of seating
the meeting house." The meeting then adjourned for four
days, during which time the following rules for their guid-
ance were concocted:—

"1. Voted That in Seating the new meeting House the Committee have Respect principally to men's estate.

"2. To have Regard to men's Age.

"3. Voted that Some Regard and Respect to men's usefulness, but in a less Degree."

In these instructions wealth was the first consideration, then age, and lastly intellect, ability, and usefulness in the community. Heretofore age had been deemed of the most importance, and estate of secondary consequence. In several other towns, some of which have already been enumerated, age and usefulness were placed before wealth. At this adjourned meeting a committee, consisting of six persons, was appointed to "estimate the pews and seats." In other words they were to "dignify" the seats, appraise their social value, that the seaters might make no errors in placing their occupants. The plan of mingling the sexes was again brought forward and disposed of in the following manner: "The Question was put whether the Committee be forbidden to Seat men & their wives together, Especially Such as Incline to Sit together: It passed in the Negative." Under this qualified consent the committee

proceeded to seat married people together in the pews, but upon the benches in the center of the house the men were placed on one side of the broad aisle, and their wives on the other. In some cases husbands were seated in a pew and wives on a bench.

Plans of Sittings. A plan of the sittings, containing the name of each occupant, in all probability the one adopted in December, 1737, is here reproduced, but it bears no date. The arrangement of pews and seats is identical with that of 1750, which has also been preserved: no change having been made on the ground floor of the building till some years later. On this plan are the names of several persons, known to have died in 1738, while on another plan, also without date, they are omitted. It contains the names of nearly six hundred persons.

First Occupation of the New Meeting-House. The new house of worship was occupied early in the year 1738, though it was not wholly completed till the following year. It was never formally dedicated, for it was not then the custom to set apart the meeting-house for none other than religious services. Meetings for military, civil, political, as well as ecclesiastical purposes, were held within its portals.¹

Serious Accident in the old Meeting-House. Before the new building was ready for occupancy its special need was emphasized in a most striking manner. A serious accident, most remarkable in its consequences, occurred in the old meeting-house.² On Sunday, March 13, 1737, during the morning service, the front gallery fell. The building, too small for the large congregation worshipping there, was filled in every part. The first great revival under the pastorate of Jonathan Edwards, during which more than three hundred members were added to the church, had not

1 "Holiness of places," says Cotton Mather, writing in 1726. "is no more believed in among them [the New England churches] than it was in the days of Clemens Alexandrianus, who says that every place is holy where we receive the knowledge of God."

2 The above account of this catastrophe is compiled from a letter describing it, written by Rev. Jonathan Edwards, under date of March 19, 1737; from Dea. Ebenezer Hunt's Journal, and from an account published in the Boston Weekly News Letter of March 24, 1737.

wholly ceased, and the attendance on church services was unusually large. Between one hundred fifty and two hundred persons¹ were in the gallery and immediately under it, but no one was killed or seriously injured.

Fall of the Gallery. Mr. Edwards was preaching from the text "Behold ye despisers and wonder and perish," He had just "laid down his doctrines," when "with a noise like a clap of thunder," the whole front gallery fell. No lives were lost, nor above "ten persons were so wounded as to make any great matter of it; * * and though many were greatly bruised and their flesh torn, yet not one bone was broken or so much as put out of joint among them all." This house, erected in 1661, had been in use seventy-six years, and was falling into decay. The building had begun to spread at the bottom, the sills and walls giving way. Severe frosts during the winter had affected the foundation much more than usual, and the underpinning had been considerably disordered, and the "ends of the joists, which bore up the front gallery, were drawn off from the girts on which they rested." The gallery seemed to sink in the middle, and people were thrown in a heap before the front door. "The falling gallery seemed to be broken all to pieces before it got down, so that some who fell with it, as well as those who were under it, were buried in the ruins and were found pressed under heavy loads of timber, and could do nothing to help themselves." "The house was filled with dolorous shrieking; and nothing else was expected than to find many people dead, or dashed to pieces." The congregation was sitting, and the tops of the pews prevented the timbers from coming upon those who were under the gallery. In his letter describing the catastrophe, Mr. Edwards remarks:—"It seems unreasonable to ascribe it [the preservation of the lives and limbs of the people] to any thing else but the care of Providence, in disposing the motions of every piece of timber, and the precise place of safety where every one should sit and fall, when none were in any capacity to care for their own preservation." The following Wednesday was set

¹ Hunt's Journal states that "about 70 persons fell with the gallery and there were nearly as many more under it." while the Boston News Letter reports that there were about "200 in and underneath it."

apart as a day of solemn worship to God, "and to praise his name for so wonderful, and as it were miraculous, a preservation."

The Old House Torn Down. An order was adopted in 1738, to pull down the old meeting-house, and dispose of it to the best advantage. On the 5th day of May it was demolished. Five pounds and thirteen shillings were expended in removing it, and much of the material was disposed of during the following years. A portion of it was used in the erection of a town house, in 1739, and the pulpit and all the pews belonging to the town, were given to the people of the new settlement over Munham—Southampton.

The Young People Behave Badly at Meeting. In the old meeting-house much disorder prevailed among the young people during religious services, and it was not strange, considering the crowded state of the congregation. In the new one, measures were taken previous to its occupation, to preserve order. In March 1737, the annexed vote on this subject was adopted:—

"The Question Was put whether the Town desired the Several Justices in Northampton (when the Committee of Seaters have finished their Seating) to Exert their Authority to maintain good Order in the House of God in the time of Publick Worship, and it passed in the affirmative."

If the six tithing-men appointed that year were unable to keep the children quiet, and it became necessary to call on the Justices to assist, either the Sunday constables were very inefficient, or the disorder must have assumed very alarming proportions.

Porches Built and a Tower Clock Obtained. When the meeting-house was erected, no porches were placed over either of the doors. The first movement in that direction was made in 1764, when one was constructed over the west entrance, and four years later another was placed over the south door. A clock found its way into the steeple in the course of a few years, but there is no record concerning it, and it is uncertain whether the clock was purchased by

the town or presented by individuals. Very probably it may have been paid for by voluntary contributions. Allusion is first made to this timepiece in 1740, when Seth Pomeroy was allowed 20s. "for looking after the clock." Other accounts to different individuals for this purpose, are found in after years. Private parties were permitted in 1784, to put up a dial, at their own expense, at the east side of the meeting-house.

CHAPTER VII.

JOSEPH HAWLEY—PHYSICIANS—TOWN HALL—PASCOMMUCK.

Suicide of Joseph
Hawley.

WHILE the subject of building the new meeting-house was in agitation, the community was greatly shocked by the suicide of Joseph Hawley, the second person in town bearing that name. On Sunday morning, June 1, 1735, Lieut. Joseph Hawley cut his throat in his bedchamber, and died soon after. He was a man of more than ordinary ability, greatly respected, and a leading citizen. Many important offices had been conferred upon him, and he transacted much business for the town. In nineteen consecutive years he was fifteen times chosen townsman, and from 1716 to 1734, was annually elected town clerk. In this capacity he charged the town for making rates, and the ministers—Mr. Stoddard and Mr. Edwards—for recording marriages. These last charges were made in accordance with the law of 1716. He was County Treasurer from 1730 to 1732. Dea. Hunt in his diary calls him Lieut. Hawley, but no evidence of service in the militia appears.

His Business.

Mr. Hawley was interested in several branches of business, and was successful in them all. He was a merchant, and for many years appears to have been the principal trader in town. He owned an interest in a sawmill, carried on boating on Connecticut River, and managed a large farm. Much was done at that time by the farmers of the Connecticut valley, in the way of fattening cattle for market, and in this Mr. Hawley was engaged to some extent. Drovers¹ were sent from the towns

¹ Samuel Sheldon of Northampton, was one of the drovers and Dr. Thomas Wells of Deerfield, was another. The latter had charge of a drove of cattle from that town to Boston, in 1729. He was absent ten days and received 95s. for his services.

along the river to Boston, and Mr. Hawley apparently acted as agent for the Northampton men. He received pay for the cattle, possibly made the sales in Boston, and paid the proceeds to the owners, when he reached home. Many transactions of this nature are entered upon his account-books.

Principally a Mer- In 1717, he commenced the mercantile busi-
chant. ness, which slowly increased from year to year. The stock of goods consisted of the usual heterogeneous combination found in an old style country store. Much of his trade was in dry-goods, consisting mainly in trimmings for men's and women's garments. Though he sold many articles for female adornment, bonnets do not appear among them. He disposed of large numbers of silk handkerchiefs, as well as no small allowance of rum. The amount of business transacted by him was never very large, and the charges on his books were not numerous; a single page answering in some instances for the accounts of an entire month. People evidently bought only what they absolutely needed, and that for which they had the money to pay. Bills of credit were the principal circulating medium, though he did considerable trade in the way of barter. Powder and lead were in great demand, as almost everybody, especially those who lived in the outlying districts, did more or less hunting. People cast or run their own bullets and buckshot, as very little game smaller than deer, wolves, or turkeys was considered worth the trouble of killing. Sugar and spices were in constant use, and butter, lard, suet, and sometimes venison, were sold. Everyone, men and women, smoked, and quantities of pipes were disposed of, but very little tobacco was for sale, as nearly everybody raised what he consumed. Mr. Hawley was the first person in town who sold knives and forks.

His Store on "Pud-
ding Lane."

It is not absolutely certain where he carried on his mercantile business, but in all probability it was either in his own house, or in a small building on his homestead. He lived on "Pudding

Lane,"¹ now Hawley Street. He bought the homestead of Thomas Sheldon, on the opposite side of the street from his father's house in 1723, and built a house upon it soon after.

A Man of Intelligence. Mr. Hawley was not college educated, but lived the life of a quiet country merchant, respected by all, and honored with many marks of confidence by his fellow-citizens. He was neither a lawyer nor a politician, and did not attain to any judicial or legislative honors, but was often employed by the town in important transactions. That he was a person of some culture, may be inferred from the list of books named in his inventory, and as they are not classed with "goods in the shop," it is presumed that they were not part of his stock in trade. Indeed there would have been little demand for them by the common people of the county or the town. Among them were Virgil in Latin, an English and Latin Dictionary, Cicero's Orations in Latin, a Greek and Latin Grammar and Lexicon, and many books of a religious character, including sixty-nine single sermons. Whether the latter were manuscripts or printed is not stated; if the former they were probably inherited from his father.

Religious Despondency. During the religious excitement of 1735. Mr. Hawley was much impressed, and exceedingly concerned about the state of his soul. He finally gave way to a fit of extreme melancholy, and in a moment of temporary insanity, put an end to his life.²

1 Dea. Sheldon was a shoemaker, and employed a number of apprentices. According to tradition his wife was in the habit of making huge puddings, on which to feed them. From that circumstance the sarcastic gossips of that day named the street "Pudding Lane."—Judd MSS.

2 "In the latter part of May, it began to be very sensible that the spirit of God was gradually withdrawing from us, and after this time Satan seemed to be more let loose, and raged in a dreadful manner. The first instance, wherein it appeared, was a person's putting an end to his own life, by cutting his throat. He was a gentleman of more than common understanding, of strict morals, religious in his behaviour, and an useful, honorable person in the town; but was of a family that are exceeding prone to the disease of melancholy, and his mother was killed with it. He had, from the beginning of this extraordinary time, been exceedingly concerned about the state of his soul, and there were some things in his experience, that appeared very hopefully, but he durst entertain no hope concerning his own good estate. Towards the

Family. Lieut. Hawley was the son of Joseph Hawley, who was prominent in the early history of the town, and was born August 22^d, 1682. He married in 1722, Rebekah, daughter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard. They had two children, Joseph and Elisha. The former, Major Joseph Hawley, was one of the most eminent men of his time. Elisha was killed in the expedition against Crown Point, in 1755.

The Mother of Major Hawley. Rebekah, wife of Joseph Hawley, was the eleventh child of Rev. Solomon Stoddard.

A woman of great energy and decision, of remarkable industry and economy, she exhibited also business talents of a high order. She was a person of great eccentricity, of strong prejudices, and aristocratic tendencies. Her eldest son, Joseph, was but twelve years of age at the time of his father's death, and the care of the two children, as well as the management of the farm and merchandise, devolved upon her. An expert dairy woman, her butter and cheese were in great demand, and probably she made more of the latter product than any other person in town. In proof of her eccentricity it is related that when the suicide of her husband was made known to her she was in the dairy, and refused to go to him till she had finished turning the cheeses.¹ In 1753, when sixty-seven years old, she built an addition to her house, for a cheese room and buttery. A gallon of rum was needed for the refreshment of the raisers. She was much opposed to the marriage of her son Joseph, and after that event, though she lived in the same house with him, she had her own separate apartments, and managed her own household. In the new meeting-house she was seated in the third wall pew to the left of the pulpit, adjoining the pew allotted to the pas-

latter part of his time, he grew much discouraged, and melancholy grew amain upon him, till he was wholly overpowered by it, and was in a great measure, past a capacity of receiving advice, or being reasoned with to any purpose. The devil took the advantage, and drove him into despairing thoughts. He was kept awake nights, meditating terror, so that he had scarce any sleep at all, for a long time together. And it was observed at last, that he was scarcely well capable of managing his ordinary business, and was judged delirious by the coroner's inquest."—Rev. Mr. Edwards' Narrative of Surprising Conversions, p. 74.

1 As the catastrophe happened on Sunday morning, too much credence must not be given to this statement.

tor, with Col. John Stoddard and his mother, Madame Stoddard. She died June 2, 1766, at the age of eighty years.

Crows. In 1735 $\frac{5}{6}$, crows became such a nuisance that the town set a price upon their heads, voting to pay 12d. apiece for all that should be killed in the ensuing months of April and May. Either the birds multiplied rapidly, or they managed to elude the hunters, for within five years the sum was increased to 18d., and black-birds were added to the list, 2d. each being allowed for their destruction.

Town Map. A survey and map of the town was ordered in 1737 $\frac{6}{7}$, and instructions given to have the bounds of the township confirmed by the General Court. No record or copy of this survey can now be found. At the same time an order was adopted providing that the meadow or common field should be "opened and laid Common" for five weeks, and after that to be cleared of all creatures, and shut up till further notice.

Proposals for a Flock of Sheep. Mt. Tom Fenced for a Pasture. Frequent allusions to sheep raising have been made in these pages, and, as has previously been shown, much was done by the town to promote that valuable industry. In 1727, a special order was adopted, providing for the clearing of the sheep pasture at the foot of Rocky Hill of brush, for fencing with stone along the highway, and for the leasing of the land. Within eight years a more definite attempt was made to interest the people in this matter. It was voted that if

"A Sufficient Number of persons Would Subscribe and Come under Engagement to have in this Town to the number of five Hundred Sheep by Some time next Spring, and Effect it that then they would fence in Mount Tom, for Sheep to be kept upon, viz: to begin at the Great River at the Most Convenient place at the South End of the s^d Mountain, and so fence across from s^d Great River to Broad Brook Somewhere below the mill Called Stebbens Mill, and also do that upon S^d Brook from the place where S^d fence Comes down to Munhan River, or to Some field fence So as to make it a Sufficient fence for that vse."

A committee was appointed to obtain subscribers and build the fence. The by-law against dogs over twelve

inches high running at large, was revived. Nothing appears to show whether the terms of the above vote were complied with, but the action of the town indicated that it was confidently expected that the requisite number of subscribers would be obtained.¹

Mt. Tom The origin of the name of this mountain is somewhat in doubt. Nothing positive has come to light relative to its christening. Dr. Holland's fanciful and poetical legend respecting the naming of Holyoke and Tom has been questioned, though there can be no doubt that Holyoke perpetuates the memory of the famous captain, who figured so prominently in the early history of the valley. No allusion to the name has been found upon the records of the town till the above order was adopted, though the appellation was bestowed upon the eminence many years before. In fact there is evidence that the name had been applied to the mountain within less than a dozen years after the settlement of the town. The earliest record of it is found upon a deed of land from Capt. Aaron Cook to Joseph Parsons in 1662, in which thirty acres of land "under Mt. Tom," bounded partly by the highway "under Mt. Tom," was transferred. The name may be of Indian origin. In fact the use of it two years before "Mt. Holyoke" was recognized (Holyoke was first named on the Northampton records in 1664) is an indication that the name may have been applied by the Indians, but was not in general use till many years after its neighbor had become a household word. Still there remains the fact that when Holyoke was first mentioned, Tom was designated in the same document as the "greate mountain."

**Efforts to Equalize
the Currency.** The issue of paper money in Massachusetts, the causes which led to it, and the various methods adopted to bring it into circulation and sustain its value, have heretofore been sufficiently dwelt upon in this work. Another attempt to stay the downward tendency of bills of credit was made in 1736, but fourteen years elapsed before a specie basis took the

¹ In 1763, there were 657 sheep over one year old, in town : about one half of them were owned by persons living at South Farms.

place of paper money in this Commonwealth. There were old tenor, middle tenor, and new tenor bills, each held at a different valuation. The issue of bills this year was to be equal to coined silver at 6s. 8d. per ounce. It was denominated new tenor, one pound in value of which was to be equal to three pounds of previous issues. Five years afterwards another adjustment was proposed. This emission was of equal value in silver with the former, but one pound of the new equalled four pounds of the old. The name of new tenor was applied to this issue, while that of 1736 was called middle tenor. These enactments, however, did not check lessening values, and in 1747, old tenor bills were quoted at seven and one half for one of silver.

Surgeons and Physi-
cians.

For more than half a century, no physician resided in Northampton, and for seventy-one years the town had been without a surgeon. The practice of medicine and surgery seem to have been distinct and separate professions. George Filer, whose career has been already sketched, was the first "chirurgion" here, he having been licensed to practice in 1665. He remained in Northampton but two years, and there is no evidence that any physician lived in town from that time till about the year 1730. Nine years more elapsed before another surgeon came. Dr. Samuel Mather seems to have been the first resident physician in the place after the removal of Dr. Filer. The first intimation of his presence in Northampton, was the payment to him of £20, in April, 1728, for teaching school. Two years afterwards the town paid him £100 as an inducement for him to settle in Northampton and practice his profession. For a number of years he taught the children and administered to the ills of both young and old; but eventually he abandoned pedagogy, taking high rank in his profession, as well as among the leading citizens of the place.

Settlement of Dr.
Hezekiah Porter.

Dr. Thomas Hastings practiced both "phys-
ics and chirurgery" in Hatfield, as early as
1679. His son Thomas, who died in 1728,
followed him, and they were the only surgeons in this
vicinity for nearly fifty years. During the next eleven

years there was no "bonesetter" in this section of the valley. Some one attended upon those persons who were injured at the raising of the meeting-house, in 1736, but his name and residence are unknown. Three years afterwards an attempt was made by a few towns in Hampshire County to prevail upon a surgeon to settle in one of them. Northampton, Hatfield, Hadley, Sunderland and Deerfield, each agreed to offer a sum of money to induce Dr. Hezekiah Porter of Farmington, Ct., to take up his residence in either of the first three named towns. A conference of committees from the several towns was held with Dr. Porter, and an arrangement made by which he was to receive £200 as a settlement. Hadley voted to give him £62 if he would settle there, and £10 less if he went to either of the other towns. Hatfield offered £42 "if he practices for life" in either of the towns named above. Deerfield decided to give £14, or "what part soever thereof shall be accounted our proportion with y^e rest of y^e towns." Northampton concluded that the town "would do something to encourage Dr. Porter settling here or in the neighboring towns, viz.: Hatfield or Hadley." A committee was chosen to confer with the committees of the other towns and with him, in order to ascertain on what terms he would be willing to "settle among them." At a subsequent meeting it was voted to give "our part or proportion of £200, in Bills of Publick Credit, first deducting what Deerfield and Sunderland give, and £10 more than Northampton's proportion In Case he the s^d Porter Settle in Northampton." The committee was instructed to "take Sufficient Security for his abode and Continuance among us Some years." Dr. Porter came to Northampton, and in 1739, the town paid him £72, in accordance with the above votes.

School-House Re-
moved.

An order was adopted in 1738, to remove the school-house "from the place where it now Stands to the Sand Hill, Near to Jonathan Wright's House." This was undoubtedly the school-house erected in 1693, and the removal was from one part of meeting-house hill to another, in order to make room for the Town and County House that was built the following year. This was probably very near the point upon

which it had been proposed to build the new meeting-house.

Fines for Declining the Office of Constable. Joseph Bartlett, rather than serve as constable, after having been chosen to that office, paid a fine of £5. Ensign Sheldon and John Lyman likewise refused to take the oath as fence viewers, and were each fined 20s.

Town Hall and Court-House built by the Town and County. Previous to this date town-meetings as well as religious services had been held in the meeting-house ; but soon after the new one was built, a movement was made for the erection of a building to be used exclusively for business purposes. It took definite shape in March, 1733, when the town decided to build a town house the following summer. During all these years the County Courts had convened at the "ordinaries" about town, and it was deemed a very proper time to engage the County in the matter, and by combining the two interests, provide a place of assembly for each. Accordingly the building committee was instructed to apply to the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, to ascertain what action, if any, would be taken concerning the matter. It was also ordered that the materials of the old meeting-house should be used in building the new structure. The matter was laid before the County Court at once, and it decided to unite in erecting the building, on condition that Northampton should pay one half the cost, "for building and finishing the same, besides their proportionable part of the charges of the other half together with the towns of Hadley, Hatfield, Deerfield, Westfield, Sunderland and Northfield, to be proportioned agreeable to their province tax." Deerfield voted not to join with the other towns in the county in paying the expense of this building.

The Building and its Cost. This proposition was acquiesced in by the town, and the work was carried out in 1738 and 1739. An account for labor and materials, in 1738, was considerably reduced by the town before it was approved. The town and county house was built on

meeting-house hill, and it was found necessary to cart away considerable sand before the foundation was laid. Undoubtedly it was placed very nearly on the site of the school-house that had been removed. It faced the stores recently known as "Kirkland block," at one time the residence of Hon. Lewis Strong, now Lambie's block. The door was in the center of the south front; it had four windows, and on each side of the room were seats or benches for spectators, facing inwards. The judges occupied a platform on the side opposite the door.¹ Ebenezer Pomeroy had been High Sheriff, and had charge of the erection of this building. His account shows that the structure cost £203.13, and Northampton, according to agreement, paid one half the amount as well as its taxable proportion of the other half. This was the first town hall, as well as the first court-house, ever built in Northampton. It was occupied jointly by both parties for about twenty-seven years, when it was superseded by another structure built by the county, expressly for a court-house, in 1763.

Southampton Taxes Voted to that Precinct. Strangers and other persons not interested in the meadows, were prohibited from turning their cattle into the common field, in 1738. The same year the money assessed at the "new place," Southampton, was appropriated "for the ministry or building a new meeting-house, except what was needed for highway purposes." No meeting-house, however, was built there for several years.

A Plurality Rule in Elections Adopted. Heretofore all elections for town officers had been decided by a majority vote. In 1733, this method was changed and a plurality deemed sufficient in the election of selectmen. It was decided that those "five men that have more votes than any others," should be declared elected. No explana-

¹ This building was square, a story and a half in height, with what is known as a hip roof, rising from each of the four sides, and coming to a point at the apex. The lumber used in its construction was nearly all brought down the river from Deerfield and Bernardston. After the second court-house was built it remained unoccupied for about three years, when it was sold in 1782—the town and county joining in the transfer—to Robert Breck, for £8.17. He removed it across the road, to the vicinity of the site of the First National Bank, and for a long time it was occupied as a store. Finally it was removed to Market Street, fitted up and used many years for a dwelling, but has since been demolished.

tion is anywhere offered for this vote, and nothing is known concerning the occasion for its adoption. It is quite possible that in the multiplicity of candidates, no one received a majority of all the votes cast, and this was the only way out of the difficulty. Whatever the trouble was, it seems to have been settled in a short time, for there was but one trial of the new plan. The next year the plurality vote was rescinded, the town voting "that no person should be Selectman but those that had a major part of the votes."

Pascommuck Re-settled.

Pascommuck, after its destruction by the Indians, in 1704, remained for thirteen years without an inhabitant. Only a few of the heirs of former owners came back to the place. Most of them sold out and removed to other towns. The first person to return within its desolate borders was Samuel Jaues, whose father, mother, sister, and two brothers, were victims of the massacre. He was married and settled upon the old homestead in 1717. For about three years he lived there without neighbors, but in 1720, John Langton purchased and occupied the homestead of Benoni Jones. Eight years afterwards, Lieut. Elisha Searl, whose adventures while a captive with the Indians in Canada, have already been chronicled in these pages, took possession of the Searl homestead. Benjamin Jaues sold his homestead to Jonathan Hunt, and removed to Coventry. No one lived on the place till it was purchased by Philip Clark. Moses Hutchinson left no heirs, and his home lot came into the possession of Ebenezer Ferry.¹

An Appropriation for Schooling there.

Thirty-five years after its destruction, six families were living on the site of the former settlement, and about as many more resided in the entire Mountain District. It is probable no one lived at that time on the west side of Mt. Tom. This little hamlet was so distant from the center of the town that the children experienced great difficulty in attending school during the winter months. Their case was presented to the town in 1739, and an allowance of "12^d per diem"

¹ For the names of the settlers at Pascommuck at the time of the Indian raid see vol. 1, p. 495.

was voted for defraying the charge of schooling during the previous winter. It is probable that the school was kept at one of the farm-houses, as no school-house was built in that vicinity till 1772.

Southampton made
a Precinct. In September of the same year, the question of setting off the new town, "as a distinct and separate precinct, so that by consent of the General Court they might be under a capacity to carry on the worship of God among themselves," came before the town. It was presented by an article in the warrant, in which the bounds of the proposed district were definitely defined. After suitable consideration, the request was granted, though the consent of the Legislature was not obtained till two years afterwards. In September, 1741, the new precinct was organized under an act of incorporation. During the succeeding ten years Northampton was divided into two precincts or parishes, each under the care of the minister selected by the residents therein. In all other matters the two villages were under the jurisdiction of the old town, and so continued till Southampton assumed municipal responsibilities for itself.

CHAPTER VIII.

SCHOOL LANDS—SCHOOLS—MILL CONTROVERSY.

School Lands Sold. THE land sequestered for schools in 1670, had been rented to individuals on long time leases. When these contracts expired in 1740, and the four succeeding years, the town voted to sell the land and invest the proceeds at interest. That portion of it lying between Bartlett's mill and Danks' Pond (Easthampton), was sold in 1740. A part of it was bought at private sale, at the appraisal of the committee, and the rest was sold at public auction. One portion, the lower meadow, was purchased by Joseph Wright Jr., for £62.16.8, and the other by Josiah Clark, for £38.13.4. The upper meadow was bought by Roger Clapp for his son Jonathan for £200. Mr. Clapp afterwards desired to be released from his bargain, and in 1742, it was sold to Jonathan Clapp for £187. Within two years the land above the mill was sold to Stephen Wright and Benjamin Lyman.¹ The money received from these sales, amounting to £1923.10, became the principal of a fund, the interest of which was expended yearly in maintaining the schools. It varied in amount with the fluctuations of the currency, and was loaned to individuals on good security. In 1753, it amounted to £2095, old tenor, equal to £297.6.8, in lawful money, the interest of which amounted to £16.15.12.

The Minister's Woodpile. Not only was considerable wood required to keep the minister's pot boiling, but occasional town action was equally necessary to keep the woodpile replenished. So great had become the delinquency in this respect that it became necessary, in 1740, to pass a vote limiting the time for bringing the pas-

¹ The lot is still owned by his descendants.

tor's fuel till "next Tuesday," and in case it was not then forthcoming, the whole amount needed, including what had already been furnished, was to be paid for from the town rate. In the face of such a vote it seems improbable that the quantity of wood furnished on the date mentioned would have been very large.

Lower Grist-Mill Grant. In 1742, permission was granted to Samuel and Moses Kingsley and Samuel Marshall to set up a Grist-Mill on Mill River, against the rear of their home lots, if they would build it within two years. This location was on or near the site of the present lower mill (Lamb's wire mill), just above the South Street Boulevard Bridge. The Kingsleys lived on the south side of the river and Marshall on the north. As the mill was not completed within the time specified, the town extended the limit and gave permission to raise the dam to the height of seven feet.

Lawsuit about the Mill. This led to a contention with the owners of the upper mill (now Maynard's Hoe Shop) in which the town became involved, and which was continued for more than thirty years. The mill was built, and had been in operation some fifteen years, when it was shut down and for some time remained "unimproved," on account of a suit for damages brought by the owners of the upper mill, against the Kingsleys. A committee was appointed by the town to investigate, and on the strength of their report, it was voted to "save the Kingsleys harmless against all actions and demands of the upper mill proprietors, provided they keep their mill in order and do not raise the water to a depth of over seven feet." In 1765, another suit was brought against the owners of the lower mills, on account of alleged damages caused by the flood of the previous year, which had set the water back so as to obstruct the working of the old mill. Arbitration was proposed but the Kingsleys refused to abide by it, claiming indemnity from the town. The case went before the court, and the Kingsleys recovered. In 1766, the town paid the amount awarded by the court and appointed a committee to arrange matters between the contending parties. This committee was instructed to fix an

“ abiding monument ” designating the height of the dam, and the Kingsleys were permitted to “ dig in the river so as to bring the fall in the river below the bridge up to their dam.”

The Controversy Continued. For about nineteen years the matter was apparently settled, when the subject was again in agitation. The owners of the upper mill once more brought suit, and by mutual consent the controversy about the height of the dam was referred to arbitrators in 1786. Five years elapsed before the question was again opened, and then the town complained that the lower mill was not kept in proper condition. It had apparently been allowed to run down. In the meantime a change of proprietors had taken place, and in 1791, Daniel Pomeroy and Moses and Enos Kingsley built an entirely new dam, put in a new water-wheel, and new grinding and bolting machinery. When the new dam was completed, the selectmen and the proprietors of the mill placed an iron bar in the rock, thirty-six feet above it, by which to mark the height of the dam. This ended the contest.

Controversy about the Common Lands Resumed. Nearly thirty years had passed since the controversy about the common lands had been adjusted. It was seemingly acquiesced in for a time, but broke out again and blazed into fiercer intensity than before. This time it was a question of privilege, causing much bitterness of feeling and keeping the community in a constant turmoil. The dispute assumed such proportions in 1742, that a resort to legal measures became necessary. Once more the question turned upon the right of the general public to cut wood and timber upon pasture and unimproved commons. This right, expressly guaranteed in the division of 1684, seems to have been overlooked or purposely omitted in the readjustment of 1715. The matter came before the town at a meeting held January 11, 174 $\frac{2}{3}$, when the following action was taken :—

“ Whereas there hath been a Controversie long Subsisting between the Town & Proprietors respecting their Rights to the Undivided Lands Near the body of the Town.

“The Town Voted to Choose three wise, Judicious persons to advise between them with respect to their Right to the Lands above s^d and also to their right of Cutting of wood, Timber, &c. on the Lots laid out.

“And that the assessors in raising a Town Tax for the defraying of the Charges of the Town, Shall make an additional Tax for the defraying the Charges of the Committee, that Shall be Chosen to advise between them & the proprietors in the Controversie respecting the Right of s^d Lands.

“And the Town made choice of William Pitkin,¹ Joseph Fowler, and John Bulkley, Esq. to advise between them & the Proprietors in the controversie afores^d.”

Ebenezer Pomeroy and Col. Timothy Dwight were appointed a committee to “take Speedy & Effectual Care that the Gentlemen before mentioned be here as Soon as may be.” & that they also “provide for their Entertainment at the Cost & Charge of the Town.” Major Pomeroy and Capt. John Clark were appointed a committee “to provide an Attorney at the Cost & Charge of the Town to manage the Cause on the behalf of the Town & to defend their Right before the Gentlemen Chosen to advise.”

Benjamin Alvord was at once dispatched to notify the above named persons of the action of the town, and arrange the preliminaries of the meeting. Undoubtedly the case was duly presented, and although the record remains silent concerning the proceedings or decision of the arbitrators, there is every reason to believe that the annexed vote, passed the following year, was based upon and embodies the result of their deliberations:—

“At a Legal Town Meeting (by adjournment) on Tuesday the twenty Second of Nov. 1743 The Town of Northampton then Voted that a Line be run from the front of the Long Division (at the Bridge by Hulbert's Saw mill) West by the Needle of the Surveying Instrument three Quarters of a mile and from thence a Line be run North Six degrees East to Hatfield bounds, and South Six degrees West to the South Side of the long Division: and that Another Line be Run parallel to the former at a Mile & half distance West from the former; between which two Lines they propose to Cut wood and timber for the Space of ten years Next Coming and they then further Voted to Quit, Release and relinquish to the respective Proprietors of the Long Division their Right & Liberty and pretence of right and liberty to Cut wood and timber in the remaining part of S^d Division (viz) to the East of the first of s^d Parallel Lines, and West of the Second, and also their Right and Liberty of Cutting Spruce or White Pine (as 'tis Sometimes Called) between S^d Parallel Lines, which right they Challenged by a Vote made

¹ Mr. Pitkin, it will be remembered, was one of the persons applied to by the town twenty-seven years before, for advice regarding the legality of a former division of the commons.—See vol. 1, p. 548.

Oct. 10th : 1684. They then Voted to Quit, release & relinquish to the Proprietors of the respective Lotts all their Right and Liberty to Cut wood & timber in that Division called the little Division lying between Sandy Hill and Munhan River ; and likewise in that Division Called the Mountain Division which right they Challenge by a Vote made Oct. 10th, 1684.

“ At the Same time they Voted to Quit, release and relinquish to the Proprietors all the right & liberty the Town have to cut wood or timber in the Land now Called the Inner Commons, and that land lying between the Mountain Division and Munhan river and Connecticut River and also in that Tract of Land lying between the long Division and the Additional Grant made to the Town of Northampton and between the road that goes from Munhan River towards Westfield and at the West bounds of the Town of Northampton which right they Challenge by a Vote of s^d Town made Oct. 10th, 1684.”

Settled for a Decade
and the Expenses
thereof. Who, if any one, was employed by the town as attorney to appear before the arbitrators, is nowhere named, but the sum of £50.2.7 was paid for the expenses of the committee, and probably included the amount paid to the referees. Benjamin Alvord also received £6.6.7 for his services as messenger. This action settled the question for the time being, and was the cause of much rejoicing among the people.¹ But the settlement was limited to ten years, and then the question came up again, as fresh as ever.

The Dispute again
Waxes Hot. It was brought forward at the annual meeting held March 5, 1754, by an article in the warrant “ relating to the Comon lands not included in the Divisions of Comons made before s^d year 1700, and antient highways.” The article was not reached till the afternoon session, which opened at two o’clock. An animated discussion arose which was prolonged for several days. It was continued till nightfall of the first day, when the meeting was adjourned till the next morning at nine o’clock. Then the town “ reassumed the dispute,” and from nine to twelve o’clock and from two till sundown, it was continued, when a further adjourn-

1 In regard to this settlement, Mr. Edwards, writing in 1743, says :—“ And it is a thing greatly to be rejoiced in that the people very lately have come to an agreement and final issue, with respect to their grand controversy, relating to their common lands : which has been, above any other particular thing, a source of mutual prejudices, jealousies, & debates, for fifteen or sixteen years past.”—Tracy’s *Great Awakening*, p. 200.

ment was had till Monday, the 11th. Throughout another day the forensic battle raged before a vote was reached. Then

“the question was put Whether the Town would assert their right to all the lands within the bounds of the Town of Northampton which are not included in those divisions which the Comons were distributed into & which were divided before the year 1700 as well as those lands called Inward Comons as any other, and it passed in the affirmative. Then the Question was put Whether the Town would assert their right to those parts of the antient highways within the bounds of s^d Town which parts have been of late years discontinued and left out by the reducing and narrowing of s^d Ways, since the original laying out of the same, and it passed in the affirmative.”

A committee was chosen to devise some method of dividing the lands.

Suits Ordered to Recover these Lands. On the 26th of March, the town voted to commence suits to recover all the lands alluded to in the above votes. “Some persons having of late years as the Town apprehends, without right entered into and taken possession of some parts of s^d land.” Joseph Hawley and Ebenezer Hunt were chosen agents to carry out the vote. In May they were ordered to proceed in the matter of the trespassers, in case they should be advised thereto by the “Learned in the Law.”

Action for Trespass Against Timothy Dwight. In August, an attempt was made to revoke the above vote, but without success. Evidently the “Learned in the Law” advised that the town had a good case against the trespassers, and an action was commenced in September to recover from Timothy Dwight a tract of land in the northeast part of the town, between the county road to Hatfield and the Connecticut River. It contained fifty-two and three quarters acres, was fenced and described as a sheep pasture. The decision of the lower court was in favor of the defendant, but the town appealed the case to the Superior Court, which reversed the former verdict, and gave the plaintiffs possession of the land together with costs of court. The next year the town refused to give Dwight a title to the premises, but in 1756, when the case came again before the court, on a plea of ejectment, the parties agreed that the former judgment should be reversed and no costs granted.

This land was undoubtedly one of those tracts which had been sequestered in 1698 for a sheep pasture, and had been appropriated by Mr. Dwight.

A Final Adjustment of the Common Land Controversy. In 1756, another and successful attempt was made to dispose of the vexed question concerning the rights of the public in the common lands. The previous arrangement had been limited to ten years, and when that time expired, the problem still remained in part unsettled. A committee was chosen to :

“ concert some Terms of Settlement and accommodation of the long disputes and controversies between the Town of Northampton and those who claim the undivided lands of the town commonly called the Inward Commons, as Proprietors or Tenants in common respecting of right & Title to s^d commons, then proceeded to choose Mr Joseph Hawley, Mr Noah Clark, Dea. Eben Hunt, Lt. Gideon Lyman, Ens. Josiah Pomeroy, Col. Tim. Dwight, Capt. Noah Wright, Lt. Caleb Strong, Dea. Supply Kingsley,” as the committee.

On the 26th of March this committee made their report. They proposed that within the compass of two parallel lines, two miles apart, running north and south across the first division, the first or most easterly one, three quarters of a mile west of Hulbert’s Sawmill, and the other two mills west of it, for the space of ten years, all or any of the inhabitants of Northampton, should have the right to cut and carry away wood and timber of all sorts except white pine. The town was to release and quitclaim all title to lands in the inner commons and other parts of the town, excepting lands appropriated for highways. After considerable debate and one or two adjournments, the town adopted substantially the report of the committee, and also quitclaimed its right and title to lands in the several divisions, except such as were reserved for highway purposes, after ten years had expired. This decision seems to have put an end forever to this much debated question, and no further allusion to it is to be found upon the records.

Land Granted to Five hundred acres of land were granted to
Southampton, the new Precinct in 1743; three hundred acres of which were to enable the inhabitants to settle a minister and two hundred in “lieu” of

their proportion of lands sequestered for the ministry by the first Precinct. This land was situated on the "back side of White Loaf Hills," an elevation four hundred eighty feet in altitude in the extreme southeastern section of the town.

New Schools Estab-
lished.

During the same year, the question of providing an assistant schoolmaster or making provision for schooling children in the "remote parts of the Town," "Considering that the Children Are Very Numerous," was acted upon. In accordance therewith, schools were established on the "Plain," above the cemetery, and on South Street. These schools were to be in session four months each, as a winter term, and the teachers were allowed £15 each. The next year £130 were raised for school purposes, to which was added the income of the money due the town for the school land lately sold. Of this amount £30 were to be used in the remote parts of the town, and the remainder for the support of the Grammar School. During the succeeding year £30, in bills of credit, old tenor, were appropriated to be "improved" in hiring English Schoolmasters in the "extreme parts of the town." From this time onward these schools were continued, and as the town increased in population others were added. Within five years schools had been established at Pascommuck, Bartlett's Mills, and in the second Precinct.

Dogs Prohibited from
running at Large.

The impossibility of successfully maintaining intact flocks of sheep, in the face of a constantly increasing colony of dogs, impressed itself upon the community from time to time, and in 1744 the canine nuisance became so intolerable that drastic measures were prescribed for its abatement. No dog was allowed to go at large "out of the Custody, keeping or Sight of his master or owner, or the keeper, anywhere within the Limits of the s^d Town," under a penalty of 20s. A committee of ten persons, called "informers of the breach of the Law," was chosen, and steps were taken to confer with Hatfield and Hadley for the enactment of a similar by-law "for the encouragement of keeping sheep."

Infringements upon the Highways again Dealt with. Notwithstanding the efforts to prevent them, encroachments upon the highways could not be entirely prevented, and in 1744 another attempt was made to bring them to an end. The roads were reported to be in many places narrow and encumbered with buildings and fences. In several instances the town had granted abutters certain rights in the highways. Encouraged apparently by this liberality, others seem to have appropriated without authority similar privileges. An order was adopted to search out and report all such offenders, but the result was not made known.

An Unfriendly Vote. The unfortunate controversy with Rev. Mr. Edwards, which resulted in his dismissal, originated in events which occurred during this year, and the following vote, of slight importance in itself, seems to indicate that an unfriendliness towards him prevailed to some extent early in 1744. At a town-meeting held on the 5th of March, "The question was put whether the Town will pay the Charge of bringing Mr. Edwards, his daughter from Brookfield, & it passed in the negative." This is all that is known concerning this vote; there is no explanation of it either upon the records or in contemporaneous documents. Why the town should have been requested to pay this expense, or why there should have been any occasion for it, is nowhere shown. There may of course, have been reasons for such a decision other than dissatisfaction with the pastor, and it is hardly conceivable that so much feeling should have been manifested at this early stage of the affair. But in view of the fact that considerable money had been paid in former years to persons for "waiting on Mr. Edwards" when he traveled, it seems somewhat inconsistent, to say the least, that this slight demand should have been denied.¹

1 In May, 1743, Mr. Edwards went to Boston, to attend a convention of the clergy. He went on horseback, and his eldest daughter, Sarah, on a pillion behind him. Whether through illness, or some other mishap, she was left behind at Brookfield, on their return, so that extra transportation was required, has not been ascertained, but it may be surmised that something of the kind occurred, which gave rise to this appeal.

A Workhouse in
Agitation.

Forty years before this date an Almshouse had been provided, but for many years it had ceased to exist. Paupers were cared for in the families of their relatives, or others, who were paid for the service. In 1745, a movement was made to determine the expediency of "building a proper and Convenient Work House, to Set Idle and poor people to Work." John Stoddard, Ebenezer Pomeroy, and Timothy Dwight were appointed to consider the matter and report. Probably the people were not quite ready for such an experiment. The committee made no report that is now extant, and the subject was not again brought before the town.

Unruly Youth to
be Inspected.

Great annoyance was experienced by the good people of Northampton on account of the unruly and unlawful proceedings of the youth of the town. Damage was constantly perpetrated upon the school buildings and the meeting-house; the school wood was burned at unseemly hours, and misdemeanors seemed to multiply. Undoubtedly the young men would gather at the school-house evenings to cultivate sociability at the expense of the town woodpile. Disorder in the meeting-house, on Sunday, seemed impossible of prevention, and it became so troublesome in 1745, as to call forth the following vote:—

"The Town being Sensible of the Irreverent and Disorderly behaviour of many of the young people and Children In the House of God in the time of publick Worship, and at the Same meeting made Choice of Ens. John Clapp, Gideon Henderson, Caleb Strong, and Elisha Pomeroy, to Inspect the behaviour of the young people and Children In time of publick Worship and to prosecute them for their Irreverent and disorderly behaviour, and voted at the Same time the Inspectors have power to order such disorderly persons to Sit in Such places in the meeting House in the time of publick Worship as they Shall think proper."

Tithing-men apparently had little authority over the naughty boys and girls in the congregation. This vote seems to have inaugurated a new class of Sunday officers, which in a few years became dignified by the name of "Sabbath Wardens," and who were provided with a badge of office similar to that carried by tithing-men.

Certain pews in the gallery were set apart for the youth,

and behind the high enclosure much mischief was carried on during Sunday services. One method of diversion was to cut and hack the woodwork with penknives, and many a hole was made, through which the youngsters peered or held communication with their fellows.

Death-rate for Three Years. From 1745 to 1748, much sickness prevailed throughout the town, and many deaths occurred. The family of Samuel Clarke was sorely afflicted. In 1745, four children from twenty-five to twenty-nine years of age, died within four months. By his will, made in March of that year, he distributed a large estate to four sons and seven daughters. Within a twelvemonth only two sons and five daughters were living, and one of the latter died in 1747. Samuel Clarke died at the age of fifty-seven years. He was a great grandson of William Clarke Sr. He was twice married and had fourteen children, of whom only six were living in 1748. A stone was placed at his grave, on which were chiseled the following lines :—

“ Awful is the command but just,
That bids these five lie slumbering in the dust,
Father and four children, all in their bloom
Within four months were seated in the tomb.
Each died in hope, each here in silence lies,
Till the last trump shall bid them rise.”

In 1745, there were thirty-nine deaths registered ; in 1746, thirty-two ; in 1747, twenty-seven ; and in 1748, forty-three. The entire population of the town at that time, was about one thousand, probably a little less.

CHAPTER IX.

KING GEORGE'S FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

Indian Trade So- FOR nearly twenty years, the peace arranged
licited. with the eastern Indians in 1726, remained
 unbroken. During its continuance constant
efforts were made to conciliate the natives and open trade
with them. Many Indians resided in the towns, between
whom and the inhabitants, the most amicable relations ex-
isted. A truck-house had been established at Fort Dum-
mer, or rather that fortification had been used as a trading
station ; several houses for the Indians had been provided
by the government, and considerable trade was carried on
with the different tribes. Capt. Joseph Kellogg, who had
been in command there for some years, was appointed
Truck-master. Meanwhile the English had been pushing
out into the wilderness, wherever an opportunity offered.
Settlements had been established to the northward in Ver-
mont and New Hampshire, and were climbing the moun-
tain ranges of Western Massachusetts. Hampshire Coun-
ty then included the entire section of the Province west-
ward from the county of Worcester, and embraced within
its limits all the territory now comprising the four counties
of Hampshire, Franklin, Hampden, and Berkshire.

War Declared. Though England and Spain had been in
 open conflict for years, no material effect
had been produced upon the amicable relations of the colo-
nies. It was not till 1744, when continental complications
brought on a rupture between France and England, that
the American continent felt the shock. War was declared
by France in March, and was speedily followed by a coun-
ter proclamation of hostilities on the part of Great Britain.

This was the fifth war in which the colony had been engaged, and the third in which the French sought the aid of their Indian allies. Louis XV. was King of France and George II. King of England.

Capture of Canseau. While the condition of affairs was known in Canada in April, intelligence of the declaration of war was not received in Boston till a month later. Canada, anticipating hostilities, was prompt to take advantage of the first intimation that peace no longer existed, and a body of troops dispatched from Louisburg captured Canseau, before tidings that hostilities had commenced reached Boston. Annapolis was threatened, but immediate action on the part of Gov. Shirley, saved it from attack.

War Preparations
Commenced in
Massachusetts. Forecasting a "speedy rupture" between France and England, the General Court commenced preparations to meet it in November, 1743. Money was appropriated for the "defence of" certain of the more exposed towns in the eastern section of the Province, though New Salem in Hampshire, as well as other towns in Worcester County, were among them. An act was also passed for the enlistment of ten companies of fifty men each in Maine and Massachusetts, for the defence of the frontiers. These men were to constitute a force of minute men, enlisted for the war, ready to start at the shortest notice. Each man was to provide himself with "a pair of snow-shoes, a pair of moggisons & hatchet," for which he was to receive 10s. Three of these companies were assigned to Hampshire County. In January following, Col. John Stoddard, Eleazar Porter, and Israel Williams, were designated by the Governor to suggest the names of fit persons for their officers. For the company from this section these men were proposed:—Seth Pomeroy, Captain; Supply Kingsley, Lieutenant; and John Clap, Ensign, all of Northampton. No muster-roll of this company has been discovered, and it is not probable that any military organization thus officered was ever formed. They were termed "snow shoe men," but it is doubtful if they ever entered the service in that capacity.

Capt. Pomeroy, however, commanded a company the next year, but its field of operations was remote from Massachusetts.

A Commission on Defences Appointed. When war became a certainty, additional methods of defence were provided by the authorities, designed more especially to command the customary lines of Indian travel across the frontiers, from the northward. It was decided to establish a series of forts, about five and a half miles distant from each other, westward to the boundaries of New York. A commission consisting of Col. Stoddard, Col. Partridge, and John Leonard, was appointed to carry these orders into effect. Col. Stoddard was the working man of the commission, and under his supervision, the fortifications were designed, located and built.

Fortifications Constructed. Fort Dummer, erected in 1724, by Lieut. Timothy Dwight of Northampton, having been thoroughly repaired after its destruction by fire,¹ was now more formidable than ever. In order to carry out the intentions of this commission it was necessary first to establish a military line on which to erect the blockhouses. Early in July, Lieut. Timothy Dwight, now Col. Dwight, was instructed to survey a line in accordance with general orders, "from Colrain to the Dutch settlements." This was promptly done, and on the 24th of the month, orders were issued to Capt. William Williams of Hatfield, for the erection of a fort in the town of Heath, which was named Fort Shirley, in honor of the Governor of the Province. Another fort was built in the town of Rowe, and named Fort Pelham, but it was not completed

¹ On the 15th of January, 1738, 9 o'clock at night, fire broke out in the room adjoining the magazine at Fort Dummer, and Capt. Kellogg, fearing the fire would soon reach the powder, ordered all the people immediately to leave the fort (after trying in vain to put out the fire), before his orders could be executed the powder blew up and scattered the fire all over the fort, and in a short time it was all consumed, with the stores of war, goods for the Indian trade, and all that belonged to the officers and soldiers, except the clothes they had on. Loss from £6,000 to £7,000."—Boston Evening Post, 1738.

The fort was probably rebuilt by Capt. Kellogg the ensuing year. It was commanded by Capt. Josiah Willard in 1740, who complained that it was in a "defenceless condition." He says that the garrison will put things in a posture for defence and erect two bastions if government will allow him a carpenter and provide nails, iron and boards. These bastions were built in 1741, and a line of pickets twenty feet high, set around the fort.

till the following spring. During that summer a third fortification was erected in the town of Adams, beyond Hoosack mountain, and named Fort Massachusetts. This finished the line of defenses ordered and paid for by the Province. Other means of safety were adopted, and houses were fortified and mounts built in Vernon, Bernardston, Colrain, Charlemont and Charlestown. West of the mountain similar works were constructed at Pittsfield, Stockbridge, and Sheffield. These were built, some at private cost, and others by the towns in which they were situated. Generally the town fortifications were used as places of refuge for the inhabitants in times of sudden assault. In cases of imminent danger they were garrisoned by the Province troops or volunteers paid by the government.

Commanding Officers in Hampshire County. Col. John Stoddard succeeded to the command in this county, on the death of Col. Samuel Partridge, which occurred in 1740. He also had charge of the frontier defenses. Capt. Ephraim Williams of Hatfield, was entrusted with the oversight of the western line of fortifications, with headquarters at Fort Massachusetts, and Major Israel Williams of Hatfield, was appointed commissary of the Western Department.

Soldiers and Dogs were Enlisted, but no Fighting Occurred. Five hundred soldiers were ordered to be raised in 1744, two hundred of whom were to be sent to the western frontiers. Constant scouting was carried on from the forts, under the supervision of Capt. Williams. Dogs were pressed into the service, and accompanied many of the scouting parties, but evidently they did not accomplish all that was anticipated. Abundant signs of the enemy were discovered, but no collision occurred, and no assault was made by the Indians in this section. It is not known that any Northampton men were engaged in this campaign. Undoubtedly some of them enlisted, and were employed in the duties already named, but no company from this town appears among the muster-rolls. During the year both sides were engaged in preparations for the conflict. The burden of building the fortifications and scouting fell upon

the militia from the northern section of the county, as very few troops, if any, were sent from the east. A company of soldiers from a Worcester regiment was sent to Northampton, and ordered to do duty on the frontiers in the summer. The French, in the meantime, were organizing their Indian allies, in readiness to take the field the following year.

The Town Adopts
a New Method
of Defence.

While the battle was afar the people of Northampton remained inactive. Ordinary precautions were undoubtedly taken, but no systematic defensive measures were entered upon till the latter part of the year 1745. The system of fortifications adopted in former years was no longer tenable, even if in existence. A new method better adapted to existing conditions of warfare, had been devised. It was not till December that the matter was brought before the town for action, though it must have formed a topic for general discussion throughout the year. It was then decided by a "great majority that something should be done to fortify themselves against the enemy," and a vote was passed to make "mounts and fortifications." The whole matter was put into the "custody" of a committee who were instructed to report on "Wednesday next." Accordingly on the 25th of December, the committee offered their suggestions. They concluded "that for the present 'tis not best to do any more than to make mounts and flankers according to the Inclinations of those that are to be defended by them," and that it was not expedient to do anything "by way of publick Tax or Expense." They also proposed that the town should be "divided into proper Squadrons & that Each Squadron fort Such Houses and in Such manner as they think best for themselves." Fifteen squadrons were proposed by the committee, and the limits of each district defined. This action of the town seems to have been unsatisfactory, and it was never carried out. Probably the most unpopular feature of the proposition, was that which had reference to the manner of paying the expense. As these squadrons evidently formed the groundwork of the plan of fortifications adopted the next year, they are copied in full:—

“The squadrons the committee propose should be as followeth, viz: That the people on the South Side of Mill River be divided into 3 Squadrons.” This occupied the entire length of South Street.

“And the People Up the plain be divided into two Squadrons, taking in Ensign Gideon Lymans.” This one included the upper part of Bridge and North Streets.

“Another Squadron to be from Dea. Pomeroy's & John Briggs at the East End of the Wid^o Abigail Parsons & the Wid^o of Eben^r Alvord at the other End.” This was probably the lower part of Bridge and the upper part of Hawley Streets.

“Another to be from Noah Strong's taking all that Street.” This included the lower portion of Hawley Street.

“And the other from the meadow Gate up to Benjamin Bartlet's.” This was the lower end of Pleasant Street.

“Another to be from Judd's & Henderson's on both Sides of the Street to Capt Moses Lyman's, taking in Moses Wright's family and Caleb Strong's.” This covered the rest of Pleasant Street to Main.

“Another from Edward Baker's & Saul Alvord's to Elisha Pomeroy's & m^r Jerijah Strong's, taking in Serg^t Waitstill Strong & Serg^t Hunt's.” This included Meeting House Hill, Main Street and South Street to the river.

“Another Squadron to be from Israel Rusts, to Samuel Marshalls and to Ens. Josiah Clark's & his Brother Increase and down to Maj^r Pomeroy's.” In this was embraced the western half of Meeting House Hill, Main to West, and Elm Streets to the Episcopal Church.

“& another from the Wid^o Sarah Clarks & Lt. Hunt's Up to Eben^r Clark, Jr. and Moses Clark's.” This comprised the remainder of Elm Street.

“& Another from John Alvord's down to the Wid^o Millers and up to Mark Warners on both Sides of the way.” This one extended along Prospect Street and included “Black Pole.”

“Another from Hope Roots on both Sides of the way down to Samuel Allens taking in L^t. Benjⁿ Sheldons and Eben^r Kentfield.” In this was included the upper portion of King Street.

“Another Squadron to be from Serg^t Joseph Allen's to Lt. John Miller's taking the back Street from John Strong's & Sam^l Clessons down to Ithamar Clarks.” In this was included the lower section of King Street, extending to Market.

“Josiah Parsons hath determined to be by himSelf as we Are Informed.” He lived on Market Street, his lot extending to the cemetery.

Mounts Ordered to be Built. In the following May an order was adopted to build “mounts or places to watch and ward” in different parts of the town. They were constructed of hewn timber, were about “8 foot Square,” & a floor to Stand Upon about Six or Seven foot from the ground, were covered overhead with boards so as

to "Secure the watch and Ward from Rain," and to be "Speedily Effected at the Cost and Charge of the town."

"The Town then voted to make Some mounts and adjoining to the Houses they are made at and So to be made in the body of the Town and to be places Convemient to fight in; and the Houses where the mounts are made at, to be places of Refuge for the Women & Children to Resort to in Case of an Alarm."

A committee was appointed to determine the respective places where these mounts should be built, and what houses should be fortified in the several squadrons of the town. In September still further action was taken and "flankers and fortifications were ordered to be made with boards or piquets."¹

Remote Places
Fortified.

This work was entered upon at once, and before winter set in the town must have presented somewhat the appearance of a military camp, with mounts and picketed houses in every direction. As nearly as can be ascertained at least thirteen of these structures were erected. The vote in May directed that mounts should be built in the "remote parts of the town." One of them was to be placed near Eliakim Clark's house, on the south side of Mill River. There is no record of any fortification at Clark's house, and this one was undoubtedly constructed at the house of Roger Clapp, afterwards known as the Warham Clapp property. The lot is now owned by C. N. Clark, Esq. Another was to be built "in the street near Moses Clark's house." He lived on Elm Street, in the section since known as "New Boston." From accounts rendered it is shown to have been built "at the end of the town by Mr. Hunt's" and must have been near the homesteads of the late Luther Bodman and S. E. Bridgman, then owned by Joseph Hunt. A third was to be placed "in the street near Mark Warner's house," at "Black Pole," near the upper end of Prospect Street, and in the vicinity of the present "Poor House," a short distance west of that building on the opposite side of the street. Still another was placed "in the Street between Hope Root's House and Eben' Miller's house." This was

¹ The pickets were to be six inches in diameter, nine and one half feet long, sharpened at the upper end, set eighteen inches in the ground, and fastened by a rib extending across about midway, pinned to each picket.

on King Street, a short distance south of the old Catholic Church. The above list comprises all that were built in what was designated as the "remote parts of the town."

Mounts Erected near the Center. Another committee was chosen at the same time to "build some mounts in the body of the town." They had complete control of the work, both as regards location and erection, but seem to have followed in regard to position, the suggestions of the first committee, and placed them within the limits assigned to the proposed squadrons. Under their direction mounts were established at the following places: at Mr. Stoddard's house on Prospect Street, now H. R. Hinkley's; two near Joseph Bartlett's house, in the vicinity of the residence of the late Wm. R. Clapp, on Pleasant Street; another at Capt. Preserved Clapp's on Pleasant Street, near the junction of River Street; one at Rev. Jonathan Edwards' homestead on King Street, now the property of Chas. E. Stevens; another at the house of Lieut. Parsons, on Bridge Street, near the homestead of John W. Hubbard; one at Capt. Joseph Wright's, on Bridge Street, on the homestead of the late J. S. Lathrop. Similar structures were also built at Ebenezer Wright's, on Bridge Street, in the vicinity of the house of the late James Wright, and at John Miller's on King Street, not far from the house of the late Geo. L. Loomis, but for some reason the town refused to pay for them, probably because they were built without the sanction of the committee. To build the fortifications in the outer districts, committees were appointed consisting of persons living in that immediate vicinity. In the body of the town the work was done by the general committee, or by persons appointed by them. The old fort at Pascommuck, which had already sustained one Indian attack, was put in complete repair.

Cost of these Mounts.

No Rum used in their Construction.

These forts or mounts, fourteen in number, twelve of which were paid for out of the town treasury, comprise all the work accomplished in that line during the war. They cost about £360, which includes charges for wood consumed by the soldiers who kept the "court of guard," and the pay of the

committee men. All the items which entered into the expense of constructing these forts are enumerated in the original bills, and they are still on file, but curiously enough, rum is nowhere mentioned. When a meeting-house, a school-house, or a bridge was built, rum was an important factor, and was treated as an ordinary expense. But here was work extending through the summer, and into the winter, and no stimulant seems to have been provided by the town. If any was used the workmen furnished it themselves. After peace was declared the forts were demolished, and the materials sold for £63. They were the last defensive structures ever built or needed in the town.

Casualties of the Year. During the year 1745, the Indians committed no depredation within this county. No attack was made upon any town in it, and no citizen of Northampton was killed or wounded by them. Indians were constantly lurking in the woods along the frontiers, as well as near the upper settlements, and gave ample employment to the troops stationed at the block-houses. The entire list of casualties for the year was confined within the limits of what now comprises the State of Vermont. Their first appearance was at Putney, in June, when William Phipps, who was hoeing corn, was captured by a couple of them. When they reached the woods Phipps knocked one of them down with a hoe, and seizing his gun, shot the other. Coming upon three more of the enemy soon after, he was killed and scalped. Within a few days, Josiah Fisher was killed at Keene. On October 11th, Nehemiah How was taken at Great Meadow, where he resided, fourteen miles above Fort Dummer. About three miles above this point, David Rugg was shot and killed while in a canoe with Robert Baker, coming down the river, but Baker escaped to the bank. The Indians with How, crossed the lake to Crown Point. He saw Amrusus, the husband of Eunice Williams. The French lieutenant at the fort was named Ballock; he had been a prisoner at Boston, and had visited Northampton and vicinity. How reached Quebec, October 29th, eighteen days after his capture, and was imprisoned with other captives. He died

in Canada within two years. A vigorous pursuit of this band of marauders by soldiers from Fort Dummer and volunteers from Deerfield and Northampton, failed of success. Numerous alarms kept the soldiers on the alert, and the campaign, though devoid of actual fighting, was by no means a holiday excursion.

CHAPTER X.

KING GEORGE'S FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

Louisburg and its
Fortress.

BY far the most brilliant feat of the war was accomplished during its second year.

Louisburg, the strongest fortress on the continent, was captured after a siege of forty-seven days, by a handful of raw recruits, without discipline, poorly equipped, and commanded by a merchant of Kittery. Twenty-five years had been consumed, and thirty million Livres expended by the French government in strengthening the place, after the system of Vauban. The city occupied a tongue of land standing out between the harbor and the sea. For a distance of twelve hundred yards on the landward side, across the neck, extended these formidable fortifications. The rampart of earth, thirty feet high, faced with solid masonry, was sixty feet wide and from thirty to thirty-six feet deep. Embrasures were provided for one hundred forty-eight cannon, but only a part of them were mounted when the siege commenced. On the shore, about a mile above the city, facing the entrance to the harbor, was the Royal or "Grand Battery," defended by many heavy guns.

Gov. Shirley's Prop-
osition.

Encouraged by reports representing the garrison as small, insufficiently supplied with food, and on the verge of mutiny,

Gov. Shirley conceived the idea that this stronghold might be surprised and captured by a moderately sized army. In January he laid the proposition before the General Court, with a request that the matter should not be made public. But the undertaking was deemed altogether too formidable, and could not be entertained. When the design accident-

ally became known, however, it met with such great favor among the people, that the Governor, sustained by a number of petitions from some of the sea-coast towns, again brought the subject before the Legislature, and after considerable debate, the expedition was sanctioned by a majority of one vote.

The Expedition Organized. William Pepperell, of Kittery, Me., a trader, who had received scarcely any military training whatever, was chosen commander-in-chief, with Roger Wolcott of Connecticut, as second in command. An attempt was made to interest all the colonies in the enterprise, but with scant success. New England furnished all the troops; New York voted £3,000, and Gov. Clinton sent in addition a quantity of provisions raised by private subscription, and loaned ten eighteen-pound guns; New Jersey contributed £2,000, but declined to send any men; and Pennsylvania voted £4,000 to purchase stores. Massachusetts provided much the largest contingent, sending three thousand two hundred fifty men, while Connecticut was represented by five hundred sixteen, and New Hampshire by three hundred four. So tardy was Rhode Island that her soldiers arrived too late to participate in the siege.

It Proved Quite Popular. Throughout Massachusetts this expedition was so well received, that more men enlisted than were required, and several companies were refused. The capture of Louisburg has been so many times and so minutely described, that there is little occasion to recall its incidents, except so far as to chronicle to some extent, the part taken in it by citizens of Northampton and vicinity. Fortunately there exists for this purpose a mine of valuable information in the Journal and Letters of Gen. Seth Pomeroy; the former will be given in full, and the latter drawn upon to elucidate the narrative.

And was soon Ready to Sail. Great care was exercised to keep the enemy in ignorance of the projected movement, and in the official correspondence of the time it is only vaguely alluded to as "the expedi-

tion." Enlistments were speedily effected, and the army was gathered and embarked in less than two months. Several companies were raised in Hampshire County, two sailing with the first fleet, and another going later when reinforcements were forwarded. In February, Seth Pomeroy of Northampton (then Major), as Col. Stoddard says, was "beating up for men in the upper part of the county," and in a short time he had enlisted a company of fifty men, though Stoddard says that he was "provoked (when we mustered) to see how few appeared after so much pretension to List." In this company were fifteen men from Northampton, nine from Hatfield, six from Deerfield, three from Hadley, two from Northfield, and twelve whose residence cannot now be determined. To make up the number named above, three names are wanting; undoubtedly they failed to pass muster.

Hampshire County
Officers.

The 4th Massachusetts Regiment, to which the Hampshire Company enlisted in this section was attached, was commanded by Col. Samuel Willard; Seth Pomeroy held the office of Major as well as that of Captain of the 3^d company; Thomas Chandler was Lieut.-Colonel and Captain of the 2^d company. Gen. Joseph Dwight of Brookfield was appointed Brigadier-General and had command of the 9th Regiment. He was Colonel of a train of artillery, of which Joseph Hawley¹ of Northampton was Chaplain.² Another company enlisted from the frontier garrisons by Capt. William Williams, which was sent to reinforce the army, but did not arrive till the city had surrendered, contained the names of a number of Northampton men on its muster-roll.

An Anti-Catholic
Crusade.

Believed by the people to be mainly anti-Catholic in its design, the expedition was regarded as under the especial protection of Providence. Hence in every hamlet and town prayers were constantly offered in its behalf. Northampton was not behindhand in this pious fervor, nor were her soldiers

1 Perry's Williamstown, p. 94.

2 Mr. Hawley's commission as Chaplain is dated March 23, 1744.

left in ignorance of the fact. Mary Pomeroy in a letter to her husband, dated May 27th, says :

“The whole town is much moved with concern for the expedition, how Providence will order the affair, for which religious meetings every week in town are maintained.” Under date of June 11th, Ebenezer Pomeroy, father of Major Seth, writes :— “I would inform you and your soldiers that God in his Providence has stirred up a remarkable spirit of prayer in this city, for victory in this grand expedition and I hear also throughout the land, for in this town the parents and some other relatives of those gone in the expedition, have constantly set apart some time every week to pray to God for success in this grand affair and we have good reason to believe that it hath not been in vain ; for God hath in a very remarkable manner smiled upon the fleet and army.”

Major Pomeroy's
Company.

The company of Major Pomeroy was crowded into the small fishing vessels, ninety of which were required to transport the troops. On the 24th of March, the fleet set sail from Nantasket roads and soon encountered a severe storm, with the usual consequences to landsmen. But though they weath-ered the storm in safety, the fleet was scattered. After buffeting the waves for nearly two weeks, narrowly escap-
ing shipwreck, the little vessels containing the Hampshire soldiers entered the harbor of Canseau, about fifty miles from Louisburg, where they found a number of transports belonging to the expedition, at anchor. Here in a few days the entire fleet was concentrated, and here it was com-
pelled to remain till the last of April, waiting for the ice to break up in the harbor of Louisburg.

The Voyage of the
Hampshire Com-
pany.

Concerning the voyage of Major Pomeroy and his company, the commander in his first home letter, dated April 6th, gives the annexed account, by which it will be seen that the major, whatever may have been the case with the soldiers, had a very severe attack of seasickness :—

“Yesterday arrived safe at camp, which was the 14th day since we embarked and 13 of the days sea sick in the highest degree, 24 hours often without one mouthful of meat. * * * All strong drink, the smell of which was more than I could bear, was an abomination to me, and if any body ever died with sea sickness I believe I should if it had continued a little while longer. We are now in a good harbour and I

feel much better. How long we shall stay here I cannot tell. Our fleet are not all arrived yet, but counted yesterday 68 sail of vessels at anchor in this harbour."

The soldiers did not wholly escape the malady which prostrated their superior officer, but he was in no condition to aid or sympathize with them while on ship-board: however, when once in camp and restored to health, he looked to their wants.

"My company," he writes, "are all in health with good appetites and our Provisions are good and very plenty and their daily allowance is sufficient for each, so nobody can complain." Again on the 19th, he alludes to the general health of the army. He says: "It is very remarkable in the army that they have their health in so great a degree, considering the great difficulty of lodging on board vessels and no fires to dry their wet clothes. In my company not a man ill above 2 or 3 days at a time except sea sickness."

The Fleet sets Sail for Louisburg. On the 29th of April, the fleet sailed from Canseau harbor and the next morning, "sun 1 hour high," came in sight of the city of Louisburg. A landing was immediately effected upon the Island of Cape Breton without the loss of a man. The ground upon which they were compelled to camp was low and marshy, the only water they had to drink was discolored and stagnant, the troops were without tents, living in "turf and bough houses, officers and soldiers together;" their provisions were chiefly "pork and bread without sauce, except a small matter of beans and peas." Major Pomeroy had no tent till the 7th of June. Sickness soon broke out, many of the men suffered from dysentery and fever.

Capture of the "Grand Battery." The next day after landing, a demonstration was made against the "Grand Battery," situated about two miles up the harbor, by Col. Vaughn with a detachment of four hundred men, but the only result was the burning of several warehouses, filled with stores. On the 2^d of May, the Battery was captured, the French having deserted it in a panic, leaving behind them only a quantity of spiked cannon. Major Pomeroy with a squad of twenty men, smiths like himself, was detailed to make the guns serviceable again.

In a letter to his wife he alludes to this incident in the following modest manner :—

“ Gen. Pepperell gave me the charge and oversight of above twenty Smiths in boring them out. Cannon balls and bombs hundreds of them were fired at us from the city and the Island fort, great numbers of them struck the Fort, some in the parade among the people, but none of them hurt, and as soon as we could get the cannon clear we gave them fire for fire and bombarded them on the west side.”

Letter from the Be- The following letter from Major Pomeroy
sieging Army. to his wife, never before published, shows
the progress of the siege and the faith of
the writer in the ultimate success of the undertaking :—

“ Cape breton, May y^e 17, 1745.

“ My Dear Wife

“ Every opportunity I would Improve to write. But now in short: Our army for a week Past have Ben Sickly But now Something Better not one Died with Seckness. I have not ben Sick But under go y^e hard ships of a Campaign But y^t I am willing for with an expectation y^t we Shall Succeed at Last: y^e Remarkable Providences y^t has Past before my Eys in favour of us gives me Reason to hope for Further Success: y^e Citty of Louisburg is an exceeding Strong well Fortified Place (y^e grand Battle we have got) & have closely shut it up & Laid close Sige'd to it: near a hundred we have taken of y^m there [besides¹] Cows Sheep goats & Some household stuff we have taken: an [d we] have had above a thousand Cannon bawls & hundreds of Cr [thrown] about us yet not But about 12 killed By y^m; But 12 or 13 more after they was taken Prisoners ware Barbarously Put to Death. My Soldiers have Some of y^m ben Ill But now growing Better: All alive no Fatal accident happened to any of y^m. Vastly more Difficult than ever we thoat of y^e takeing of Louisburg is; But I hope we shall have y^e Citty in time God only knows when; my Duty to my Father & Mother. Love to Brothers and Sisters: Love un Speakable to my Dear wife & Loving & Dutifull children & hope if it be y^e will of God to see your Pleasant Faces again.

SETH POMEROY.”

John Hooker Concerning the special duties which fell to
Wounded. the company of which Pomeroy was Cap-
tain, no mention has been made. Doubt-
less they assisted in dragging the cannon on sledges across
the morass, helped to mount and serve the guns, and con-
vey provisions and ammunition from the fleet to the camp.
They suffered the privations and dangers of that arduous

1 At this point the letter is torn, and the missing words, as far as the sense seems to indicate, are supplied in brackets.

campaign, but fortunately escaped serious results. In a letter dated June 10th, he thus alludes to the condition of the army in general, and of his own company in particular :

“ In the army are a great many sick, but very few are dangerously sick. My own company are all alive, not one dangerously sick, nor but one wounded, that is John Hooker¹ who is much burnt by powder, but is in a hopeful way of getting well. The dangers that I and my company have been exposed to have been as great as any company in the army. What we have lost in the Army I fear is near 200, but I hope that many of them are in the city that were taken at the [Island] Battery. What we have taken, and killed of the French since we first came to camp, I think by the best account I have had is about 1000 persons.” Five days later, and two days before the surrender, Pomeroy writes :— “ Myself and my soldiers are all alive and well. None of them have yet been wounded, though more exposed than any part of the army.”

On the 15th of June, preparations were made for an assault upon the city as soon as the wind would permit the squadron to sail into the harbor, but on that day a flag of truce was received from the enemy asking terms of surrender, and the city capitulated on the 17th. Twenty-five men from Col. Willard's regiment, under Lieut. David King, were detailed to serve on board a man-of-war during the attack : only one, however, was from Major Pomeroy's company. His name was Darbe Crowley, but his residence is unknown. Lieut. David King was a native of Northampton, but had removed to Housatonnuck. He was Lieutenant under Capt. Thomas Chandler, in the 9th Massachusetts Regiment, commanded by Brigadier-General Dwight.

After the surrender of the city, the Northampton soldiers remained in camp most of the time, Col. Willard's regiment having been ordered to guard the stores. Major Pomeroy's Journal indicates that they were not detailed for duty within

¹ He was the son of John Hooker of Springfield, born in 1722. In 1754, he resided at Fall Town (Bernardston), and in October of that year petitioned the legislature for an allowance. He says that he was a soldier at Cape Breton, under Capt. Ebenezer Alexander, and was badly hurt by the blowing up of a barrel of powder, was taken to Boston and put under the care of a physician, from October to January 27, 1745-6, and then returned to his friends. He asked pay for his time, and £3 was granted him. Lieut. Ebenezer Alexander was from Northfield, and succeeded Major Pomeroy as Captain of his company.

the city : though about ten days before they left for home, they went into Louisburg and occupied the houses of the inhabitants. Most of the company sailed for Boston on the 10th and 11th of July.

Illness of Major Pomeroy. No letters of Major Pomeroy from the 10th of June to the 30th of July have come under notice. On the 27th of June, he was taken violently ill with fever, and did not leave his room till the 6th of July. He attributed his sickness to the damp and rainy weather which kept his tent and every thing within it constantly wet. The day before his seizure, he went into the city and lodged with Chaplain [Joseph] Hawley, and here he remained for ten days. It is not probable that he was able to attend to any of his military duties after this time. In about a week he sailed for Boston. Sixteen days elapsed before he reached that city, and business detained him so that he did not leave Boston till the 6th of August. In two days he reached his "own pleasant home in the middle of Northampton," where he arrived at five o'clock, on the afternoon of the 8th, having been absent four months and twenty-four days. In the last letter to his wife, dated Boston, July 30th, he writes : —

"I was this day informed that you have heard that I was very sick and doubted whether living. Very sick I have been the reason why I did not send you word was that you could do me no good and do yourself much hurt with concern for me, and I hoped you would not hear of it. My dear with ink and pen I shall not pretend to give any account of what has passed before my eyes in a variety of remarkable Providences in favour of our great design that we have been upon, and to me especially, for the time would fail to do it, but hope God willing, to be at Northampton, in the happy enjoyment of my dear wife to love and speak forth the praises of God together in a short time."

Soldiers from Northampton. Pomeroy says repeatedly that his company was more exposed than any others in the army, yet none of them were killed, wounded or died. They returned to their homes, wearied and worn with the hardships of the campaign, but buoyant and rejoicing in the glorious victory they had helped to win. In this expedition, as far as can be ascertained, there seems to have been engaged not less than thirty-eight men

from Northampton, but it is impossible to identify them all. The names of those who enlisted in Major Pomeroy's company will be found in the muster-roll as given in his Journal. Of the nineteen men from this town, whom Pomeroy says came with the reinforcements in Col. Williams' Regiment, only six are positively known, viz. :— William Clark, Nathaniel Wright, Elkanah Burt, Stephen Clark, Simeon Pomeroy, and Timothy Baker. Seven others, Josiah Wright, Joseph Cook, Elias Lyman, Daniel Warner, Benjamin Parsons, Medad Lyman, and Benjamin Sheldon, whose names are given in Col. Williams' muster-roll, were probably from this town. Major Pomeroy also mentions a Captain from Northampton in a Worcester County Regiment as among the reinforcements, but his name is unknown.¹ While no one from Northampton was killed or wounded, two of Pomeroy's company died in the service— Stephen Clark and Timothy Baker. Stephen, son of John Clark (second of the name), was in the fourth generation from William, the first settler, and was but eighteen years of age. Timothy Baker was the son of John Baker, and about twenty-five years old. In 1747, Elisha Strong petitioned the General Court for "further allowance by reason of his Services and sufferings at the siege of Louisburg."²

1 John Baker is named as Captain, in the reinforcements under Col. Williams and he may have been the man.

2 The wages of the troops engaged in this expedition were: Major £8.10 per month; First Lieut. 60s.; Second Lieut. 40s.; First Sergt. and Clerk 32s.; other Sergeants and Corporals 25s.; Privates received 25s. for four weeks, or 6s. 3d. per week.

CHAPTER XI.

SETH POMEROY'S JOURNAL.

Northampton, March, 14, 1744-5.

On Thursday set out from Northampton upon my journey to Boston upon the designed expedition against Cape Breton. Came to Boston Saturday, one of the clock, tarried there till next week. On Saturday after at sunset sailed down to King's Road and came to an anchor till Sabbath day at three of the clock in the afternoon, and sailed off with about sixty sail of vessels, and the same night sun about an hour high. Taken very sick all that night, next day all day and the night following, and Tuesday all day, and at night came to anchor at the mouth of Sheep's Gut river. Wednesday morning eat about one quarter of a biscuit with butter and something revived, and about noon went on shore, roasted meat and drank good running water, felt much revived. This was the 27th day. It was a cloudy day dark and misty, the night following very rainy with cold north wind till about noon and then cleared up with a cold northwest wind which was the 28th day of March. We tarried there all that day in the mouth of Sheep's Gut River at an anchor. Friday morning set sail which was the 29th day, about ten of the clock, with a fair wind till the next day about noon and then came up a terrible north east storm, all that day and night, till about break of day, a Sabbath day morning and then a calm all that day, which was the 31st, we lay rolling in the seas, with our sails furled, with prodigious waves. Monday another terrible storm which was the 1st day of April. This day's storm scattered our fleet. The storm towards night abated and then we were left alone, but about eight of the clock of the night we set sail and in the morning,

the 2^d of April we had a fair wind, all this time from Friday till this day which was Tuesday, nothing to eat or drink that I had any appetite to. All that I took to eat or drink I vomited up again, sick day and night, so bad that I have not words to set it forth, nor can I give any body an idea of it, that hath not felt the same or something like it, and so shall say no more here.

Tuesday night about sunset, passed by Cape Sable, the 2nd day of April. The next day and night following sailed with a good gale of wind till Friday about 4 of the clock in the afternoon and then came to Canso Harbour. There were then at anchor 68 sail of vessels and several more that were not yet in. Saturday which was the 6th of April, which was a very rainy day and dark. The next day was the Sabbath and Mr. Moody in the afternoon preached a sermon upon Canso Island from Psalm 110, ver. 3. "Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power," to a very great company of people. Doct. was that Christ the great Captain of our Salvation, sends forth his servants to enlist volunteers in his service. Monday at evening, which was the 8th of April, came in seven more, Thursday came in nine more.

I embarked at Boston on board the Hannah and Mary, Capt. David Carmida, commander, tarried with him till Friday, the 12th April, and then shipped on board Capt. Joseph Smith's schooner Sally, in Canso Harbour. That day in the afternoon was a storm of snow and wind cold and severe as almost any in winter, lasted till about midnight. Saturday were thunder storms, rain and very dark, and the night following Sabbath day morning, was the 14th, very dark and foggy, some rain and in the evening following cleared up with a fair N. N. W. wind. That day we came into Canso Harbour, was brought in, taken by Capt. Fletcher, a French sloop, loaded with rum, wine brandy and indigo, without the loss of a man; about the same time was taken by Capt. Dunahue, and brought into Canso, three Indians of the Cape Sables, and a Sabbath day, the 14th of April, brought in eight more. Monday morning, fair weather and orders given out to sail, but wind not suiting, did not sail that day. Tuesday was a fair pleasant morning, but the wind contrary, but soon overcast with clouds and fog that day and night following.

Wednesday the forenoon fair, in the afternoon rain, brought in a brig taken off Carborough bay by Capt. Snelling, loaded with rum, molasses, coffee and chocolate, who had a few days before taken a fishing schooner belonging to Cape Ann (April the 17th) the men on board the brig who belonged to the schooner informed us that the ice at Cape Breton was so driven up that a vessel could not get into the harbour, so we were obliged to stay in Canso till that was removed.

April, the 18th 1745. Thursday: This day was a rainy day, and about 3 of the clock in the afternoon, the great guns began to fire off Canso Harbour, 3 or 4 leagues (many of the vessels were discovered by the people here from the tops of the masts and the high hill at Canso) continued without much intermission till ten of the clock in the evening. About six of the clock Capt. Dunahue and Capt. Swan brought in a fine brig that they had taken that afternoon. Before this prize came in Rouse Sanders and the Piscataqua Sloop, well manned went out in pursuit: the cannon a firing all this while. Dunahue and Swan manned off before it was dark and out again.

Friday, the 19th. The cannon fired at a great rate till about two of the clock. Capt. Beckett went out for a discovery but found nothing but a body of ice. Saturday, the 20th. This was a fair and pleasant day, and the companies on shore began to exercise. Sanders returned from chase after ship and although she was chased by Snelling, Ting, Rowse Smithers, which were 16, 18 and 20 guns and several more smaller ones and some hundreds of cannon fired at her, yet she got away from them all. The chase continued upwards of 30 hours. She was about a 30 gun ship and a smart ship.

Sabbath day, 21st was a very rainy day. Capt. Furnal the Piscataque sloop had returned from her chase after the ship, turned and went to the harbour at Louisburg, and found it full of ice. At his return to Canso met with a schooner that the French a few days before had taken and he retook her and brought her in. This was the sixth vessel that had been taken and brought into this harbour since we came into it. This day four of Col. Willards men being on shore getting wood one of the men was shot at by a

Frenchman and it grazed one finger and went through his coat sleeve. The four men being unarmed and on shore getting wood were surprised by two Frenchmen and one Indian appearing in arms. The four Englishmen yielded themselves up prisoners and went off, as they were with their enemies and traveled as they judged about ten miles; as they traveled they agreed when an opportunity presented to fall upon them and the word was given, and three of the English fell upon them, each of them a man and the other to their guns, and made themselves masters of them, and brought them back again. A little before they came to the place where they were taken, the Indian turned about and ran away, one of the Englishmen shot after him and it is thought he is dead, for the canoe they came in and a bottle of rum in it, our people found the next day, but the Indian had not been there.

Monday, 22nd was a fair day, cold and windy. This day came in a 40 gun ship, Capt. Duval, commander, who brought news of Capt. Warren and three other men of war, and one of our transports that was given up for lost came in, well.

Tuesday, April 23. This day was taken a small sloop at St. Peters, and four or five houses burnt, one Frenchman killed, three Englishmen wounded. Came into the mouth of Canso Harbour, Commodore Warren with a 60 gun ship, one 50 guns and 2 40 guns. This was a fair day.

Wednesday, the 24th. This was a fair day, nine sail of vessels from Connecticut with their forces came in, in high spirits and good health.

Thursday, the 25th. This was a very windy day, wind at South and showers. I visited the Connecticut gentlemen and dined with Governor Wilcot. The wind in the night at W. S. W.

Friday, the 26th. This morning cloudy, very strong wind at W. S. W. the wind ceased and it was a very rainy day and night. Following that day we had news that Commodore Warren had taken three vessels which came out of Saint Peters.

Saturday, the 27th. This was foggy, some clouds and dark, but before noon it cleared up, wind at S. S. E. We are informed that the harbour at Louisburg is clear of ice. We wait only a fair wind to sail.

Sabbath day, the 28th, was a foggy day, no rain, warm weather for Canso. Preaching upon the burying Island in the forenoon by Mr. Crocker and in the afternoon by Mr. Newman. At sunset orders were given to sail, but the wind died away and we were obliged to stay for a fair wind.

Monday, the 29th. About 7 of the clock we sailed out of Canso Harbour for Cape Breton with a fair wind; the wind ceased so we laid to at night.

Tuesday, the 30th. This was a fair pleasant morning. Came in fair sight, sun 1 hour high, of Louisburgh. There appeared a great number of French marching up the sea side towards Cabaraugh Bay to prevent our people landing but as quick as possible our boats were on shore. Some few of the English ran to meet the French and came in shot of them, there was a short but sharp engagement. Two of the French were killed on the spot, one taken and more wounded and the English had not one killed, one or two slightly wounded. The French got off as fast as they could, the English following them. But the woods being very thick, they soon got out of sight, but there was soon a great number of the English gathered together, and they followed them up in the woods, and got round them so that they were not able many of them to get into the town. In the afternoon three more of them were taken and at night two more were killed near the town. We landed safe although we were in great danger. Encamped that night on Cape Breton.

Wednesday, May 1st. Several more French were taken, the French burned many of their own houses and sank their vessels many of them. In the North East Harbour our people burnt many of their houses, took two Frenchmen. The French at the Royal Battre were frightened away. Our people got possession of the Royal Battre, but the touchholes of their cannon were stopped up before they went off.

Thursday, the 2nd. Several of the French horses, cows, calves, goats, such of them as would do for meat were killed, and some of their men and two women taken. The touch hole of one of their guns at Royal Battre was drilled out and fired at the town, above 100 guns from the town fired at the Royal Battre, and many bombs. No man hurt.

Friday, the 3rd. This day three of our guns at the Royal Battre fit for firing, and fired twenty shots with 42 pounders. Received many from them shot and bombs, but nobody hurt.

Saturday, the 4th. Fired 94 of our guns from the Royal Battre, upon the town, and a 13 inch bomb, placed at a part of the town about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, fired 4 directly into the town. Several more taken of the French.

Sabbath day, the 5th of May. This day I was ordered and had a commission from the General to oversee twenty odd smiths in clearing the cannon touch holes that the French had stopped up. This day a 42 pounder of the Royal Battre was split. Capt. Roads much burnt, but has since recovered. There I staid till Thursday, hundreds of cannon and a great number of bombs fired balls through the fort and in the walls, but nobody much hurt. We fired many hundreds of guns at them. In this time many prisoners taken, some killed, several attacks were designed against the island battre prove unsuccessful.

Thursday, the 9th. This day were three men wounded and one both of his legs shot off, who died in a short time.

Friday, the 10th. Twenty odd men who were up in the woods were shot upon by a greater number of French and Indians; killed four of the men, 3 or 4 got away—13 of our men gave themselves up prisoners—but the merciless, barbarous creatures tormented them to death after they had given them quarters.

Saturday, the 11th. I visited Rector Williams at his camp and Col. Burr and dined with them.

Sabbath day, the 12th. This day in the afternoon heard Rector Williams preach from these words:—"Ho every one that thirsteth come and take of the waters of life freely."

Monday, the 13th. This day there was a man killed at the Battre from a shot from the town and one wounded at the Greenhill, by one of our guns breaking; the man's leg broke all to pieces. The Doctor cut it off at the knee.

Tuesday, the 14th. This was a rainy day and it hailed for the first time we came upon this land. At night it cleared up. We laid still all that day.

Wednesday, the 13th. A fair day. 2 fascion battries

preparing at the west and south west part of the city in order to beat down the walls and gates. The cannon were drawing from the Grand Battre to place in them; some already placed in the south west part to play well upon the town, also a large mortar with some cow horns. Some hundreds of cannon fired from the town in order to prevent our people proceeding in their work, but no man was hurt.

I would make remarks upon our campaign. The people many of them are ill, the reasons I think are plain: 1st the ground here is cold and wet, the water much of it is in low marshy ground of a reddish color and stagnated. The people have no beds to lay on, nor tents to keep off the fogs and dew.

2^{ndly} Our provisions are chiefly pork and bread without sauce, except a small matter of beans and peas, which sets the people into fluxes, and many of the people are unacquainted with lying in the woods and keep no fires, get great cold. The places are not convenient for sick people, and very uncomfortable for them to be taken to, so that their illness must of necessity increase upon them; so I learn by this campaign how to do better in another if it should ever be in my time.

Thursday, the 16th. One man killed by a bomb (this was a fair day) belonging to Piscataque at Portsmouth in New Hampshire.

Friday, the 17th. A fair day. A number of French from town, near the Light House engaged a company of our men who were upon that land about 40 of ours beat off about 100 of them. One French man was wounded and taken, and how many killed we do not know. One of our men was wounded at night. We drew two large cannon from the Grand Battre and two more that were partly drawn before and their carriages, and placed them within 40 or 50 rods of the town. A gun split at the Grand Battre and wounded 2 men; the third that has split there.

Saturday, the 18th. This was a fair day in the morning. The French engaged our people with small arms from the walls, and our people attacked them, many hundreds of guns were fired to and from one and another. Several of them we killed without doubt. Two of ours were killed by noon, two or three more in the afternoon. Capt. Parce was killed by a cannon ball.

Sabbath day, 19th. Cloudy this day, wind N. E. Early in the morning the guns, cannon and small arms began to fire. One of our gunners was killed. Many hundred, small and great were fired. About two of the clock, they began an engagement by sea, with our ships of war. Broad sides were fired both sides. What the issue is we do not yet know, so leave it. This day a sorrowful accident happened. A barrel of powder caught fire, killed two and burnt three more very much; another accident happened, a great gun split and killed two men and wounded several more.

Monday, May 20th, 1745. This is my birthday and I have arrived to the full age of Thirty nine years and have seen and been the subject of many remarkable deliverances. But since I have been engaged in this expedition, daily something remarkable and some days extraordinary, providences in favor of the army or my own preservation. A record of which I hope and desire never to forget, but to keep a record of it upon my mind and to give the Preserver of men who orders all things by a wise providence the praise of it. Saturday last Capt. Flacher's men being on shore at Caborough bay to get water, all up in a heap, were shot upon by a number of Indians 7 killed and three more taken. One man died Monday by sickness.

Tuesday, 21st. Something foggy with a south wind. One man died by sickness, 3 days together foggy and dark, 1 died by sickness this day.

Wednesday, 22^d. This is a fair day and pleasant. Last sabbath day night Commodore Warren after a sharp engagement with a 70 gun ship from France, the Mermaid a 40 gunship with him, for two hours, yard arm and yard arm, took her with only the loss of 4 men, but the French lost 30 and many more wounded. The ship this day was brought in and lay in fair sight of the town, for the French to look up. She is a vast rich prize.

Thursday, the 23rd. This is a fair day, pleasant morning: many attempts we have had for taking the Island Battre, which all prove abortive. This night Col. Noble was the overseer of the attack. The soldiers sailed all around the Island, but no Col. Noble to be found. For want of an officer the soldiers returned. Capt. Hale at the Grand

Battre last week was wounded by the splitting of a cannon, and died this week. This day one of Commodore Warren's men that was wounded some time past, died.

Friday, 24th. Cloudy the forenoon but the afternoon fair with N. E. wind. Died Major Nuten of Colchester.

Saturday the 25th. By a scout of men up in the woods, they discovered six Frenchmen and killed one of them and took 3 more. It was a very dry time with a N. W. wind. The woods burnt furiously and the fire came near our camp. With much labor it was stopped so that there was not that I know of any damage done by it to any of our camps.

Sabbath day, May the 26th, 1745. This was a fair day. A Company of volunteers enlisted for another attack on the Island Battre, although there had been 4 or 5 attempts for it before, and all proved unsuccessful, and Providence seemed not to favor it: yet some people were engaged to try once more and this night put it in practice. But now Providence seemed to frown remarkably on the affair. Our people were discovered by those at the Island Battre before they got on shore, and the French being prepared with their cannon pointed down to strike the boats just before they came on shore, loaded with chain and partridge shot, and a great number of men with small arms, as soon as our people came in sight, with all the fury and resolution possible they fired upon them, and cut off whole boat loads of them, but in spite of all their fire 4 or 5 boat loads got on the Island and engaged them for near an hour, by firing great numbers of small arms upon them. Not more than 3 or 4 rods apart and by the light of their fire saw well to shoot and doubtless killed many of them. Other boats, great numbers of them behind, not having a pilot were not able to get on shore, and trying for a long time and in the very heat of the fire, they found they were not able to land, returned, those of them that were able returned as fast as they could to land again. Those that had got on the Island as many of them as could get boats, made the best of their way off, but many left behind, that there were no boats for, so were obliged to fall into the hand of their enemies. Many were taken, many killed

and drowned and wounded. The number yet I do not know. It is since thought 150 in all.

Monday, the 27th. This was a dark and cloudy day with some rain. About ten captives brought in that were taken up in the woods north of the Grand Battre. A scout of our regiment went out Sunday last to see what discovery they could make, with a design to return the next day, but came not till Thursday. A man was wounded at the west gate with a small arm and at night one with a bomb.

Tuesday, 28th. Col. Noble being out with a company of about 400 men met with a number of French, engaged them, killed a number of them not certain but it is thought many, and took one. Lost of ours six, wounded 18. The one that was taken came out of the town about a fortnight past and gives account that provisions are very scarce, meat nor bread have they little or anything to eat.

Wednesday, the 29th. This was a pleasant fair day. Since last Friday to this day, I have been kept in by a Quinceycal humor that was upon me, but I have now in some measure got well of it, and this day walked out.

Thursday, the 30th. This was a fair pleasant day. Our scout that went out last Sunday came in this day, but had found nothing. A scout from above the Grand Battre brought in ten captives of the company that Col. Noble with 400 men engaged with last Tuesday. It is said by these captives that they had killed and wounded about 40 men and the rest of the number in the whole was about 150 French and Indians, and the remainder scattered about in small companies, without any meat and little or no bread.

Friday, the 31st. This was a foggy morning and dark day in the forenoon but afterwards pleasant and warm.

Saturday, June 1, 1745. Cloudy, foggy and some rain. As soon as it was light hundreds of small arms were fired by our people at the West gate, and from the French at our people, but nobody was wounded. Capt. Melvin with a company went out to scout.

Sabbath day, June 2, 1745. A foggy, dark morning. Last night received a letter from my wife and with great satisfaction. I then and this morning read it and am much rejoiced to hear of the welfare of my family, and ex-

perienced that good news from a far country is like cold water to a thirsty soul. At night went up to the West gate. At the fascion battery. Lodged at Capt. Omsted's. About sunset a man was shot in the head by a piece of bomb shell. I hope not mortally. A piece of the same bomb shell struck within a few feet of me, and soon after a bomb fell within about a rod of me, and a great number of people also were within a few rods of it, but no man was hurt.

Monday, the 3^d. A cloudy morning, but soon cleared off. In the morning Lt. Grant picked a mess of herb, boiled them at Capt. Omsted's eat them with a good appetite, they being the first greens that I have tasted of this spring. A sloop was taken bound to Louisburg, from Canada, loaded with provisions. The people in it ran it ashore, jumped off the bowsprit, left the sloop and ran into the woods.

Tuesday, June 4th. A fair pleasant day. There were brought in 18 or 20 captives, men, women and children. In the afternoon went to the West gate to command the guard there. Staid in the trench all night. The French shot 4 or 5 cannon and once charged the pieces with langrange, some within a very little matter of my head and other people, but none hurt. Shot 3 bombs around and among us, but nobody was hurt. About twelve of the night a Frenchman came out of the city, choosing to be with the English, who informed us of the state of the circumstances of the city. The number of the people in all about 3000 that were killed by us and forty wounded, provisions scarce, meat none, dried fish enough, 116 of our people taken, some of them wounded.

Wednesday, the 5th. A fair day. Staid this day at the West gate, having the care of the guard. At night returned to my camp. A ship was taken this day. It is said to be a 34 gunship.

Thursday, the 6th. A fair day. I had this day the charge of removing the Hospital with our Regiment. The sick we first took out and then took down the house and carried it to our new camp, which was about half a mile, and set it up again, put the sick in at night. This day one of the men that was moved, that belonged to Capt. Baker, died, and in the night, Clary, that was burnt with powder

some time past, also died. A French boy came out of the city, who had deserted and we cannot get anything out of him. He will not talk and seems to be an idiot and half fool.

Friday, the 7th. A fair day. This day we removed our tents. This is the third time we have moved, we not being in proper form for a campaign, and now we have placed ourselves more compact together. Today I got myself a tent to dwell in, and this was the first night that I have lodged in one since we encamped. Our lodging before was turf and bough houses, officers and soldiers together. Now I lodge in one by myself.

Saturday, the 8th. A stormy day. This day the Captain of the vigilance sent a letter to the Governor in the city by a flag of truce, to inform him that he was used very well and advised him (that is the Governor) to give up the city. The letter being read and they came to understand the vigilance was taken, it put them into a great consternation, for they much depended upon it. When the soldiers came to hear of it they determined not to fight, except they were forced, and one of them was coming to bring some letters from the prisoners, was found out and they directly hanged him. This we understood by two men that came out the night following. This day a man riding along about half a mile from the city, his horse was shot dead by a cannon ball, the man not hurt. Nathaniel Chamberlain, some time last week received a blow on his cheek with a crow bar and since at turns, has bled very much, but today more, and he was brought very low. The next day was the Sabbath, 9th, and he bled more. I got all the skilfull Doctors that were in the army, but at turns bled, and to such a degree that he has become very weak, and about 3 of the clock in the afternoon had such a fainting fit, that we thought he was dying, but he came too and revived somewhat and the bleeding stopped, so that there seemed to be more hopes of him, but in the night he bled more. A fair pleasant day, heard preaching both fore and afternoon by Mr. Balek. Between meetings worked at the trench, and so after meeting at night in the trench, in order to have our camp all fortified, that we might be safe from the enemy that we hear are up in the woods. The two

men who came out of the city gave an account that many would get out if they had an opportunity, and they themselves were well pleased with the exchange. There was seen off at some distance a chace of our men of war, who were after as it is thought a French man of war, and followed by about 6 of ours and followed till they got out of sight. So nothing further about it this day.

Monday, June 10th. A fair day. The ship that was followed yesterday, this day we are informed that it is a fifty gun ship that has this day joined Commodore Warren and gives an account of two more that parted with him a short time ago in a fog: which were designed for this place, and we daily expect here. A man was this day killed from the Island Battre, at the Light house Battre, shot through with a cannon ball. At day they began to fire from the Light house Battre at the Island Battre with a gun from the city and from the Island. The French fired greatly, only two men wounded and those but slightly. This was a fair pleasant day: the regiment were mustered in order to have our arms reviewed.

Tuesday, the 11th. This being our King's ascension day, it was observed by the army here, at our camp at Cape Breton. Orders were given at all our batteries to fire smartly at the city. The General with some of the council, waited upon Commodore Warren, on board his ship; the remainder of the council and some other of the officers dined at the Generals, and a very fine entertainment, with everything that was convenient and refreshing. At 12 of the clock, the regiment being in arms, gave three cheers, with the drums after. At our entertainment at the General's we had music:—a violin, flute, and vocal music, and staid all the afternoon. At night the General with his attendants came on shore, and was welcomed by the gentlemen who were there.

Wednesday, the 12th. This is a fair day. Orders were given in our regiment for cutting 250 faggots to fill up the trench with; in the afternoon also orders for a great quantity of stores for the ships. The French, last night and this day, fired a vast many bombs and cannon and small arms also, but no man killed, and wounded three, but I hope not mortal. This day joined with the Commodore,

two ships that were before expected, a 60 gun ship and one 40.

Thursday, the 13th. A fair pleasant day. Twenty-five men from our regiment are to go on board the men-of-war, under the command of Col. Moore, chief commander of the detachment and Lt. David King over the twenty-five men, that were raised in our regiment, one was out of my company, Darbe Crowley. The nights here are very cold, a frost some nights and ice of considerable thickness.

Friday, June 14th, 1745. A fair day, in the afternoon some foggy. The twenty-five men commanded by Lt. David King went on board this day in order for an attack upon the town with Commodore Warren as soon as the wind and weather suits. Orders are to attack the city on the land at the same time. It is said the French fired about fifty bombs this night at our people in the trench, but nobody was hurt.

Saturday, the 15th. A fair pleasant day. Commodore Warren came on shore. Our regiment with other regiments in the camp mustered in a regimental order. Com. Warren made a fine speech to the army and marched through together with the General and some other gentlemen, and agreed with the General and publicly with the whole army, that as soon as the wind and weather should favor, he with all his ships, should go into the harbour, engage the Island Battre and the city. We upon the land, with all our forces at the same time should engage them with all our artillery and escalading ladders. After this, just before sunset, the French sent out a flag of truce. The terms that were agreed upon by the council was that they should deliver themselves up prisoners of war, and the time allowed them for consideration was till next day at nine of the clock in the morning, so were dismissed for that time.

Sabbath day, 16th. Misty morning and all waiting for an answer from the city. The time before appointed for the French to give an answer was 9 of the clock. They came and it was agreed they deliver themselves up prisoners of war, with the liberty that they should have their own money with their moveable estate and deliver a hostage as a pledge of truthfulness, and next morning for the

army to enter the city. This night, I with Maj. Cat, Capt. King and Lt. Miller went the grand rounds and this was the warmest night that has been since that we came upon this Island. Returned to my tent just at break of day.

Monday, June 17th. Mustered our regiment this day, the General, Major General, and some other gentlemen, with the General's regiment to guard them, the remainder of our regiments staid within our own wall at the camp. The night following, a very rainy night.

Tuesday, the 18th. A dark, misty and some rain this day. A man belonging to Capt. Golden died this day. A ship taken at the mouth of the harbour, loaded with wine and brandy. I staid this day in our camp and the night following rained hard, but I lay dry in my tent and slept well.

Wednesday, the 19th. A foggy, misty, rainy day. Part of the army staid at the camp, and part of the army in the city, and part at the camp to guard the stores.

Thursday, the 20th. Rain and dark this day and very uncomfortable at our camp by reason of the wet, but no getting the stores away by reason of the surf, that there was in the sea.

Friday, the 21st. It still continued foul weather. This is the fourth day since it began, and it is very remarkable that 47 days we have been on this Island and in all that time not so much foul weather by one half as there has been now in one week, which I look upon as smile of Providence upon the army, for if there had been foul weather, as commonly there used to be here at this time in the year, it would have rendered it exceedingly difficult, if not wholly frustrated the design, scattered our fleet and sickened our army. As we have had a remarkable smile of Providence upon us ever since we set out upon this expedition, so at last it was very remarkable that the enemy should give it up in that very time which they did. If they had not we must have made a bold attempt by escalading the walls that it seems would have been fatal; either the loss of a great many men or it may be we should never have taken the city. But so it was ordered by Divine Providence, and it is evident that God has both begun and finished this great work, even the reduction of Louisburg, and given into the hands of the English and Glory be to the great name of

Jehovah for it. This day I went from our camp to the city and lodged there this night in a French house with Lt. Lyman and was kindly entertained by them.

Saturday, the 22nd. Staid in the city this day till near night and then came back to our camp. Still foggy weather and this day no rain. Our sick men were carried into the city, viz.: Peter Montague, Josiah Nash and Selah Wright, upon men's shoulders.

Sabbath day, 23rd. This is a foggy day still staid in our camp: heard Mr. Moody preach in the forenoon and Mr. Landon in the afternoon and at night made a prayer to our regiment.

Monday, 24th. Staid at our camp and had the command of several regiments there, who staid to guard stores and no man to pass without a written order. Many scores I wrote. This was a misty, foggy day. Capt. Rowe after he had beat about many days in the fog, could not find his way in. This day got in who had been to for mortars.

Tuesday, the 25th. A cloudy, dark foggy day, some rain. Staid this day at my tent, no business to do and but poor entertainment, my things being up in the city; not much comfortable to eat or drink, and not very well in health.

Wednesday, 26th. A fair pleasant day. Went this day from the camp up to the city, not very well in health, by reason of my lying 8 or 9 nights together in my tent, when many of the nights it rained hard, and if otherwise very misty and foggy; so that it kept the inside of my tent continually wet, and in my bed. Lodged this night with Mr. Hawley and Dr. Pincum.

Thursday, the 27th. This day it rained. I was taken very ill with a flux and about 2 of the clock in the afternoon cold, agueish, soon after with a terrible headache and fever. I laid myself down upon Mr. Hawley's bed all that afternoon and night and was very sick all night and slept but little.

Friday, the 28th. This morning I was very sick with fever and flux. Dr. Pyncheon bled me and the fever abated. I had my own bed brought into the chamber and got into it and lodged with more comfort, being alone.

Saturday, 29th. Still continued sick, but growing better;

took physic of Rhubarb. All our people moved up from the camp to some of the houses without the walls of the city.

Sabbath day, 30th. This day a fair pleasant day, but I confined myself to my chamber so heard no preaching being sick on the bed.

Monday, July 1. Many of the French people have gone on board today. I am still confined to my chamber; sick, fever and flux still continued hard upon me. This a fair day. Our people are moving into the city.

Tuesday, July 2nd. A fair and pleasant day. The French moving out and going on board. Our people going in and taking possession of their houses. This day Major General Walcott and a number of Connecticut forces of about 70 or 80 embarked for home. Lt. Taylor of Norwich also went. I still continued in my chamber, but growing somewhat better. Eat a small matter of mutton.

Wednesday, the 3rd. This was a showery day with some thunder. Capt. Edman's came in this day with a company from New England, in the county of Worcester, and bring the good news of a thousand or more men coming for our relief; and one of captains is from Northampton and some of the company from the county of Hampshire. This day the Launceston, man-of-war, set sail with about 700 of the French inhabitants of Louisburg, for France. I still continued in my chamber, but growing better. Eat some fresh mutton for dinner with a good appetite.

Thursday, 4th. Sailed this day for France, six sail of vessels with the French inhabitants of Louisburg. It was a fair pleasant day. I still continued in my chamber. Eat some fresh beef for dinner, but a small piece, but eat it with a good appetite.

Friday, the 5th. This morning came in Col. Choat into Louisburg with two companies. He informs that 4 vessels with transports set sail with him that are hourly expected. Capt. Sanders set sail for Boston this morning. Morning cloudy but no rain.

Saturday, the 6th. This a fair pleasant day. I was so recovered of my sickness that in the afternoon I walked out of my chamber and about the city. Came in this day Capt. Snelling, with men from New England, Col. William

Williams, Mr. Williams of Longmeadow and nineteen persons from Northampton, whose names I do not now know. Received 5 letters from my friends in New England which gave me much satisfaction, for they all speak of good news.

Sabbath day, the 7th. This a fair pleasant day. I went on board Capt. Snellings vessel to see Mr. Williams and Col. Williams and our Northampton people, for I heard Mr. Williams was to preach there, but he was gone it was said to the Grand Battre. I went there, they were not there and then to the Island Battery, and they were not there. I then returned to the city and heard Mr. Moody preach there in the forenoon and Mr. Rector Williams in the afternoon and some of our Northampton new comers were there.

Monday, the 8th. This is a fair day and warm for Cape Breton. The French people are getting on board for New England.

Tuesday, 9th July. A fair pleasant day. Today seven vessels with French for New England sailed. News came on this day of Capt. Donnahews being killed with eleven men by the Indians up in the gut of Canso, going ashore in a boat, last Saturday was seven nights which was the 29th June.

Wednesday, the 10th. A fair pleasant day. A number of my soldiers are going on board Capt. Tomson's vessel in order to go to New England. Today a man had his arm shot all to pieces by a soldier firing his gun. The man that was shot belonged to the ships.

Thursday, 11th. This is a warm pleasant day, but not hot like New England. Lt. Lyman with 24 of my soldiers sailed about 10 of the clock for New England in Capt. Thompson's Rhode Island ship of about 20 guns, but an uncomfortable place to carry soldiers. An account of the cannon we have fired at the French and bombs: viz: cannon nine thousand and some odd bombs. Six hundred and fifty were killed by them and the small arms. In the city according to the best accounts we have by the people in the city is upwards of 400. The number of the cannon in the city ninety odd; at the Grand Battre 30-42 pounders; 2-18 pounders; at the Island Battery 34; 31 of the 28 pounders and mortars at the Island and 3-18 pounders, 2

brass : in the city 5 brass and one Iron in the city a great number of swivels and other cruel instruments of death. The walls of the city are upon the land side, one about 25 feet high and about 4 rods thick, within the walls are near 100 acres of land : the walls are near two miles around the city.

Friday, July 12th. This is a fair pleasant day, warm but not hot. Finished all my business in Louisburg, dined with the General and some other gentlemen. The dinner was very good, cider and wine plenty : first a good plum pudding, boiled pork, beef, herbs, two large fat roast pigs and salmon and boiled butter plenty. After dinner took leave of all the gentlemen and went on board Mr. Bastard's *Amplus* Engineers sloop, Capt. Donnel, Master. It being calm we lay in the harbour that night.

Saturday, the 13th. A strong S. W. wind which was directly against us, so we were not able to sail that night, so we lay in the harbour all day waiting for a wind that suited to sail. It was a fair day.

Sabbath day, the 14th. Last night it rained wind S. W. : this morning misty and some rain : preparing to sail, wind N. E., first a small breeze. We sailed by the Island Battery about 7 of the clock with a fresh breeze of wind. About 9 it all died away. We lay rolling in a calm all that day and night till about 11 and 12 o'clock in the night and then a small breeze till 3 or 4 in the morning and then died away to a dead calm. I was sea sick all the first day, nothing to eat or drink, with any appetite or that I could keep down.

Monday, the 15th. A dead calm this morning, with some showers as yesterday. Not so sick this morning. Eat a small matter and it kept down. About 9 of the clock this morning we hailed a brig that came from Massachusetts and we were informed by her that they had the good news at Boston of the city of Louisburg's being taken. We are informed it was received with the greatest joy. It was early in the morning, the 3rd of July, which was commencement day, and the Governor ordered all the bells to be rung and guns to be fired. This day had a quarter of a good fat lamb roasted. I eat of it with some appetite. It being calm I was not so sick. Mild and calm all day and

but very little head way all that day. It was a fair still afternoon.

Tuesday the 16th. Some time before day there came up a breeze of wind at South, and in the morning very fresh, but it was against us and it was foggy. The fog cleared off, the wind came up very strong at S. W. It being contrary we turned into Canso Harbor about 4 o'clock in the afternoon; lay there that night. There was a shower of rain that afternoon. In the night it cleared off. Strawberries were now ripe and very plenty at Canso.

Wednesday, 17th. This a fair morning, wind N. N. W. a fresh breeze. About half an hour before the sun was up, we set sail out of Canso Harbor. Sailed all day with a small breeze, although some part of the day was contrary winds, we were obliged to tack. We met several vessels coming from Boston, but spoke with none of them. I was not sea sick all day.

Thursday, the 18th. This is a fair pleasant morning, but a small breeze of wind, at W. N. W. but in the afternoon came up a violent west wind ahead all the afternoon, and in the night thunder and rain and a violent wind right against us, so that all we got was by tacks, and we beat a great way off into the sea out of our way. Sick all day.

Friday, 19th. All this forenoon a strong wind ahead and rain and all the way we made was by tacking, and that is but very slow. Afternoon it cleared off and the sun appeared, but still the wind against us, all day in a rolling sea, but little comfort up or down.

Saturday, the 20th. All last night a strong W. S. W. which was right ahead and heavy showers of rain, some thunder. The wind held strong ahead all day against us and a rolling sea, rain and fog. I was not able to sit up this day, nor any appetite to eat and drink.

Sunday, the 21st. Last night a steady night's rain, but little wind, but what there was, was against us. This morning very still and a steady rain. Sometime in the forenoon it cleared up, wind but a little, but what there was was W. and by N. so we made but little way that day.

Monday, 22nd. A still, fair, pleasant morning; no wind all last night: this morning we lay to a fishing and we caught them plentifully, although the water was about 510

feet deep. I put the line down once myself and drew up two codfish at one time, the first that I ever put a hook for one. It was on the banks of Cape Sable, shore 8 or 10 leagues. We lay all the forenoon in a dead calm, rolling in the sea. The afternoon was even the same although we hoped to the contrary by what appeared in the clouds, but it held all day in a perfect calm. This in the ninth day we have been out, and have had all weathers, but fair winds and none of those.

Tuesday, July 23rd. Last night we had a small breeze of wind in our favor. This morning the wind small, but what was, was in our favor. Some clouds, signs of showers; a small gale of wind and showery at night, a calm and held all night.

Wednesday, the 24th. This a fair warm and a pleasant morning; no wind, but about ten of the clock the wind breezed up a little. In the afternoon a fresh gale of wind came up and held the most of the night in our favor, but we got along considerably.

Thursday, the 25th. This, all day foggy with but a little wind, and what was, was in the South which was partly against us. A whale appeared within about 20 or 30 rods of the vessel. We make but slow headway, many days have been calm and when there was a wind it was against us.

Friday, the 26th. Last night we passed by Cape Sables. This morning a breeze of wind from the south, which is now that we have got by the cape, a pretty fair wind for our course. Some showers of rain this morning and the afternoon foggy.

Saturday, 27th. Last night a fair night, wind about W., which was for our course. This morning a fair pleasant morning, wind fresh in the W. and held till about 11 of the clock, and the calm for 2 or three hours, turned then in the South and came up a small breeze. It was a fair clear day all day.

Sabbath day, the 28th. Last night the wind fresh and fair and this day a clear day and good wind at South. A little before sunset we saw the land at Cape Ann, which was very rejoicing for it was the 15th day we had been out and our water was so bad, that I had drank none of for 2 days.

Monday, July 29th, 1745. Last night rain and thunder and lightning. We kept off till morning, and then we got in above the Light house, and it was so foggy that we could not find the way up to town and came to an anchor at Nantasket. There were there at anchor 12 ships, 2 men of war and some of the others were mast ships. Towards night it cleared off : we set sail and came to Boston a little before sunset, well and in good health.

Tuesday, the 30th. This a fair day. I had the pleasure of seeing all my soldiers that came away before me, well and those of them that belonged to Hatfield, set out for home : Roger Miller and Lt. Grant both sick.

Wednesday, July the 31st. This day all those that designed to go home on foot set out. I had the night before sent for my horse by Capt. Partridge. This day a making up my muster roll and buying some things for myself.

Thursday, Aug. 1st, 1745. Very hot weather and it seized hard upon us that had just come out of a cold country. Sergeant Parsons yesterday was taken sick.

Friday, the 2nd. Fair hot weather. Sergt. Parsons still continued sick. Roger Miller very sick and low. Lt. Grant very dangerously sick. Benj. Stebbings of Springfield had been in the expedition, sick here. One man who came in here well and eat a hearty meal of victuals died before next morning.

Saturday, Aug. 3. A very hot day. Grant, Miller, Stebbins and Parsons, very sick. At or some time in the night, Lt. Grant died. Tonight I rode over to Roxbury to Capt. Williams and lodged there that night. Brother Wright, Daniel Strong and Joseph Parsons came with our horses.

Sabbath day, the 4th. I rode into Boston this day in the afternoon after meeting, it rained hard, violently till most sunset.

Monday, 5th. A fair pleasant day after a great rain. This day Lt. Grant was buried and I was one of the bearers.

Tuesday, 6th. Finished my business in Boston this day and just before sunset set out for Northampton.

Wednesday, 7th. Lodged at Mr. Williams and kindly entertained. Early in the morning set out and arrived at

night at Capt. Connors, at Brookfield, lodged there upon free cost.

Thursday, 8, 1745. Went this morning over to Brigadier Dwight's, eat breakfast with Madame Dwight, kindly treated, came to Cold Spring. Mr. Dwight's, dined and well treated all upon free cost. Arrived home at Northampton about 5 of the clock. Amen.

March 24th, 1745. The fleet at this 24th of March sailed from the King's Road upon the expedition against Louisburg.

June 25th. I would now make some remarks upon the remarkable Providence in favor of the great design that we were upon and I would consider in a few words the scheme that was laid in Boston that was to hasten away as fast as possible (with but 4 or 5 vessels of force and they but small. We had some hopes of Com. Warren, but that was very uncertain) to Canso, and to wait no longer than to have all the transports come together and to take the first fair wind and to sail to Chabaraugh Bay. Landing in the enemy with our whole army and to take our ladders, axes, crows, grapplings, and all other things needful in order to get over the walls in one night, this since we know to be impracticable.

1st remark. Although there was about 80 sail of vessels, yet they all arrived safe at Canso, about 3 weeks.

2nd. Our lying there so long we thought to be against us, but since see to the contrary, for in this time our cruisers took 7 or 8 vessels from the French. Commodore Warren came with 3 ships besides his own for our help and the Connecticut fleet came all in well: in this time the weather was very bad, cold and wet: several times set to sail in this time but we were Providentially prevented. 29th April, the weather and wind this day being right, we sailed early in the morning expecting to land that night and to march with all our utensils for war to attack the city the same night.

3rd. Although we had a good wind in the morning, yet it died away and so we were prevented getting to our destined place that day. The next morning, a pleasant fair morning and our Fleet were discovered by the French and a large company of them came out to prevent our landing.

4th. This at first looked dark for us but was ordered in mercy for several of them were killed and taken and those that got in gave a great fright to those that were in the city, and at the Grand Battery and we appearing next day with a great company in sight frightened them out of the Grand Battery and we took possession.

5th. The taking a large ship loaded from the French that was bound to Louisburg and several more smaller vessels.

6th. Thursday, April 9th. It was agreed in council to make a bold attempt with our whole army with our ladders to escalate the walls but it was mercifully prevented.

7th. Another very remarkable thing, the many thousands of bombs and cannon and an innumerable number of small arms fired at us, yet but about 17 persons killed by them at any or all of our batteries.

8th, another. The weather 47 days that we had been engaged in the Island with our enemies not one bad storm and but very little rain or fog, which is common at that time of the year, and especially at this place (viz. : Cape Breton). The French themselves take notice of it and say there had not been for so long a time, and at that time in the year so much good weather since the place was settled, as there hath been this spring, or since we came here and say that God fights for the English.

9th. Another thing is having added to Commodore Warren's fleet 5 or 6 ships of war for his assistance in season.

10th. Another thing, the commodore being on shore Saturday, he with the advice of his council agreed that the first fair wind that came he would go into the harbor with all his ships and the land forces should make a bold push by land at the same time. Just after this before the commodore had gone on board, the French sent out a flag of truce and terms were agreed upon for them to deliver up the city, had it not been at the very time, the next day must have been the day to have made a bold push at the city; for the wind did well suit for it, and if we had, it must in all human probability proved fatal to our army and destroyed a great part of them, and this must be looked upon as a remarkable Providence at that very time that God should incline them to give up the city, it is evi-

dent and plain that God rules the hearts of men and there hearts at that time he moved them to give up for they might have kept us out and destroyed us if we had gone on in the way we had just before considered upon.

11th. Another remarkable thing: the very day, next after we had taken possession rain and foggy dark weather 8 or 9 days together, and there had not been so much rain by half in 47 days as now in 4 days which would doubtless have scattered our fleet and army and given an opportunity to the French vessels to have got into the harbor and would have sickened and discouraged if not broke up our designs, if it had come before. These things considered together with many others that might be mentioned doth plainly show that God has gone out of the way of his common Providence in a remarkable and almost miraculous manner: it is plain to anybody that will consider and think of these things that the Lord of Hosts, the God of armies hath both began, carried on and finished this great work, and delivered this strong city into our hands.

My hearty desire and prayer is that as long as I have a being I may give the great name of God the praise of it, that he has written Salvation for New England.

A List of the names of my soldiers are as follows:

I received ten shillings old tenor.	Enlistment Money.	Subsistence Money.	Advance Wages.	Bounty Money.	Tent Money.
Gideon Parsons	10	Paid	£5	£4	old tenor
Samuel Gillet	10	"	5	4	
Ebenezer Wait	10	"	5	4	
Aaron Wright	10	"	5	4	
Elisha Pomeroy	10	"	5	4	11. 0.0
Noah Clapp	10	"	5	4	
Reuben Wait	10	"	5	4	
Abner Sheldon	10	"	5	4	
John Alexander	10	"	5	4	1. 4 1.10
Martin Severance	10	"	5	4	
Elish Norton	10	"	5	4	
W ^m Lyman	10	"	5	4	
Selah Wright	10	"	5	4	
Thomas Ferrel	10	"	5	4	
Edmund Taylor	10	"	5	4	3.10.0
Samuel King	10	"	5	4	1.10.0

	Enlistment Money.	Subsistence Money.	Advance Wages.	Bounty Money.	Tent Money.
I received ten shillings old tenor.					
Samuel Carrol	10	“	£5	£4	2. 0.0
Jonathan Janes	10	“	5	4	
Ezekiel Blunt	10	“	5	4	
John Hooker	10	“	5	4	3
Sammel Stimson	10	“	5	4	1. 2.0
Paid to Archibald Parnel					5.15.0
Archibal Parnel	10	“	5	4	
Reuben Smith	10	“	5	4	0. 4
John Taylor	10	“	5	4	1.10 2
Elisha Burk	10	“	5	4	15. 8
Joel Wait	10	“	5	4	
Noah Morton	10	“	5	4	
John Lancton	10	“	5	4	
Martin Phelps	10	“	5	4	
Josiah Nash	10	“	5	4	3. 0
Shadrach Bedortha	10	“	5	4	
Ebn ^r Wells	10	“	5	4	
Samuel Chapen	10	“	5	4	
Nathan Warner	10	“	5	4	
Nat ^l Chamberlain	10	“	5	4	
Joseph Row at Capt. Miller's	10	“	5	4	
John Stratton	10	“	5	4	
Gad Cox	10	“	5	4	
Peter Montagne	10	“	5	4	1.15
Oliver Theur	10	“	5	4	14.6
Darbe Crowley	10	“	5	4	1.19
Samuel Edwards	to a shirt 10	“	5	4	2.10
Elisha Strong	10	“	5	4	1.12 2
Moses Allis	10	“	5	4	
Nath ^l Olds	10	“	5	4	
Josiah Davenson	10	“	5	4	
Medad Parsons	10	“	5	4	
Benj. Southwick	10	“	5	4	1.14 1.10
Oliver Haskins	10	“	5	4	
Noah Allen	10	“	5	4	1.10

CHAPTER XII.

KING GEORGE'S FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

Aggressive Policy of the French. THE year 1746 was full of alarms, skirmishes and ambuscades. The French developed a peculiarly aggressive policy, constantly harassing the frontiers with small bands, cutting off unsupported parties, devastating solitary and detached settlements, capturing, slaying, scalping and destroying. Expedition after expedition was hurled against New England, composed mostly of Indians, but with French soldiers, commanded by French officers. Within nine months from the last of December, 1745, not less than forty-three of these separate detachments, in which about two thousand men were engaged, were dispatched upon errands of blood and destruction.¹ Thirty-seven persons were killed, captured or wounded on the northern frontiers before the summer ended. An attack upon the fortifications at Bernardston was foiled, one man being wounded, while at Colrain one soldier was killed and another made prisoner. The enemy was constantly prowling about Fort Massachusetts; a party of men sent not above sixty rods from the fortification fell into an ambuscade, one was killed, another wounded and a third captured.

Capture of Fort Massachusetts. On the 19th of August, Fort Massachusetts was invested by a body of nearly eight hundred French and Indians under command of M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, brother of Gov. Vaudreuil. Sergt., afterwards Lieut.-Colonel, John Hawks, was temporarily in command; Capt. Williams, commander of the post, being absent on duty connected with the projected

¹ New York Colonial Documents, vol. X., pp. 34, 36.

invasion of Canada. Sergt. Hawks had but twenty-one men under him, more than half of whom were on the sick list. For twenty-eight hours the little garrison held the fort, despite the efforts of the besiegers. At last, having expended all their ammunition, they surrendered on promise of quarter, and were well treated. One of the garrison was killed and two wounded, while the enemy lost from forty to seventy.¹ No person from Northampton was a member of the garrison. Just before the attack on the fort, thirteen of the garrison commanded by Dr. Thomas Williams, were sent to Deerfield, to procure ammunition and supplies. They passed along the road guarded on each side by the secreted forces of Vaudrenil, unmolested. The enemy were only too glad that the garrison should be weakened, and dared not bring on a conflict prematurely by attacking them.

The Bars' Fight. The French commander, leaving a guard of fifty or sixty men, pushed on with his prisoners towards Canada. This detachment, dissatisfied with the result of the foray, and anxious to obtain more prisoners or scalps, determined to raid Deerfield. They reached the village on Sunday and the next morning placed an ambush near a meadow, in which was a quantity of partly cured hay. Near this place, called the Bars, were a couple of houses occupied by families by the name of Amsden and Allen, who were lodging at the fort. Early on Monday morning, unsuspecting of danger, the party, among whom were several children, and two soldiers detailed as a guard, went to their work. Eleazar Hawks, a hunter, stumbled upon the ambuscade and was shot and scalped. All fled at the first alarm, towards a mill, a short distance down the creek. Some of the men endeavored to make a stand and fight off the Indians, but were soon overpowered. One of the lads was seized and scalped; two of the men were shot, while a third escaped to an island in the river and finally reached the opposite bank. Of the eight persons in the party, four--Samuel Allen, Adonijah Gillet, Oliver Amsden, and Simeon Amsden--were killed; two--

¹ For a full description of this fight, see "Hoyt's Indian Wars," Parkman's "Half Century of Conflict," Sheldon's "History of Deerfield," Norton's "Redeemed Captive," Perry's "Williamstown."

John Sadler, and Caleb Allen—escaped; one, Samuel Allen, was captured, and another—Eunice Amsden—thirteen years old, was tomahawked and left for dead. In their haste, the Indians failed to take her scalp, and she lived seventy-two years afterwards.

Immediate pursuit was made by parties from Deerfield; one detachment went up the Deerfield river, and another pushed across to Charlemont, hoping to intercept the enemy, but without success. They escaped, having secured five scalps and one prisoner.

Projected Invasion of Canada. Early in the year great preparations were made for the invasion of Canada. The American colonies agreed to provide eight thousand two hundred men, and England engaged to send eight battalions. Massachusetts voted to raise three thousand five hundred men, and actually enlisted two thousand. A bounty of £30, old tenor, a blanket, and a bed for two, were granted to each soldier. The New England levies were to join the British at Louisburg and sail up the St. Lawrence, while the troops from New York and the other Provinces were to proceed by the way of Lake Champlain. The English forces failed to appear and the enterprise was abandoned. Gov. Shirley, however, proposed to attack Crown Point, and a portion of the Massachusetts militia went to Albany to prepare for the expedition. Before it was fully organized, news was received that a French fleet and an army of four thousand men, commanded by the Duc D'Anville, was on the way to capture Louisburg, burn Boston, and lay waste the New England coast. On the reception of this intelligence, the Massachusetts troops were recalled and ordered to Boston.

Hampshire Troops Ordered to Boston. When the alarm caused by the expected appearance of D'Anville's fleet was at its height, Gen. Dwight's Regiment was divided: five companies were sent to Boston, and five were assigned to duty on the western frontiers. Nothing appears to show to which section Major Pomeroy's Company was attached, but from the orders of Col. Stoddard, it seems probable that it remained in this section.

Major Seth Pomeroy's Company.

Flushed with the honors of Louisburg, Major Pomeroy entered with much zeal upon the projected campaign against Canada. Within ten months after his return from that expedition, he was specially engaged in raising men for this undertaking. The invasion of Canada had always been popular with the people, and in less than sixty days he succeeded in enlisting a company of about one hundred soldiers. The officers were Nathaniel Kellogg and William Lyman, Lieutenants; John Stebbins, Ensign; Ebenezer Kingsley, William Smith, Noah Clap, and Elijah Smith, Sergeants; Samuel Lynde, Hezekiah Smith, John Wait, Richard Wilde, Corporals; David Darby and Noah Pixley, Drummers. These men were in service from June, 1746, to October, 1747. The company was then re-enlisted for sixty-one days more.

It is Ordered to Pursue the Indians.

Nothing is known of the rank and file, and very little concerning the services actually performed by this company, but enough remains to prove that they were not idle. While awaiting orders, Major Pomeroy's headquarters were at Northampton. When the Canada expedition was abandoned, the soldiers enlisted from this section were employed upon the western frontiers. A portion of the Hampshire Regiment was detailed in April, under Col. William Williams, to rebuild Fort Massachusetts, and it is possible that a part of the Northampton Company was among those troops. June 23^d, Brig.-Gen. Joseph Dwight, who had command of the western division of the Massachusetts soldiers, was at Hatfield, and wrote to Major Pomeroy "that about 30 of the enemy had been discovered upon some part of Green River, about 8 miles from Deerfield." He ordered Major Pomeroy to immediately rally every man of his company, able to march and march with them; and to take six days' provisions, adding "for in such a crowd as there will be at Deerfield, your men will be put to difficulty." * * "Your newtown (Southampton) must be cared for by your own officers, I mean the officers of the town. Men are hourly expected also from Connecticut, who may supply their places. Use Dispatch." But little further information has been

obtained concerning this movement. It is believed that the detachment penetrated into Vermont, but there is no indication that any Indians were discovered.

And Afterwards
sent to Hoosack. Scarcely had the company returned from this scout, when peremptory orders were received to march to Hoosack. The following letter from Col. Stoddard, found among the Pomeroy papers, undoubtedly contained the orders that sent them to that point. Unfortunately the letter is without date, but it fits into the narrative so completely, that little doubt exists relative to the time of its writing:—

“You are hereby authorized and directed to take charge of the men now raised for his Majesty’s special service and march them to Deerfield, so seasonably that they may have everything in readiness to go from thence early the next morning.

“If possible you must be at Horsewick [Hoosuck] to-morrow in case you hear nothing that renders your going needless. You must march the men with care, silence and watchfulness especially in straight and difficult passages.

“If you meet with any of the enemy you must behave with gallantry. Don’t lose a good opportunity either through rashness or fear. If the enemy are lately drawn off probably they may be overtaken, especially if they have wounded men. Take good care to avoid ambushments and in general you must exercise prudence upon every new event and do as shall appear needful on all unforeseen occurrences.

I am your Servant,

JOHN STODDART.

“To Major Seth Pomeroy.

“If any of the men don’t take care to carry a week’s provision, let them and not others suffer by their neglect.”

The Company at
Fort Massachusetts. Whatever may have been the occasion of the march to Hoosack, and whatever the date of the orders to march thither, certain it is that Major Pomeroy was at Fort Massachusetts in August of that year. He was not in command of the fort, as Major Ephraim Williams had been assigned to that position in June. In a letter to his wife, dated Fort Massachusetts, August 3^d, 1747, Major Pomeroy writes:—

“I have written to Lieut. Kellogg to be ready to come for my relief with twenty-five or thirty men, next Monday morning. If he comes at that time I shan’t want any thing sent to me. We live at this Fort well, my dinner yesterday was a biscake, suet whortleberry pudding and a good piece of corned beef, with squashes and turnips, no cider,

but a good appetite. As for news I have not much to say, but last Thursday and Friday nights the Indians were about the Fort. I have an account of the Indians being seen three times since in the day time here, but I am not satisfied with any one of them."

And afterwards in
Boston. A few months later Major Pomeroy, and apparently his whole company, were in Boston. He writes from that city to his wife, under date of October 22^d, but the letter contains no allusion to his military duties. About two weeks after, in another letter from the same place, he announces the "good news" "that the Canada forces are dismissed from the service," and that "Divine Providence permitting I will be at home next week." An allusion to Lieut. Kellogg, who was to return before the Major, indicates that a portion if not the entire company were with him. The transfer of Major Pomeroy's company to Boston at this time, was probably on account of the threatened attack on Boston and the New England coast, by the French fleet, under De la Jonquiere.

Indian Depredations
at Southampton. Scattering parties of Indians were constantly hovering round the settlements during the year 1746, stealing and destroying property, but no person was slain within the present limits of Northampton. The houses of Aaron and Elisha Clark in Southampton, then the Second Precinct of Northampton, had been abandoned because of the threatened danger. A small body of roving Indians plundered them August 25th, tearing the beds in pieces, seizing clothing and provisions, and committing other depredations. Fearing pursuit, the savages fled to Pomeroy's Mountain, and on the west side of it wantonly slaughtered six cattle and one horse, and wounded others. Lieut. Lyman of Northampton was on the ground on the 28th, and Lieut. David Moseley with twenty-two men from Westfield, went after the marauders, but without effect. Intent on further mischief, the Indians, about two weeks afterwards, laid an ambuscade near the houses of Ezra Strong and John Wait, designing to get the scalp of the person who came to the pasture after the cows at night. They drove the cows to the farther side of the lot, and while trying to keep them there, were discovered and fled.

An Attack near Fort Massachusetts. Operations were continued with increased vigor throughout the succeeding year. During the winter, the fort at No. 4 (Charlestown) had been deserted, and several of the settlements in New Hampshire were also abandoned. These towns had been established under the authority of Massachusetts, but when the southern boundary line of New Hampshire was adjusted, they came within the jurisdiction of the latter. After the troops from Massachusetts had been withdrawn, New Hampshire refused to replace them. It was deemed essential, however, that these defences should be maintained, and all were garrisoned. While the repairs upon Fort Massachusetts were in progress, a detachment of one hundred men was sent to Albany for supplies, and the Indians aware of the movement, attempted to cut off the train and surprise the fort. Three hundred men set out to waylay the train, and as many more prepared to attack the fort. The former division struck the trail of the Albany party in its rear, while the advance guard of the English coming upon the other detachment, as it was moving to attack the fort, on the morning of May 25th, gave the alarm and the enemy fled without a blow.

Attack on No. 4 Repulsed. Adhering to the policy of the preceding year, the French continued to fit out detachments of savages commissioned to carry forward the bloody work. The fort at Hinsdale, N. H., was surprised and partly burned in March, but the assailants were driven off. A determined attack was made on Fort No. 4 early in April, by a large force of French and Indians under Sieur Baptiste Boucher de Niverville.¹ The fort was garrisoned by forty-nine men commanded by Capt. Phineas Stevens of Sudbury, an early settler and afterwards a resident of Charlestown. After three days of continuous fighting, during which time the fort was partially burned, de Niverville drew off his forces and disappeared.² Among the gallant soldiers, who success-

1 English historians give the name of this officer as M. Debeline, but no such name is found upon the French records, and in the N. Y. Colonial MSS. he is named as above.

2 This was one of the most spirited engagements of the war. It is graphically described in Hoyt's *Indian Wars*, pp. 243, 245; and in Parkman's "*Half Century of Conflict*," pp. 238-243.

fully repulsed the enemy, were several men from Northampton. Lieut. William Lyman was second in command, Noah Clapp was Sergeant, and John Birge, John Pomeroy, Ithamar Strong, and Zadoc Danks, were privates. They were soldiers who had enlisted for the expedition against Canada. After this defeat the enemy on their homeward march, killed several men in the vicinity of Northfield, and destroyed much abandoned property.¹

Soldiers at Fort Massachusetts. Lieut. Lyman, after the desperate fight at Charlestown, was put in command of Fort Massachusetts during the autumn and winter following, serving in that capacity from November to January. His company consisted of forty-five men, of whom the following eleven were from Northampton:—Sergt. Elisha Hawley, Ebenezer Clapp, Ebenezer Harvey, Joseph Marchants, John Pomeroy, Elisha Warner, Elisha Baker, Bildad Wright, Silas Clark, Joseph Root, and Nathaniel Edwards. Lieut. Elisha Hawley succeeded Lieut. Lyman and was in command of the fort during February and March. Concerning his appointment, Col. Stoddard writes in March, as follows:—“We could at first get no better officer than a serg-nt, afterwards I gave a Lieut^{nts} commission to Mr. Elisha Hawley, who is the only officer there at present.”²

Vaudreuil's Futile Expedition. In July, a force of one thousand Indians and two hundred Frenchmen, commanded by Mons. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, was dispatched from Canada to protect Fort St. Frederick (Crown Point). Finding the fort in no danger, he pushed on and made a demonstration against Fort Saratoga, but was driven away, and returned, without attempting further damage, to Fort St. Frederick. A scouting party, led by Lieut. Matthew Clesson, was sent out from Fort Massachusetts to ascertain the whereabouts of the enemy. They were absent twenty-two days and reported that Vaudreuil

¹ “On their return they burnt within 30 or 40 leagues, 5 small forts that were abandoned, 3 meeting-houses, about 100 dwellings mostly of two stories, furnished even to chests of drawers, the decorations of which the Indians carried off; several fine barns, and killed 5 or 600 sheep and hogs, and about 30 horned cattle. This devastation is well worth a few prisoners or scalps.”—N. Y. Colonial MSS., vol. X., p. 97.

² Judd MSS.

had retreated. During the same month one man was killed at Bernardston, and another at Colrain. Scouting detachments made up from the upper Hampshire towns and from the garrisons, were continually patrolling the country and the movements of the enemy were closely observed.

Other Casualties. Later in the year a soldier was slain near Northfield, a man captured at Hinsdale, and Fort Bridgman, in Vermont, which had been deserted, was burned. A company of twelve men, descending Connecticut River from Charlestown, was attacked; two were killed one wounded and another made prisoner.

Elisha Clark Killed in Southampton. No Indians appeared in this vicinity till late in August, when Elisha Clark, living in the extreme northwestern part of the town of Southampton, was killed by them. While he was threshing grain in his barn, at an early hour in the morning of the 27th, sixteen Indians crept stealthily up, shot and scalped him, leaving his body, which had been penetrated by seven bullets, carefully covered with straw. The enemy immediately fled, wantonly destroying as they went such cattle and other stock as came in their way. They encamped the next night near the house formerly owned by Noah Strong in Westhampton, where they left standing sixteen poles, which were supposed to indicate the strength of the party. A company of thirty-six men under Lieut. Eldad Taylor of Westfield, started in pursuit. The men were all from Westfield, with the exception of Haines Kingsley, who was a native of Northampton. These soldiers were paid for thirty-seven days' service, but they did not succeed in overtaking the enemy.

St. Blein Wounded and Exchanged. In October, a scouting party of three persons, riding from Fort Dummer to Northfield, fell in with and wounded the commander of a detachment of French and Indians. This party consisted of forty savages, who started from Canada in September. They had just gone forward to slaughter cattle, and their leader remained behind in charge of their packs. The cadet in command of this force was Pierre Raim-

bault St. Blein.¹ The wounded officer fainted after surrendering, and the scouts supposed him to be mortally wounded. Fearing that the Indians, alarmed by the firing, would soon return, they left their prisoner and made quick time to their destination. Starting hurriedly homeward, the savages carried their wounded commander a short distance and then abandoned him. After wandering four days, he approached Northfield and surrendered. He was carried to Boston, where his wound was cured in a short time. The next year, Gov. Shirley, desirous of exchanging prisoners, dispatched Lieut.-Col. Hawks, and a small party to Canada with the prisoner, St. Blein. An arrangement was speedily effected by which two men, Samuel Allen, captured at the "Bars," and Nathaniel Blake, made prisoner at Keene, were exchanged for the French commander, and Hawks returned in May, 1749. Young Allen seems to have been greatly fascinated with Indian life, and it was only by force that he could be brought away from among his newly adopted friends. In November a party of Indians surprised twelve men in the vicinity of No. 4, killed three of them and captured a fourth.

Fort Built in East-
hampton.

In April a fort was built at Jonathan Clapp's, in what is now known as Easthampton, for protection against the Indians. Major Clapp resided near the homestead more recently occupied by the late Ansel Bartlett. This fort cost upwards of one hundred days' labor, including team-work. The price of labor was then 8s. per day old tenor, and the work was chiefly performed by men who lived in that part of the town. Soldiers and citizens labored together in this occupation under the superintendence of Lieut. William Lyman, Major Joseph Hawley, and Sergt. Smith. The following named soldiers were employed in this work, viz. :—Zadoc Danks, Samuel Janes, Ebenezer Clapp, Ebenezer Harvey, Benjamin Eastman, Isaac Goodale, Philip Richardson, Jonathan Stone [Strong], John Warner, John

¹ For a full account of this incident, see Sheldon's *History of Deerfield*, pp. 554-556. Historians have given the name as Raimbault, Rainboe, and Simblin, but Mr. Sheldon has found ample evidence that his real name was as given above, Pierre Raimbault St. Blein. Naturally the last name, St. Blein, might have been and undoubtedly was pronounced Simblin, while the former, spelled as pronounced, might readily take the variations given.

Birge, Aaron Bartlett, Joseph Marchant, Asahel Judd, Ithamar Strong. Six of these men had seen service at Fort Massachusetts.

Soldiers' Taxes Abated. In August, 1747, the town voted to release the men who had been in the service the year previous, from their poll-taxes. Under this order the taxes of twenty-six men were abated. Only the names of the following soldiers, seventeen in number, have been preserved:— Orlando Bridgman, Elisha Hawley, Lieut. William Lyman, Caleb Strong, Thomas Starr, Gideon Parsons, Lieut. Samuel Clapp, Samuel Clark, William Wait, Abraham Miller, Samuel Janes, Capt. Roger Clapp, Ens. John Clapp, Edward Coates, Preserved Bartlett, Waitstill Strong, Robert Danks.

Unsatisfactory Condition of Affairs. The year 1748, was one of disaster and discouragement. Flying detachments of French and Indians, gathering a scalp here, a prisoner there, and plunder everywhere, buzzed about the settlements, quickly disappearing when a hand was stretched to smite them. The tone of the correspondence of the military officers in command in this section was despondent. People were disheartened and dispirited. Enlistments were tardy, the forts insufficiently manned, and with difficulty provisioned. Discontent existed in some of the upper towns in reference to the amounts allowed for billeting the soldiers, provisions were dear and scarce, the commanding officers did not always act in harmony, and altogether matters on the western frontiers were not in a very promising condition. In some of the more exposed towns it was impossible to sow grain in the spring, for lack of guards to protect the workmen, and provisions had to be brought from Westfield. Constant complaints were made by the officers that the men were insufficiently paid, and that they were unwilling to run the risks of the campaign on such slender compensation. Reinforcements were expected from Connecticut, but only about one half of the number promised ever appeared. Major Williams writes to Gov. Shirley, July 16th:— "The business of the soldiery is chiefly to guard provisions to the several garrisons.—Our

case is miserable and the enemy triumph." After the death of Col. Stoddard, officers of the Connecticut troops paid little attention to the orders of the Massachusetts commanders, one of them declaring that he would obey no orders except those from Hartford. Many of the war parties sent out from Canada this year, were of greater strength than before, and they were generally successful. Numbers of persons were killed and many others carried into captivity.

Death of Col. John
Stoddard.

Another great misfortune befell the Bay Colony, this year, in the death of Col. Stoddard, which occurred on the 19th of June.

He was in Boston attending a session of the Legislature when taken sick, and he died within a few days. For many years he had been at the head of affairs in this part of the colony, and his loss was severely felt. Major Israel Williams writing to Secretary Willard, under date of June 25th, says :—

"We are now like sheep without a shepherd. * * * God has been pleased to take him (who was in a great measure our wisdom and strength, and glory), from us at a time when we could least spare him." Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, in a letter to Capt. Ephraim Williams, dated Hatfield, July 21st, 1748, says :— "What a noble example has that great and good man, Col. Stoddard, left every military officer who had the happiness to be acquainted with him ; his justice, integrity, and uprightness in his conduct, his virtue and piety, so loved now he is gone, that even his enemies are obliged to join in his praises : and while I mention that great man, whose face we shall see no more, I would drop a tear with you over his grave. I know his death must sensibly touch you. Your friend, a friend of his country, a great benefactor to mankind, is gone. Let his shining example continually live with us."

His Successor Ap-
pointed.

Col. Eleazar Porter of Hadley was the officer next in rank to Col. Stoddard, and was entitled to the position of commander of the Hampshire forces. He received the appointment, but it was supposed that he would decline the position. Rev. Timothy Woodbridge accurately sized him up when he said that Col. Porter "had no genius for war." He soon resigned and Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield was commissioned. In accepting he modestly bewails his inability to supply the place of the "great and wise Col. Stoddard."

Col. Dwight's Sug-
gestions.

Col. Joseph Dwight of Brookfield in a letter to the Secretary suggested that it was "time for the government to exert its power, & if need be raise half the militia of the province. I beg we may have 1000 men to drive the woods & pursue the enemy even to Crown Point : and perhaps it would be best to give £1000 for a scalp. Why should we lie still and do nothing ?" He also suggested that volunteers might readily be obtained, and urged the government to do something. His letter was dated July 16th. Two days afterwards, acting Gov. Phipps sent him orders to raise a company of volunteers, accompanied by commissions signed in blank for its officers. Acting promptly under this authority, he speedily raised a company, and within a month lead it on a scouting expedition. Col. Dwight held a command in the army designed for the invasion of Canada, which had been disbanded during the previous year, and doubtless found many of his old soldiers ready for further service.

A Series of Disas-
ters.

A number of misfortunes followed each other in quick succession in 1748. On the 13th of May, Capt. Eleazar Melvin with eighteen men went "out upon a scalping design." They were absent between two and three weeks, saw and fired at some Indians in canoes, killing one and wounding another, near Fort Frederick (Crown Point). A party was sent from the fort in pursuit, but Melvin eluded them. But afterwards, supposing himself safe, vigilance was relaxed, he was surprised, five of his men were killed, and one wounded. Leaving their wounded comrade, Joseph Petty of Northfield, Melvin and the survivors of his party, made the best of their way to Fort Dummer. A detachment sent out in pursuit of the Indians, found and buried Petty's body, but saw no savages.

On the 16th of June, a company of fourteen men, en route from Col. Hinsdale's Fort at Ashuelot to Fort Dummer, fell into an ambuscade : four of them were killed, six carried captive to Canada, and four, one of them wounded, escaped.

Ten days later, Capt. Hobbs, commanding forty men, while marching from No. 4, Charlestown, to Fort Shirley

in Heath, was attacked. The fight lasted four hours, when the enemy fled. Three men were killed and four wounded.

On the 19th of July, Col. Willard writes from Fort Dummer to Gov. Shirley as follows :—

“ About 17 men going from Northfield to Ashuelot, by way of Fort Dummer (10 of them to supply place of 10 killed and taken June 16), were attacked within half a mile of Fort Dummer, and within a few rods of the spot where the 10 were killed or taken. This was on the 14th of July. 4 are found dead and 9 missing. 2 escaped to Col. Hinsdale's garrison and 2 to Fort Dummer. Number of the enemy 100 or more.”

These men were under command of Sergt. Thomas Taylor, who with nine others was carried to Canada.

In a letter written from Hatfield, July 24, Major Israel Williams states :— “ Before sunrise yesterday, 6 Indians killed Aaron Belding in Northfield Town street and scalped him. The people were generally in bed. They got up and followed after them, but to no purpose.”

Col. Ephraim Williams gives the following account of a fight with the enemy in a letter to Major Israel Williams, dated Fort Massachusetts, August 2^d, 1748 :—

“ Our scout to Scaticook was followed in by the enemy, and they have observed our motions ever since ; but the guard I sent to Deerfield to bring stores arrived yesterday, 40 men with Lt. Severance and Hawley —[They] made no discovery from Deerfield here. Today I suspected by motions of dogs &c., an ambush, about 40 rods from the fort, between the fort and where we cross the river to go to Deerfield, ordered men to be ready. They fired at our dog, and next at some men that had gone out unknown to me, who returned the fire. We then made a sally with about 35 men to save those men that were out, engaged the enemy 10 minutes & drove them off the ground, upon which an ambush of 50 men about 10 rods off and partly between us and the fort, rose on our right wing & discharged a volley upon us. We retreated fighting into the fort, which they attacked immediately. I ordered the men to their posts & played with our cannon & small arms for 1³/₄ hours by the glass. They then retreated by degrees & so drew off. How many we killed or wounded I know not, but we had some fair shots, and they not over 15 rods off, & some at 7 rods. We had none killed & but 3 wounded, but 2 of them mortally I fear. The men wounded are Lt. Hawley, Samuel Abbot, Ezekiel Wells. Lt. Hawley is shot through the calf of his leg with a buckshot, bone not hurt. Abbot is shot below his navel,¹ and Wells in his hips. Strange that we should receive at least 200 shot in the open field, retreat 40 rods, and but 2 men wounded (for Abbot was not out).

¹ He lived but a few days.

"Judge the enemy between 200 and 300, chiefly Indians, though I believe there were 30 French among them. Some talked good English. All ours behaved like good soldiers, no man flinched. Blessed be God we have to sing of mercy as well as judgment."¹

The attacking party consisted of ninety domiciliated Indians and forty-six Canadians, who were commanded by Chevalier Jean Boucher de Niverville, the same officer who so unsuccessfully attacked Fort No. 4 the year previous. In his report he states that most of his men were sick and fought indifferently, "so that there were killed but 5 Englishmen, and only two of his own party were wounded."²

Lieut. Hawley. Lieut. Elisha Hawley, who was wounded in this fight, was the only Northampton man in the command. He was a brother of Major Joseph Hawley, and had been previously in charge of the post, having been commissioned a Lieutenant by Col. Stoddard, when he wanted some one for that purpose.

Scout by Col. Dwight. On the 7th of August, presumably when the news of this attack was received, Col. Joseph Dwight and a company of ninety-nine men were sent out upon a scouting expedition, but its destination is not given. An account of this expedition may be found in the following letter from Major Joseph Hawley³ to his brother Elisha, who had been wounded a few days before at Fort Massachusetts:—

Deerfield, Aug. 12, 1748.

"Dear Brother—I am now at Deerfield with Col. Dwight of Brookfield, about 10 of the clock, a. m. We came yesterday from Northampt^m, with 29 good men enlisted voluntarily under s'd Col^l with a design to endeavor to scour the frontier, viz: Maj. Seth Pomeroy, Capt. Jno. Lyman, Lt. Noah Wright, Ensigⁿ Gideon Lyman, Ens. Timothy Dwight, Jos. Hawley Gent. All other private men to the above number, among which is Noah Lyman, there are about 30 come, and coming from all y^e parts of Hadley, 16 to come this forenoon from Hatf^{ld}, a number from Springfield, 41 from Brookfield, Western and Hardwick, who got to Northf^{ld} by way of y^e Eastern front, Monday or Tuesday; 100 more Col. Chandler sent who we suppose reached Northf^{ld} yesterday. All of which with some we design to take from these upper

1 This letter may be found in the above abridged form in the Judd MSS.

2 New York Historical MSS., vol. X., p. 177.

3 Hawley MSS. in Bancroft Collection, Lenox Library, N. Y.

Towns will make near 250. The plan of operations is not yet settled, but what seems to be concerting is to send to y^e fort and No. 4, to warn you forthwith to join on West river to intercept and expect them on their return home, while we scoure 'em from y^e frontier."

The letter closes with the mention of Elisha's wound, a recommendation from his mother, and an allusion to some "sarve."

This Expedition Unnoticed. Scarce any other allusion has been found to this expedition, more formidable in regard to numbers than any that had been organized in this section during the war. It did not succeed, however, in overtaking the enemy. The men were undoubtedly enlisted by Col. Dwight under the authority issued by Gov. Phipps in July, and the design of "scouring 'em from the frontier," was in accordance with the recommendation of Col. Dwight to the authorities in his letter of the 16th. It was the last effort of the war, as the proclamation for the cessation of hostilities was received before the soldiers returned. The troops were paid for twelve days' service.

Letter from Major Israel Williams. On the 5th of August, Major Israel Williams writes to Secretary Willard, enclosing the letter from Capt. Ephraim Williams, reciting the attack upon Fort Massachusetts. He says:—"The enemy are discovered almost daily in all parts of the frontiers. Our enemies are not in a lethargy, though some are ready to think we are so." Again he writes:—"Upwards of 50 persons have been killed or captured on our western frontier the last spring and this summer, most of them soldiers, and several severely wounded."

Most of the River Towns Escape. Little direct suffering from Indian incursions was inflicted upon the lower river towns this year. Occasionally a small scouting party would penetrate the settlements and leave its mark. Within the limits of the present town of Northampton no outrages were committed. In the Precinct of Southampton one casualty occurred, with temporary bad results to the people of that section.

Noah Pixley Killed at Southampton. Early in May, Noah Pixley, who lived in Southampton, was killed in the highway, while returning from the pasture to which he had just driven his cows. The Indians fired four or five shots at Pixley, wounding him in the arm. He ran some distance, but was overtaken, tomahawked and scalped, the savages cutting off part of his skull in their haste. In their flight the Indians stopped at the house of Samuel Burt, which had been deserted, but only slight damage was done there. A party of thirteen men under Sergt. Hawks of Deerfield immediately started in pursuit of the marauders, marching as far as the Dutch settlements at Hoosack, designing to intercept them. They were gone four days, but as usual saw no Indians. A company of thirty men, under Major Williams, was stationed at Newhampton and Blandford, from June to October 31st. In this company were several Northampton men whose names have been heretofore mentioned.

Southampton Deserted. The inhabitants of Newhampton, as it was frequently called in the military correspondence of that day, were panic-stricken by this disaster, and abandoned the settlement. Most of them came from Northampton, and before the middle of May, the majority of them had returned to their old homes. Rev. Jonathan Judd, the minister, moved all his "household stuff" to Suffield, where he had relatives, on the 14th of May, and did not again occupy his house in Southampton till the 23^d of December. Seven families returned in July, remaining there as a garrison during the summer. Before snow began to fly, nearly all the settlers were back on their homesteads.

Peace Declared. On the 18th of October, 1748, peace between England and France was signed at Aix la Chapelle, but the Indians were not immediately quieted, and occasional raids were made by them till the following year, when peace was signed with the eastern tribes, Oct. 17, 1749.

Louisburg Given Up. Peace was purchased with Louisburg. The recession of that fortress and the Island of Cape Breton to France was the price paid for the short cessation of hostilities that followed. That this stronghold, won by the valor of the colonies, should be returned to its former owners, was peculiarly galling to the pride of New England, soothed though it was by the payment of a round sum of money into the treasury of the Province, to cover the expenses of the campaign.

CHAPTER XIII.

COL. JOHN STODDARD.

First Appearance. JOHN, eighth child and fourth son of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, born February 7th, 168 $\frac{1}{2}$, first comes into this narrative on the morning of February 29th, 170 $\frac{3}{4}$, when the French and Indians carried death and destruction into the little hamlet of Deerfield. From that time onward the history of the times is the biography of the man. The many important affairs, already detailed, in which he was a prominent actor, not only afford an insight into his character, but place him upon the record as one of the foremost men of his generation. Little remains, therefore, but to sketch, in a general way, the most important among the many and diversified duties he was called upon to discharge during a public life covering a period of nearly fifty years.

Graduation and Early Life. At the age of nineteen years, in 1701, he was graduated at Harvard College with an average record as a student and without exhibiting in any marked degree the real talent so conspicuous in after years. Neither is there any intimation that he adopted the usual course of country graduates, and became a teacher, or that he entered upon the study of the law. It is to be presumed that he spent the immediate years after graduation at his home in Northampton, entering with earnestness upon the various projects and affairs that engrossed the attention of his fellow townsmen.

Stirring and Momentous Times. The years following his graduation were full of momentous events, and he stepped from the exclusiveness of college life into the rapid whirl of active and restless human passion. His

career as a soldier was ushered in by one of the most ferocious and bloody encounters of that cruel and relentless warfare, in which he was subsequently called to bear a conspicuous part. Political and economic questions of vital interest to the colony were constantly claiming attention during his entire collegiate course, and he could not have been indifferent to their significance.

Military Honors. When barely twenty-one years of age he enlisted in the train band of Northampton, and was soon after in active service. His ability as a soldier and an officer was speedily recognized, and promotion was not delayed. At every new outbreak of hostilities, when men of military capacity were needed, Col. Stoddard received greater honors. Common soldier in 1704; Captain in 1706; Major in 1712; Colonel in 1721; Commander-in-chief of the Western Department in 1744, he proved himself everywhere the right man in the right place. Gov. Dummer, recognizing his capacity, soon employed him in diplomatic service. In 1713, when he had attained only the rank of Major, he was sent on a difficult and perplexing mission to Canada, for the purpose of negotiating for the release and exchange of the English prisoners then in the hands of the French and Indians.¹ "This delicate and very important commission he executed in such a manner, as to recommend himself highly to the Governour of Canada, and to produce a general satisfaction throughout his own country."²

Selectman. His abilities were early recognized by his townsmen, and he was honored by them with many offices of trust and importance. At the age of twenty-four, he was first chosen a member of the board of Selectmen, and the record shows the prefix of Mr. to his name, a mark of distinction, seldom in those days accorded to one so young. He was sixteen times re-elected selectman during the remaining thirty-two years of his life. In 1743, he had a superfluity of titles, being named on the record as Hon. John Stoddard Esq. Afterwards he is repeatedly

1 Vol. 1, p. 534.

2 Dwight's Travels, vol. 1, p. 331.

called John Stoddard Esq., but that was after he became by common consent "Squire Stoddard" to all the village people.

Representative, and
other Duties.

In 1716, he was first chosen representative to the General Court. He was seventeen times re-elected to that position, and was serving in it when his death occurred. When a candidate, he suffered defeat on some occasions owing to local feuds. In 1722, he was selectman, representative, and moderator of town-meetings in Northampton, besides being engaged in government work at the extreme western limit of the Province. Oftener than any of his contemporaries was he chosen moderator of town-meetings, probably being elected to that office whenever present. In twenty-two different years, from 1716 to his death, he was called to preside over the deliberations of the citizens of Northampton in town-meeting assembled.

Town Clerk.

Greatly interested in the third and permanent settlement of Northfield, though never a resident of that place, he was for eight years, from 1715 to 1723, annually chosen its town clerk. In recognition of his services in this capacity he was granted one hundred acres of land in that town, in 1719.

Councillor.

He was a member of "His Majesty's Council for the Province of Massachusetts," in 1724, 1727, and 1728. On account of his peculiar sentiments¹ considerable opposition was developed against him, and he failed of an election on several occasions. Rather than continue the fight, he declined being longer a candidate for that office, contenting himself with a seat in the House of Deputies, when the people saw fit to elect him. In only nine of the twenty years of life that remained to him, did the citizens of Northampton permit him to be absent from that body.

1 "He had been several years member of the council, but being in favor of the prerogative, generally met with great opposition, and having been divers times left out, he at length declined being any longer the subject of contention, and chose a seat in the house, his town thinking it a favor that he would represent them."—Hutchinson, vol. 2, p. 386.

Engaged in Laying Out New Towns. Little public business of importance was transacted, especially in this region, in which he was not called to participate. The record of his services already presented, exhibits only in part the multifarious labors that fell to his lot. In 1722, when townships were petitioned for on the Housatonnuck, Col. Stoddard and Ebenezer Pomeroy were members of a committee to divide the tracts granted, and lay them out. From this section five towns and parts of three others were established. Again in 1735, in connection with Col. Israel Williams, he bought of the Indians ten miles square of land above Fort Dummer, on Deerfield River. The next year he was engaged with Ebenezer Pomeroy and Thomas Ingersoll in laying out a township (Stockbridge), at Housatonnuck. He had charge of the settlement, and did much towards establishing the celebrated Indian mission there, subsequently presided over by Rev. Jonathan Edwards.

Employed in Negotiations with the Indians. For many years, especially when hostilities with Canada were threatened or in actual progress, negotiations were carried on by the Province with the Five Nations and with the Six Nations, their neutrality or alliance being assiduously sought. In many of these transactions Col. Stoddard was employed, frequently entertaining the Indian ambassadors at his own private expense. The red men were usually ready to parley, never refusing the presents that frequently preceded the overtures, and always followed the treaty. The Five Nations sent delegates to Boston, in 1722, but nothing seems to have been accomplished. The following year the scene of negotiations was changed to Albany, and Col. Stoddard was appointed one of the commissioners to treat with them. Two meetings were held, one in May, 1723, and another the following year. Col. Stoddard set out from Northampton, Sept. 8th, 1724, and arrived at Albany on the 11th. On his return he reached home Sept. 26th. At the conference in May and June, 1723, Mr. Stoddard, who was dissatisfied with the way in which the government treated his accounts, showed righteous indignation, and proposed to throw up the whole matter and return home. His colleague, Ebenezer Pomeroy, "hopes Col. Stoddard

will stay or return again. * * * It is a great pity he should not be at the conference." He was present at the meeting, either returning after his visit home or else re-considering his intention of leaving.

“He had also an extensive acquaintance with the neighboring colonies and the neighboring nations on the continent. He had far greater knowledge than any other person in the land, of the several nations of Indians in these western parts of America, their tempers, manners, and the proper way of treating them; and was more extensively known by them than any other person in this country.”¹

Consequently he was oftener entrusted by government in the difficult and arduous task of negotiating with the Indian tribes and contiguous colonies.

He Believes in Treat-
ing the Indians
Kindly.

While the third French and Indian War, commencing in 1744, was in progress, he was intrusted with the defense of the frontier, and had much to do with the measures adopted for conciliating the New York tribes. His sentiments regarding the method of treating the Indians are expressed in a letter to Gov. Shirley, dated May 13, 1747. “The Indians,” he says, “are of such a humor that if we deal justly and kindly by them, they will put their lives into our hands, but if we deal deceitfully with them, that will soon raise an abhorrence of us.”²

A Misunderstanding
with Dwight.

Between the soldiers recruited especially for the expedition to Canada and those employed for home defense, there arose some jealousy of feeling, and Col. Stoddard seems to have felt somewhat annoyed at the want of courtesy shown towards him. Many soldiers were recruited in Western Massachusetts for the expedition to Canada in 1746 and 1747. They were under the command of Col. Joseph Dwight of Brookfield, and when the scheme of invasion was abandoned, some of them were employed in guarding the frontiers. The following extract from a letter of Col. Stoddard to Gov. Shirley, dated Northampton, April 23, 1747, shows one occasion of misunderstanding, and Stoddard's complaint about it:—

¹ Funeral Sermon of Prest. Edwards, at the death of Col. Stoddard.

² Judd MSS.

"I mentioned to Col. Dwight about taking care of the men at No. 4: he gave a short answer, and I said no more. I supposed Col. Dwight had orders to send a guard to cover the workmen in building the fortifications & supposed he would meet the com^r, but he has gone to Brookfield. * * * Your excellency will discern what work Col. Dwight and I shall make of doing business together. I have advised him in the best manner I have been able, but he is almost too great to be spoke to, and seems to look on the committee as so many spaniels."¹

This lack of harmony was all the more galling to the home commander on account of the scarcity of men, and the difficulty of enlisting soldiers for the frontier service. The expedition against Canada was quite popular among the people, and no difficulty seems to have been experienced in obtaining recruits for that purpose. The excitement of a campaign in the enemy's country was much more attractive than the monotonous garrison life of the frontier forts, varied only by an occasional alarm, a dangerous scout, or a march through an ambushed wilderness for supplies. A portion of the Canada contingent had already been employed in rebuilding Fort Massachusetts, and it was but natural that Col. Stoddard should suggest still further methods of making them useful.

A Commissioner from
Massachusetts.

While commander-in-chief on the western frontiers, he was appointed one of the commissioners to meet with others from New York and Connecticut, in order to concert measures for mutual defense against the common enemy. It was undoubtedly a meeting of this body upon which Col. Dwight so unceremoniously turned his back. In 1745, a conference was held with the Six Nations at Albany by the commissioners from Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania. In this commission Col. Stoddard held an honorable position. Their deliberations extended over a number of weeks.

Judicial Employ-
ments.

In addition to his many municipal, military, diplomatic, legislative and agrarian duties, he also held important judicial appointments. In 1725, he was made one of the Justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for Hampshire County

and afterwards became Chief Justice of the Court. Gov. Belcher, in 1729, added other legal duties, bestowing upon him the office of Judge of Probate for Hampshire County. Both of these offices he held through life. He was the third Judge of the latter court, succeeding Col. Samuel Partridge of Hatfield, who served twenty-six years. In 1736, Gov. Belcher appointed Col. Stoddard one of the Justices of the Superior Court, and the council "advised and consented;" but he never acted in that capacity, probably declining the position.

Land Grant at Pittsfield. The General Court in 1734, granted Col. Stoddard one thousand acres of unappropriated land in Hampshire County. This was made

"in consideration of services and sufferings in and for the public: in divers journies to Canada, Albany and the western parts, upon public affairs, his serving in the war with good success, his transactions with the Canada Indians and his entertaining at his house without any expense to the Province."

This tract, which was four hundred rods square, he selected within what is now the township of Pittsfield, and the grant was confirmed two years afterwards. The same year he petitioned the County Court for permission to lease from the Housatonnuck Indians a tract of land six miles square, for nine hundred ninety years, proposing to pay them £6 annually. He contended that one thousand acres were not enough to induce people to settle upon and establish a township. The court granted the petition, and the lease was consummated. At his death he owned land at Pontoosuck,¹ now Pittsfield, estimated to be worth £6,000. Grants of land made to him by the town of Northampton, in payment for services in settling boundary lines and other gratuitous labors, have been heretofore noted.

Little to be found upon the Records Concerning the Motives of Prominent Men. A bare catalogue of the offices held by any active citizen is but a meagre statement of his usefulness, and reveals mainly the popular side of his character. Yet it shows the confidence reposed in him by his fellow townsmen and

¹ For further particulars of Col. Stoddard's transactions in real estate at Pontoosuck, see History of Pittsfield, vol. 1, pp. 62-68.

the government by which he was employed, and thus serves to indicate in a most emphatic manner, the true worth of the individual. In most cases it is nearly all that remains to the historian concerning the early settlers of any place. Prominent though they may have been in the councils of the community in which they lived, yet they have seldom left upon record any thing by which to gauge their real character or to show the governing motives of their actions.

Prominent among
the Leaders in
Town, County
and State.

The biography of John Stoddard, Representative to the General Court, Colonel of the Colonial Militia, Commander on the western frontiers, Member of His Majesty's Council, Commissioner to treat with the Indians, Agent to redeem prisoners in Canada, Judge of Probate, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, may be found on the records of the town, the county, and in the archives of the State. It has already to some extent been spread upon these pages, and needs no recapitulation. His life was the connecting link between the two series of great leaders who controlled the affairs of Western Massachusetts for nearly a century and three-quarters. His predecessors were John Pynchon of Springfield, and Samuel Partridge of Hatfield; following him came Joseph Hawley and Caleb Strong of Northampton, and these five men were the leaders in the Colony, the Province and the State. From 1650 to 1819, their names are closely interwoven with the local history of the valley, and no narrative of the formative period of the Commonwealth, especially of its western section, is complete without a recital of the part they performed in establishing the institutions that gave prosperity and permanence to the whole country.

Loyal to the King.

Very little can be gleaned concerning the legislative career of Col. Stoddard. He was a staunch supporter of royalty, and made himself obnoxious by his pronounced opinions in favor of the prerogative. The spirit of liberty that finally threw off the burden of kingly government, implanted when the first emigrants landed on these shores, was already taking strong hold upon the people. Many chafed under the restrictions

of parliament, and the rights claimed by the King. Few denied the authority of the mother country, and still fewer were ready openly to contest it. Yet there was an under-current of opposition to many of the arbitrary enactments of King and Parliament, with an occasional surface manifestation, indicating the tendency of thought and action in the direction that eventually established a nation of freemen. It was the party of freedom springing into existence. In opposition to it, though equally patriotic, was the party of the prerogative, which believed in securing their rights by endurance and good-will, rather than by opposition and defiance. To this latter party Col. Stoddard belonged. His connection with it brought defeat upon him on "divers occasions," both local and legislative, and finally in the next generation, developing into toryism, cost his sons much personal inconvenience. He supported the supreme law of the land as he found it, with all the inflexible will and stubborn persistence, so characteristic of the family to which he belonged. Evidently Col. Stoddard was a strong friend of Gov. Shirley,¹ and no doubt shared his views respecting the authority of the British government.²

Legislative Duties. Though nothing appears to show positively the position taken by Col. Stoddard upon any of the important questions in agitation while he was a member of the legislature, his opinions and counsel were evidently considered of value upon financial matters, and his name is frequently to be found upon committees having those subjects in charge. In 1736, the currency was in

1 "To the convention at Albany came William Shirley, already for seven years governor of Massachusetts; an English lawyer, artful, needy, and ambitious; a member of the church of England; indifferent to the laws and the peculiar faith of the people whom he governed, appointed originally to restore or introduce British authority, and more relied upon than any crown officer in America."—Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. 4, p. 26, ed. 1852.

2 In this connection comes in appropriately the often quoted anecdote related by President Dwight:—"Once when Gov. Shirley had a party dining with him, a servant came into the room and informed the Governor that a Gentleman at the gate wished to speak with him. 'Ask the Gentleman to come in,' said the Governor. 'I did Sir,' said the servant, 'but he said that he could not stay.' The company were not a little surprised, nor less indignant, at behaviour, which they thought so disrespectful to the chief magistrate. 'What is the gentleman's name' said the Governor. 'I think,' said the servant, 'he told me his name was Stoddard.' 'Is it,' said the Governor. 'Excuse me Gentlemen, if it is Col. Stoddard I must go to him.'"—Dwight's *Travels*, vol. 1, p. 332.

a bad condition. Gov. Belcher, in his message to the legislature at the November session, stated that bills of credit had "sunk near three parts in four from what they passed at when bills of that sort were first issued." Consequently finance was the most important matter upon which legislation was required. In December, Col. Stoddard, chairman of the committee relating to bills of credit, made a report which was ordered to be printed for the use of the legislature and the people. This report, while it embodied much that was subsequently enacted by the legislature, was not adopted at that session.

He had Many Enemies. Col. Stoddard was not without enemies, and many a bitter contest he waged with them in his native town. An occasional sentence in his official correspondence reveals the only glimpse that can be obtained of this feature of his life, and these casual allusions are always in answer to the suggestions, innuendoes, or inquiries of others, never by way of personal complaint.¹

The Village Mag- Apparently he was an aristocrat of the aristocrats. Allied to the older and wealthier families among the settlers, accustomed to deference in a community where wealth and ability were passports to respect, as well as to the highest seats in the meeting-house, possessing magisterial as well as military honor, he was in verity the village magnate, the old-time English squire of the community. Unquestionably active in all matters of importance to the town, fearless and outspoken wherever interested, bringing down upon himself the denunciations of his opponents, he yet never descended to the petty meanness of the demagogue or village politician. Honorable and aboveboard, he stood firmly upon the principles of truth, honesty, and fair dealing. At times defeated, but more often successful, he never sought

¹ A single illustrative manifestation of vindictiveness, though of little significance to the subject of it, is found in the following extract from the court records of the year 1746. It was when the war was in progress, the grip of the military everywhere applied, and much "applejack" in circulation;—John Adams Jr. of Suffield, indicted for profane swearing, was accused of saying: "Col. Stoddard is a cussed lazy devil; he sits there (Northampton), on his cussed —; it was his devilish cussed doings that those forts were built and that them at Fort Massachusetts were taken." He was fined 5s., but appealed.—Judd MSS.

to revenge himself upon his competitors. Though he held high judicial honors, they never effaced his military title, and he was most familiarly known to the end of his life as Col. John Stoddard. A firm friend and welcome counselor of Rev. Jonathan Edwards, it is highly probable that a different result might have been reached in that memorable controversy, had he then been living.¹

Testimony of Thomas
Hutchinson.

Though his duties were multifarious, and the cares of official life incessant and exacting, his fame as a statesman is eclipsed by that of none of his contemporaries. Thomas Hutchinson, historian of Massachusetts, bears the following testimony to his character :—

“ There have been but few men among us who have been more generally esteemed. His enemies would charge him with unconstitutional principles, but at the same time allow he had an upright heart. He shined only in affairs of importance, lesser matters would frequently be carried against his mind by the little acts and crafts of minute politicians, which he disdained to defeat by counter working. He was very early employed in public affairs. In 1713, he went as a commissary to Quebec for the redemption of captives, and the several governours to the time of his death entrusted to his direction the military affairs of the county of Hampshire, which in time of war was peculiarly exposed. Nor was his authority less in civil matters. Both military and civil authority he used with great discretion. In this latter, in one instance, he rather exceeded, extending it to ecclesiastical affairs of the town of Springfield farther than he could well justify. Our best men have sometimes exceeded in their zeal for particular systems, and have endeavored to promote religion by invading natural and civil rights.”²

Case of Rev. Mr.
Breck.

The above allusion to intermeddling in ecclesiastical affairs refers to the case of Rev. John Breck of Springfield. In October, 1735, Mr. Breck was charged with heresy, and an attempt was made to prevent his settlement after a council of ministers, convened for that purpose, had assembled. His opponents first applied to the Court of Common Pleas for a warrant to arrest the council, which the Justices refused. But they afterwards issued one for the arrest of Mr. Breck, and he

¹ Mr. Edwards states that he intended to submit to Col. Stoddard a full statement of his peculiar views upon the question which cost him his pastorate, before taking a decided stand upon it, but the occasion for such an exposition did not occur till after the death of Mr. Stoddard.—Dwight's *Life of Edwards*, p. 314.

² Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, vol. 2, p. 386.

was sent back to Connecticut for trial, where his heretical sentiments had been promulgated. The Justices held that Mr. Breck had violated the law against atheism and blasphemy. The Connecticut courts refused to interfere, and he came back to Springfield and was installed. In 1736, the matter was brought before the Legislature, and the Justices cited to appear. The General Court decided in favor of the legality of the council, and mildly censured the Judges.

Opinion of Rev. Jonathan Edwards.

“No man in Massachusetts Bay possessed the same weight of character during the last twenty years of his life;” and it may be said, almost literally, that “after him men spake not again.”¹ Rev. Jonathan Edwards preached his funeral sermon, more correctly named funeral eulogy. It characterises him as one of the most remarkable men of his day. Something must be conceded to the relationship existing between the two men (Mr. Edwards’ mother being sister to Col. Stoddard), but even then there remains little to discount from the verdict of the eminent divine. Honest and faithful himself, Col. Stoddard abhorred meanness or duplicity in others. President Edwards says of him, “But though he was exalted above others in greatness and abilities of mind, and feared not the faces of men; yet he feared God. In private life he was a most faithful friend, counsellor and assistant.”

Characteristics.

A person of excellent natural abilities, matured in the stirring and unsettled times that followed the French and Indian War of Queen Anne’s reign, he became at once a man of action and resources. Called in early life to important duties, he acquired grave and studious habits, by which he profited in many ways. Thrown much in company of the leading men of the colony, the principles of sound government were deeply impressed upon his mind, and he was steadfast and immovable in his political sentiments when satisfied that right and justice pointed out the way.

¹ Dwight’s Travels, vol. 1, p. 332.

His Death. He died in Boston of apoplexy June 15th, 1748, while in attendance at a session of the General Court, and was buried in that city. Contact with the world, and familiarity with the best society of the day, cultivated a taste for the better things of every-day life, which wealth enabled him in a great measure to gratify. It is an historical fact, quoted sometimes in derision, that he possessed the first, and for a time, the only gold watch in Northampton. It was valued at £150.

Items from the Inventory of his Estate. The inventory of his estate reveals the fact that he had many articles of comfort and convenience (in addition to the gold watch), then not to be found among the majority of his townsmen. Apparently his family was among the first in town to make use of tea. The tea-pot, tea-kettle, cups and saucers, inventoried as belonging to his estate, were the first known to have been used in Northampton. Tea was introduced here between 1729 and 1748, but probably very few persons used it before the latter date. Among the noticeable articles enumerated in the inventory, which were not then in general use, were earthen bowls, plates, mugs, and a sugar dish. Crockery was quite rare, and was seldom found among the people till some years later. Col. Stoddard's real estate was valued at £18,238, and his personal property at £17,194, the whole aggregating £35,432, which if appraised in Old Tenor, equal to 45s. to the dollar, would reduce values to a little more than \$15,000. Among the funeral charges were £40 for printing the funeral sermon, £49.8 for funeral rings, and £14.10 for gloves.

His Family. Col. John Stoddard married Prudence Chester of Wethersfield, Ct., in 1731. Ten children were born to them—four daughters and six sons—five of whom survived their father. His daughters were educated in Boston, their teacher being a man by the name of Turner. They would ride to Boston on horseback, sometimes on a pillion behind their father or some other person, and occasionally on a side-saddle. Of three daughters, who came to the age of maturity, Mary, the elder, married Col. John Worthington of Springfield: the second, Pru-

dence, married Ezekiel Williams of Wethersfield; and the third, Esther, died unmarried at the age of 78. Of the sons, Solomon who lived in Northampton, was a man of much ability, and for many years occupied the position of Register of Probate: he died in Northampton at the age of 94. Israel, the younger, removed to Pittsfield, where he died about 1785. Both adopted the political sentiments of their father, and had a falling out with the whigs during revolutionary times.

Residence. Col. Stoddard lived on the old homestead of his father on Prospect Street, which descended to him by will.

CHAPTER XIV.

NEW SCHOOLS—DIVISION OF THE ADDITIONAL GRANT.

Schools Carefully
Nurtured.

NEITHER the excitement of existing warfare nor the pecuniary embarrassments caused thereby, were sufficient absolutely to absorb the attention of the community. In the multiplicity of rapidly recurring events, when the military engrossed all other interests, the improvement and enlargement of schools and school methods was not overlooked. The citizens dealt generously by them, providing extra teachers and establishing new schools in all sections, whenever their need was made apparent. Laggard only in the matter of heating, they were liberal and progressive in every other respect. Yet the town was constantly endeavoring to supply this defect. The reiteration of votes to compel people to keep the schoolmaster's woodpile intact, has almost become burdensome in this narrative, yet in 1746, it was found necessary again to act upon the matter. This time it was ordered that every parent "sending a boy to school," must follow him within ten days with a load of wood, or pay a fine of 5s.

The Town Boards
the Schoolmaster.

Another change for the better was adopted the next year. Heretofore school-teachers had paid their board bills from their salary. Probably they "boarded round," at the homes of their scholars; and the parents paid a portion of their school rates by that means; but now a new system was put in practice. In 1747, the town assumed that expense. The first item of that kind on the treasurer's account is a payment of £14.7 to Moses Lyman for boarding Nathaniel Taylor, who taught school at the center, from October to

the following April. This was in addition to the salary, which amounted to £60 for the half year. No vote appears ordering any such change, and there is nothing to show by what authority it was made. Possibly the rapid depreciation in value of Bills of Credit had something to do with the matter. From that time, similar payments were made annually, applying to all sections of the town. It may be surmised that this change affected the schoolmaster in many ways. Not only was he benefited pecuniarily, but his social standing was greatly improved by familiar association with the families of the town's best citizens. Whatever may have been his position previous to this action, he certainly found a home afterwards in such households as those of Col. Seth Pomeroy, Caleb Strong, Rev. Mr. Hooker, Joseph Hawley, John Hunt and Thomas Allen. Undoubtedly the society of these young men, most of them college graduates, was much sought by the cultivated among the inhabitants, especially when accompanied by an occasional warrant upon the town treasury. In a letter written to his wife during the campaign of 1755, Col. Pomeroy sends his "service to Sr. Ely," meaning Richard Ely, schoolmaster, then boarding in his family. The price allowed varied from 4s., 4s. 8d., to 5s. per week.

New Schools Es-
tablished.

Two schools were established in the so called outer districts, in 1743; five years afterwards a still further extension was made, and three more were provided, this time literally in "the remote parts of the town." In December, 1748, the town voted that schools should be kept "for the instruction of children in reading and writing, viz. : one upon the Plain, one over Mill River, one at Pascommuck, one at Bartlett's Mill, and one at the new Precinct, at the cost of the town." The two first named were identical with those instituted three years before, the others were new.

Improvements in
the Schools Sug-
gested. New
School-House
Ordered.

Still further progress was in contemplation, and during the succeeding year another step in advance was suggested. Early in 1749, a committee consisting of Col. Timothy Dwight, Mr. Joseph Hawley, and Samuel Mather, was

appointed "to Consider with respect to the better Regulation of our School, to project Some way that our School for the future may be more advantageous and profitable for the Education of our Children." The following January this committee reported as follows :—

"That the Town Erect a new School House near Elisha Pomeroy's trading Shop, that Shall be Very warm and Convenient, for writers, Grammar Scholars, and Arithmeticians as its likely they may be in Town to be Instructed, and that there be for the future, two School-masters maintain'd in Town in the Winter Season in the middle of the Town, viz :—one to which Grammar Scholars and Arithmeticians and writers Shall be Sent, the other to which, the Readers, or English Scholars Shall be Sent : and in the Summer Season, there be but one School maintained, viz :—the Grammar School to which Scholars of all Sorts Shall be Sent Untill the Season grows Cold & that then, there be two again as afores'd : & that for the future any provision for Schools in the Remote parts of the Town be omitted."

The above Vote
Rescinded.

This report was accepted, and Lieut. Noah Wright and Mr. Ebenezer Hunt were added

to the committee, which was instructed to consider what kind of a house should be built. This was rather a one-sided proposition, both as regards the character and location of the schools. It provided solely for the enlargement of one department, and omitted the outlying districts altogether. When the people in the outskirts began to realize the true position in which they had been placed by this decision, that they must either do without schools or send their children to the center of the town, they rallied, and at the following March meeting the former vote was reconsidered and rescinded.

Still further Changes
for the Better in
the Schools.

This agitation of the school question while it failed to better the schools in one section at the expense of those elsewhere,

resulted in good to them all. In 1750, an order was adopted to provide

"some meet person to assist the Grammr school master in teaching the Writers and English readers, And that English School masters shall be provided for the 2^d Precinct and the Farms, and that the school money already granted to the 2^d Precinct be used for the paying for the schooling of the youths of sd precinct."

It was also voted to build a school-house in the second precinct. The next year the same assistant was continued,

and an allowance voted for schools in the second precinct and in the remote parts of the first precinct. In 1752, English schools were established at Pascommuck and at Bartlett's Mill, and an usher provided for the grammar school, to assist "Mr. Street in teaching reading and writing." It was also voted that a separate room should be provided for the usher. Here was another forward step. The "usher," apparently more competent than the "assistant," who had taught under the eye of the head-master, was to keep an independent school, in reality forming two schools at the center. A room was hired for the usher in the house of Samuel Judd on Pleasant Street. There was still a strong party in favor of a new school-house at the center, and the proposition to build one there was defeated by a majority of only three votes the same year.

Girls Excluded from the Public Schools. In this agitation of the school question no reference has been made to the education of girls, the accepted inference being that their schooling was neglected because they were not admitted to the town schools. The first schools in New England were not free. Only a portion of the master's salary was paid by the town; the rest, as many facts already cited abundantly prove, was collected of the parents. While the education of boys was amply provided for, that of the girls, left to their parents, was by no means neglected. Though some of the wealthier citizens, like Col. Stoddard, educated their daughters in Boston, private schools for girls were kept at the houses of the inhabitants in all sections of the town. The girls within certain limits would gather at one of the farm-houses, and the wife or some other member of the family was paid for teaching them. Co-education of the sexes was as slow in coming into practice in primitive schools as it has been in more modern days in colleges and scientific institutions. No attempt to admit girls into the town schools was made for more than a quarter of a century.

Bills of Credit Depreciating. So great had been the depreciation of Bills of Credit that in 1747, action was taken upon the matter in town-meeting. "The Question Was put, whether the Town will take Something

of [off] the persons that have the bills of the Town Upon Interest, on the Consideration of the Sinking or the depreciating of the bills, and it passed in the affirmative." It was voted that the treasurer "shall take £2 per cent per annum for the last year Ending in May last." The town treasurer was also directed to "let out the bills for this year Coming as Old Ten^r bills at the rate of £6 upon the Hundred for Interest and at the rate of £2 Upon the Hundred for their depreciating, or Sinking in their Value." The money "produced by the sale of the school lands," was voted to be "let out upon interest," at the same rate, "the town running the risque of the depreciating of the bills."

Liberty Granted to the Second Precinct to Sell Land. Liberty was granted to the inhabitants of the second precinct "to sell 200 acres of land on the back side of Whiteloaf hills that was formerly sequestered for the use and benefit of said precinct, which land with 300 more formerly granted them was to be in lieu of their right and interest in or to the land lying in the meadow or common field in Northampton, sequestered for the ministry provided they relinquish their right or interest in or to the land sequestered lying in the 1st Precinct & do aquit and discharge the same from all demands of or from the 2^d parish in said town on account of said sequestered land lying in the 1st precinct."

Additional Grant Divided. Rule of the Division. In 1702,¹ a triangular tract of land containing about 3,000 acres, lying between Northampton, Springfield, and Westfield, was granted by the General Court to Northampton and Westfield. After forty-six years' possession as common land, a proposition was made in town-meeting for its sale or division. This was promptly negatived, but at the afternoon session that vote was reconsidered, and the matter postponed till January 30th, 1748. At that meeting, "after the matter was thoroughly debated," the decision was reached to divide all the land in the "additional grant." In February, rules for the division were adopted, a survey and plot of the land ordered, and a list of the polls and

1 See vol. 1, p. 465.

estates upon which the division was based, was entered upon the record. It was provided that all the polls of the "Inhabitants that have not been warned out of Town," should be rated at £10. All persons under 21 years of age should be accounted to their parents or masters, and the valuation added to the list. The rule of division was as follows:—

"That the Sum Each person is assessed at this year in this Town with the addition of the Poll or Polls he pays for respectively, Shall be the rule to determine Each persons Right or proportion by, Exclusive of Such as are Excluded as afores^d, Excepting that when the Polls or Estate of others of age, are Set to any particular person of a family, Each person Shall be Entitled to his respective Share, that Notwithstanding and that when any Orphan hath any Estate rated the right for Such Estate Shall be to him and if he be not a Servant and his poll be rated that Shall be to Such Orphan's own benefit, also excepting that the Rev. Mr Jonathn Edwards, minister of the first Precinct, & Rev. Mr Jonathn Judd, minister of the 2^d precinct, Shall be admitted each to a right Equal to the Sum of £100."

Non-resident taxpayers were also to have the rights of their estates. Because the lots were small, parties were allowed to draw together by one number if they could agree. There are two hundred sixty names on this list, which undoubtedly includes the name of every male person in Northampton and Southampton, except paupers and transients.

Statistics of this Division. Annexed is the list, showing the number of polls, the amount at which each person is rated, the owners of meadow-land, and the place of residence of every male inhabitant of the original town at this date:—

Acres Meadow Land.		Polls.	Estate.	Residence.
	Ezra Clark	1	49	Plain (Bridge St.)
17½	Josiah Pomeroy	2	106	" "
21½	Abner Lyman	1	100	" "
27½	Ens. Ebenezer Sheldon	2	118	" "
26½	Nathaniel Curtis (Moses Wright)	2	65	" "
11	Dea. Ebenezer Pomeroy	2	76	" "
23	John Wright	3	86	" "
17	Hezekiah Wright	1	42	" "
9	Sergt. Joseph Wright	1		" "
	Reuben Wright	1	42	" "

Acres Meadow Land.		Polls.	Estate.	Residence.
1	Aaron Wright	1	32	Bridge Street
17	Gad Lyman	1	137	" "
16	Nathaniel Edwards Heirs		12	" "
25	Lt. William Parsons	1	205	" "
	Supply Clapp	1	05	" "
	Edward Coats	1	01	" "
	Amos Loomis	1	41	" "
39	Capt. John Lyman	3	147	" "
20	Lt. James Lyman	2	68	" "
	Jacob Parsons	1	56	" "
12 $\frac{1}{2}$	Joseph Alvord	2	67	" "
14	Ebenezer Wright Jr. (Father and Brothers)	4	90	" "
	John Birge Jr.	1	02	Back of Cemetery
54	Elihu Parsons	1	138	Hawley Street
	Mrs. Mercy Parsons (his mother)	1	48	" "
	Asa Wright	1	34	" "
	Timothy Wright	1	05	" "
7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ebenezer Alvord	2	34	" "
	Noah Strong	1	24	" "
	Capt. Orlando Bridgman	1	118	" "
15	John Bridgman	1		" "
20	Ebenezer Hawley	1	94	" "
31	Mrs. Rebecca Hawley		42	" "
	Mr. Joseph Hawley	1	56	" "
	Lt. Elisha Hawley		117	" "
31	Lt. Nathaniel Strong		40	" "
	Nathaniel Strong Jr.	1	41	" "
	Mrs. Martha Strong (wid. of Daniel)		13	" "
16 $\frac{1}{2}$	Samuel Sheldon	1	110	" "
29 $\frac{3}{4}$	Samuel Clarke	1	76	" "
34	Lt. Noah Wright	2	130	Plain
	Isaac Parsons	1	59	" "
	Selah Wright	1	32	" "
21 $\frac{1}{2}$	Abigail Parsons (wid. Nathaniel)	1	59	" "
12 $\frac{1}{4}$	Capt. Preserved Clapp	1	34	Pleasant Street
5	Eliphaz Clapp	1	31	" "
20	Joseph Lyman	2	167	" "
7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Lt. William Lyman	1	116	" "
6	Medad Lyman	1	9	" "
25	Lt. Supply Kingsley	1	71	" "
13	Elizabeth Strong (wid. Ebenezer)		88	" "
21 $\frac{1}{2}$	Capt. Moses Lyman	3	133	" "
35 $\frac{1}{4}$	Mr. Jonathan Strong	2	85	" "
7	Ensign Caleb Strong	1	176	" "

Acres Meadow Land.		Polls.	Estate.	Residence.
14	Preserved Bartlett	3	57	Pleasant Street
12	Jonathan Burt	1	41	" "
19 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ebenezer Bartlett	1	65	" "
	Aaron Bartlett	1	8	" "
10	Benjamin Bartlett	1	44	" "
	Joseph Bascom	1	48	" "
23	William Judd	1	87	" "
1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Samuel Judd	1		" "
12	William Bartlett	2	76	" "
	Samuel Mather	1	141	" "
12 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ebenezer Hunt	2	146	Main Street
	Bela Strong	1	79	" "
19	Samuel Marshall	1	74	" "
	Samuel Marshall Jr.	1	15	" "
13	Elisha Pomeroy	2	174	" "
5	Maj. Seth Pomeroy	3	595	" "
9	Edward Baker	1	89	" "
1	Saul Alvord	1	28	" "
	Ephraim Wright	1	108	" "
11	Elizabeth Wright (wid. Jonathan)	1	41	" "
5	James Searle	1	7	" "
	Elias Strong	1	36	" "
	John Strong	1	8	" "
21	Noah Parsons	2	100	" "
15	Samuel Kingsley	1	100	" "
	Gideon Parsons	4	110	" "
	Waitstill Strong	3	88	" (corner)
28	Jonathan Kingsley	3	71	" "
37	Nathaniel Clark	1	36	" "
	Gideon Clark	3	35	" "
	Selah Clark	1	46	" "
11 $\frac{1}{2}$	Moses Kingsley	1	81	" "
	Isaac Searle	1	24	" "
4 $\frac{1}{2}$	Asahel Clap	1	43	" "
	Aaron Clap	1	38	" "
38	Capt. John Clark	3	95	" "
	Josiah Clark Jr.	1	40	" "
	Timothy Clark	1	36	South Street
	Seth Clapp	1	39	" "
39	Lt. Samuel Clapp	2	58	" "
7	Ens. John Clapp	1	49	" "
32	Capt. Roger Clap	4	122	" "
15	Samuel Edwards	4	79	" "
29 $\frac{1}{4}$	Katherine Phelps (wid. Nathaniel)		62	" "
	Nathaniel Phelps	1	59	" "
	Martin Phelps	1	38	" "

Acres Meadow Land,		Polls.	Estate.	Residence.	
	Nathaniel Clark Jr.	1	59	South	Street
18	Jonathan Strong Jr.	2	69	"	"
28	Ebenezer Hutchinson	1	82	"	"
	Samuel Clapp Jr. (last house)	1	48	"	"
5	Daniel Clark	1	50	"	"
48	Mr. John Hunt (New Boston)	1	227	Elm	Street
28½	Mr. Joseph Hunt	1	121	"	"
	Ebenezer Clark Jr.	1	50	"	"
	Moses Clark	1	62	"	"
47½	Capt. John Baker	4	167	"	"
3	John Baker Jr.	1	57	"	"
	Caleb Clark	1	80	"	"
	Wid. Sarah Clark (Caleb's mother)		46	"	"
38½	Lt. Jonathan Hunt	4	231	"	"
	Benjamin Clark	1	43	"	"
38	Increase Clark	2	146	"	"
20	Ens. Josiah Clark	2	97	"	"
51	Lt. Ebenezer Clark	5	218	"	"
20½	Dea. Noah Cook	4	70	"	top of hill
17½	Noah Clark	3	95	West	Street
	Seth Clark	1	14	"	"
27	Samuel Langton	1	94	"	"
	Obadiah Frary	1	23	"	"
19¼	Benjamin Edwards	1	86	"	"
	Ebenezer Edwards	1	106	"	"
16½	Israel Rust	2	83	"	"
3½	Major Ebenezer Pomeroy	1	106	Catholic	Church
12	Daniel Pomeroy	1	113	"	"
11	Samuel Baker	1	42	Pancake	Plain
9½	William Phelps	3	54	Prospect	Street
16	James Hulbert		33	"	"
14	Jonathan Rust	1	45	"	"
11	Thomas Allen	1	62	"	"
	Aaron Baker	1	41	"	"
8	David Burt	3	97	"	"
8	Thomas Burt	2	102	"	"
	Joseph Burt	1	7	"	"
50	Madame Stoddard		222	"	"
14½	Samuel Phelps	3	67	"	"
	John Alvord	2	33	"	"
	Jonathan Alvord	1	18	"	"
	Zebadiah Alvord	1	12	"	"
7	Lt. John Miller	2	82	King	Street
	Eleazar Burt	1	89	"	"
	John Frary	1	13	"	"
7	Ebenezer Phelps	1	79	"	"

Aeres Meadow Land.		Polls.	Estate.	Residence.
7	Joseph Phelps		12	King Street
	Benjamin Parsons	1	100	" "
12	Eleazar King	2	63	" "
9	Joseph Allen	1	85	" "
8	Samuel Allen	1	60	" "
19	Hezekiah Root	3	112	" "
12	Daniel King	2	73	" "
6 $\frac{1}{2}$	Medad King	2	44	" "
	Lt. Elisha Strong	1	46	" "
24	Hope Root	1		" "
	Stephen Root		36	" "
	Aaron Root	1	43	" "
12	Enoch Southwell	1	48	" "
	Mark Warner	1	34	" "
	Mark Warner Jr.	1	16	" "
	Daniel Warner	1	7	" "
	Elisha Warner	1		" "
7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Noah Bridgman	2	31	" "
7	Abigail King (wid. John)		12	" "
	Wid. Hannah Phelps (2 ^d wife Sam ^l)		16	" "
	Caleb Wright	1	2	" "
	Israel Sheldon	1	10	" "
3	Rev. Jonathan Edwards		100	" "
23	Timothy Dwight Esq.	2	115	Market Street
	Timothy Dwight Jr.	1	56	" "
30	Samuel Courtis		83	" "
5	John Hannum	1	30	" "
5	Benjamin Alvord	1	43	" "
16	John Allexander's Heirs		47	" "
	Ithamar Clark	1	23	" "
	Samuel Allexander	1		" "
47	Mr. Josiah Parsons	2	154	" "
	Seth Strong	1	62	" "
21	Ensign Gideon Lyman	2	143	" "
	Jemima Wright (wid. Samuel)	1		" "
30	Lt. Benjamin Sheldon	2	143	" "
13 $\frac{3}{4}$	Samuel Hannum		52	" "
9	Samuel Clesson	1	20	" "
	Nathaniel Day	1	7	" "
2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Jerijah Strong Jr.	1	68	" "
5	Zebadiah Miller	1	17	" "
8	Ebenezer Burt	1	44	" "
8	Aaron Miller		17	King Street
24	John Miller	2	74	" "
	Thomas Judd	3	51	↑ South Farms
	Elias Lyman	1	105	" "

Acres Meadow Land.		Polls.	Estate.	Residence.	
	William Wait	2	77	South	Farms
	Ebenezer Wait	1	27	"	"
	Nathaniel Kentfield	1	3	"	"
29½	John Parsons	1	51	"	"
	Wid. Sarah Parsons		49	"	"
2½	Daniel Alexander	1	43	"	"
	Noah Clark Jr.	1	48	"	"
	Abigail Wharton		21	"	"
16½	Samuel Janes	4	141	Easthampton	
3½	Lt. Elisha Searl	1	71	"	"
16	Ebenezer Ferry	1	71	"	"
	Josiah Searl	1	26	"	"
	Eliakim Clark	1	37	"	"
12	Robert Danks	1	36	"	Nash
	Ephraim Danks	1	34	"	"
	Benoni Danks	1	30	"	"
	Zadoc Danks	1	22	"	"
	Joseph Wright Jr.	1	45	"	"
	Titus Wright	1	14	"	"
8½	David Bartlett	1	11	"	"
	Jonathan Clapp	1	140	"	"
	Jonathan Wait	2	47	"	"
5½	Joseph Bartlett	1	287	"	"
20½	Benjamin Lyman	2	30	"	"
	Benjamin Lyman		34	Southampton	
	Rev. Jonathan Judd		100	"	"
12½	Dea. Stephen Wright	3	76	"	"
5	Eldad Pomeroy	3	47	"	"
5	Samuel Pomeroy (Dec ^d)		75	"	"
	Caleb Pomeroy	1	17	"	"
	Simeon Pomeroy	1		"	"
	Ebenezer Pomeroy	1	10	"	"
	Elisha Pomeroy	1	10	"	"
	Joshua Pomeroy	1	10	"	"
	Samuel Pomeroy	1	11	"	"
	Roger Clapp Jr.	1	22	"	"
	Ebenezer French	1	9	"	"
	Jonathan Clark	1	32	"	"
	Ebenezer Corse	1	31	"	"
	Eleazar Hannum	3	32	"	"
	Ebenezer Kingsley	2	25	"	"
	Nathan Lyman	1	24	"	"
	Jonathan Bascom	1	17	"	"
	Stephen Sheldon	1	31	"	"
	Wid. Mary Sheldon		29	"	"
	Noah Pixley (deceased)		14	"	"

Aeres Meadow Land.		Polls.	Estate.	Residence.
	Elisha Clark (deceased)		10	Southampton
	Nathaniel Searl Jr.	1	7	" "
	Eliphaz Searl	1		" "
3	Wid. Miriam Strong		19	" "
	John Wait	1	25	" "
	John Wait Jr.	1	5	" "
16½	Dea. Waitstill Strong	1	25	" "
	Thomas Porter	1	8	" "
3½	Nathaniel Searl Sen.	3	30	" "
	Joseph Clark's Heirs		10	" "
	Dea. John Clark Jr.	1	22	" "
	Aaron Clark	1	16	" "
	Samuel Danks	1	25	" "
	Ichabod Strong	1	29	" "
	Elias Lyman	1	20	" "
	Stephen Root	1	16	" "
	Samuel Burt	1	22	" "
21¼	Moses Wright's Heirs		18	" "
	Phinehas King		16	" "
2½	Samuel King	1	13	" "
6	Thankful Alexander		6	Non-Resident
8	Lydia Dickinson		16	Hatfield

In the above table the number of acres of meadow-land assigned to each person is taken from the apportionment for the meadow fence assessed in 1744, five years before the additional grant was divided, and is believed to include all the owners at that time. In a few instances the number of acres belonging to an individual is not carried out on the original record, and there were several non-residents, whose names do not appear. The whole number of acres included within the meadow fence in 1744, as reported by the committee at that time, was 2493. The footing above will reach 2131 acres, and there were nearly 400 acres owned by non-residents.

CHAPTER XV.

PRECINCTS—MR. EDWARDS' SALARY—GREAT AWAKENING.

Mill River Overstep-
ping its Bounds.

UNEASY Mill River was trying to overstep it allotted bounds, near Bartlett's Gate, at the lower end of Pleasant Street, and measures were taken in 1749, to prevent anticipated trouble. In all probability the place where the greatest mischief was expected, must have been near the turn by which the river was diverted from its former course, the stream naturally seeking to return to its old channel. It is quite evident that the bed of Mill River above or near the old South Street bridge, was formerly many feet to the south of the channel in which its current now flows. Less than a generation ago, a deep gully, evidently once the bed of the stream, extended across the home lot of the late Mr. Elijah Kingsley. In 1766, there existed a strip of land, an island, on the north side of the river between the gas works and the bridge, of sufficient size to warrant a vote in town-meeting permitting Capt. William Lyman to "fence and feed the beach above Bathsheba Hull's house." She was a negress, and lived in a little house on the river bank just above the bridge. Four years later there was danger of the river's "shifting its course again into the old Mill Trench northward of the Island where Amos Hull dwelt." The surveyors were ordered to prevent the anticipated change by "hedging or otherwise." This island was formed by the trench, dug in 1660, to carry off the waste water from the first grist-mill, erected a short distance up the river, and through which it would seem part of the current then flowed. Much of this beach has undoubtedly been transferred to the other side of the river, and all evidence of the old trench has long since disappeared.

New Bridge over
the Stream.

A new bridge was built over Mill River "near Waitstill Strong's" in 1749, and the timber was ordered "to be gotten out" that winter. The next year the accounts for building this structure, which was on or near the site of the recent old bridge, were accepted and ordered to be paid. It was called the "Great Bridge over Mill river," and cost £218.7.6, old tenor, which was equivalent to about \$100. The old bridge and timber was sold for £4.7.6. A great flood, caused by heavy rains, occurred in December, 1748, and undoubtedly so injured the bridge, as to require its rebuilding. This bridge remained in use for more than twenty years, when it was carried off by a great freshet¹ which occurred in January, 1770, but it was immediately rebuilt.

Pomeroy's Trading
Shop.

Elisha, son of John Pomeroy, who lived on what was afterwards known as the "Judge Lyman place," was a blacksmith, but became a merchant, and in the year 1749, had permission to erect a "trading shop" between his blacksmith shop and the "house of correction." The latter was on the opposite side of the street near the present location of Spooner's Market. This must have placed his store well into the highway. It was near this building that the committee decided to place the proposed new school-house.

Town Pound.

An important institution in every town was the "pound," a lockup for all stray stock, which could only be redeemed by the owner's paying the legal fees. It was usually placed near the entrance into the meadows, though sometimes it was near the meeting-house, and in some instances there was one at each end of the town. Northampton ordered one built within a few years after settlement. It was situated at the lower end of Pleasant Street near the meadow gate, and is still familiar to everyone, though it has now fallen into disuse. Considerable litigation grew out of the practice of impounding

¹ This flood is mentioned in the Day-Book of Dea. Ebenezer Hunt, as follows:— "1770, Jan. 7. A great rain with South wind, the Mill River broke up, and the ice carried off Lickingwater bridge. It was one of the highest floods that any person remembers in Mill River, when the Great River did not set up. It was over the bank in my home lot."

animals. Some persons had them incarcerated unlawfully, while others rescued them after they had been locked up, or while on their way to the pound. Many allusions are to be found upon the town records to the pound, which show that it was kept in complete repair. In 1749, a new one was ordered to be built on the old site.

Portions of the Highway Sold. In 1750, William Judd, living on Pleasant Street, petitioned for permission to purchase a piece of land in the highway near his house. A committee was appointed not only to consider his application, but to examine the highways throughout the town, and report on all encroachments. Two years afterwards another committee was instructed to "see in what parts of the body of the Town, the Streets and highways may be reduced, and part of them sold without inconveniencing the publick and report thereon as soon as may be." Later in the year this committee reported that land might be sold to Mr. John Hunt on Elm Street, a short distance north of his new house, and also that a portion of the highway adjoining the homestead of Saul Alvord on meeting-house hill might be sold to him.

Recording Town Warrants. Much negligence prevailed during the early years of the settlement in regard to the record of town business; the clerks did not consider it necessary to record the names of many of the petty town officers, and some other things were omitted. The practice of recording the warrants for meetings was not adopted till nearly one hundred years of town history had elapsed. Among the earlier regulations, adopted in 1662, was an order that all business to be brought before the town, must be considered by the selectmen, and by them presented at the meeting. This may be considered as the foundation of the system of notifying by warrant what business was to be transacted, but none of these documents found a place upon the records. Occasionally an old warrant will appear among the ancient town papers, but none earlier than the eighteenth century. It was not till 1751, that the first of these papers was copied upon the records. Major Joseph Hawley was at that time town clerk, but he

was not particular about recording warrants, and very few of them appear till 1760 and after, when Timothy Dwight was chosen clerk. He was more particular and systematic than his predecessors. In after years many of the warrants were omitted, and only left on file. Indeed the town records down to the commencement of the nineteenth century were decidedly brief, and many omissions of importance are noticeable. Seldom was any notice taken of an election of Representatives to the General Court, and only in more recent days can their names be found upon the town records.

The First Precinct. For nearly a dozen years, while Southampton was in an embryo state—a precinct and not a town—it was necessary to keep two distinct records in Northampton, one for the town and the other for the precinct or parish. The new settlement, first known as “Newhampton,” was still an integral part of the old town. In both sections the secular interests were identical, but each had a meeting-house and a minister of its own. In the distribution of the territory covered by the “additional grant,” both ministers were placed on an equal footing and shared alike. The business of the First Parish during these years was not of special importance, and the precinct meetings offer little that is of interest to the general reader. To vote the salary of the pastor, to designate the quantity and fix the price of the wood furnished him, to levy taxes, rent the parish land, and keep the meeting-house in repair, were the principal questions in agitation. A matter of considerable perplexity was that of providing fuel for the minister, and frequently several precinct meetings were required before it could be adjusted.

Its Organization. The first precinct meeting was held on Wednesday, February 10, 174 $\frac{1}{2}$. John Stoddard was chosen Moderator, and Samuel Mather, Clerk. It was voted “that the selectmen or assessors chosen at the annual meeting in March, shall be the assessors for the precinct, for the year current,” and the selectmen were authorized to call precinct meetings. Mr. Edwards’ salary “for the past year” was to be £350 in bills of credit, and the improve-

ment of one half of the sequestered land in the common field. It was also voted to provide him with wood by way of rate, and the assessors were "directed to make a tax or assessment to pay the same."

Salary of Mr. Ed- So irregular had become the prices of com-
wards. modities owing to the fluctuations in the
value of bills of credit that, at the March meeting in 174 $\frac{1}{2}$, Mr. Edwards proposed that the precinct should allow him a permanent salary, rather than fix the amount yearly, as had been the custom. This was refused, but Mr. Edwards was persistent, and renewed his request year after year. At the next annual meeting he addressed a letter to the precinct, giving his reasons at length "for settling or fixing his Salary for the future." His main point was "that bills of credit had been fluctuating and uncertain in their value and were still depreciating and sinking in their value, whereby many mischiefs and Inconveniences arise." After an extended debate the meeting declined to grant his request, but adjourned for five days in order to give Mr. Edwards "opportunity to offer what he thinks proper." At the adjourned meeting an attempt was made to reconsider the former vote, "but it was not decided whether it passed in the affirmative or negative." An addition of £150 was made to his salary, and the price of wood fixed at 15s. per load. Before the end of the year, however, at another meeting, the price of wood had to be raised to 18s., and the quantity placed at eighty loads.

A Permanent Salary Voted. In December, 1747, a special meeting was called to act upon this question. After a statement made to the meeting by Mr. Edwards in person, the proposition to establish a permanent salary was carried, and a committee appointed to consider the question and devise some method of procedure. They were to report at an adjourned meeting. In the meantime £600 in bills of credit, old tenor, and the use of the usual quantity of land, were voted as the salary: the price of wood being placed at 21s. per load. In the month of January came the old complaint that wood enough could not be obtained at the price offered, and it was voted to allow 25s. per load.

Report of the Com-
mittee.

The committee made their report at an adjourned meeting in December, but it was not accepted. It was apparently referred back to them for further consideration. At the annual March meeting the next year, the committee submitted the following report :—

“The committee appointed by the First Precinct In Northampton, to consider of a motion of the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Edwards for the settling of his salary, having fully considered that matter, have agreed to report as their opinion, that it is advisable for the Precinct to settle a Salary as a recompense for Mr. Edwards Labour in the Gospel Ministry amongst them and particularly they propose

“That Mr. Edwards be allowed the Improvement of one half of the Sequestered Land that Lyeth in the Common or General Field In the Town of Northampton, to use it annually, during his Continuance in the work of the Ministry amongst them, and that he be allowed and paid out of the Town Treasury annually One Hundred Pounds in bills of Public Credit of the old Ten’ of the value they now pass at, to enable him to purchase firewood for his family, and in case that in any year, fire wood should be Commonly Sold for more than twenty-five Shillings pr Load, for an ordinary Sled Load, that then & in Such Case, the Parish make an addition to the Hundred Pounds proportionate to the rise of wood, and in case wood shall in any year be sold Commonly for less than twenty-five shillings per Load, then the sum to be paid for that purpose be proportionably less than One Hundred Pounds.

“They further report that there be annually paid to s’d Mr. Edwards, out of the Town Treasury a further Sum of Seven Hundred Pounds in bills of Public Credit of the old Ten’ at their present value, or in other bills of Public Credit proportionably, and the value of the Bills to be Estimated by the prices of the following necessaries of Life, which are now Recorded at the following rates, viz: Wheat at 30s. per Bushel, Rye at 20s. per Bushel, Indian Corn at 12s. per Bushel, Pork at 2s. per pound, and beaf at twelve pence per pound, and in Case that any or all of these necessaries of Life before mentioned Should in any year vary in their price, So as to alter the General Summ that then there be an addition to the Summ of £700 or a diminution therefrom, So as to make the Sum to be paid proportionate to £700 at the prices hereinbefore set, as for Instance if each of these five articles Should rise in their price One Eighth, that then an Eighth be added to the sum of £700, or if two of them Should rise one quarter and one rise an Eighth, and the other two remain at the Same price, that then there be an addition of one Eighth to the £700, and So if the prices of those necessaries Should be lowered in like manner, that the Sum be lowered in the Same proportion. The foregoing Sums to be paid annually to

the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Edwards so long as he shall Continue in the ministry among them.

“ John Stoddard Eben^r Pomeroy Timo. Dwight
 Sam^l Mather Joseph Hawley Ebn^r Hunt.”

“ And the matter being long debated the Question was put whether the first Precinct in Northampton do receive and accept the Report of s^d Committee, and it passed in the affirmative by a Great Majority.”

How the Prices were to be Determined. It was also voted that “ prizes of the necessaries of Life which are the Basis or foundation upon which the sum of £700 to be annually paid is to be raised shall be determined at those seasons of the year annually viz. : beaf Sometime in the fall of the year, & Wheat, Rye Indian Corn & Pork in the month of January.” The assessors were to name the “ prizes,” “ always Conferring and Consulting with Mr. Edwards in doing the same.” Mr. Edwards signed an acknowledgment of his satisfaction with the above arrangement.

Another Gift to Mr. Edwards. The long consideration required to bring about this adjustment, and the evident reluctance with which it was granted, indicate that the relations between pastor and people were at that time somewhat strained. Indeed the first breach between them had already occurred, though it may be inferred that the immediate unfortunate effects of it were slowly passing away. And this belief is strongly emphasized by the fact that in the following May, the precinct voted an addition of £170 to the salary of Mr. Edwards “ to enable him to support his family and purchase books.”

Naughty Children to be Punished. The rising generation seem to have been a thorn in the flesh of their elders, particularly on the Sabbath. Instead of listening with proper decorum while the minister “ improved ” his seventhly, eighthly, or even twelfthly, they spent their time in a way that greatly annoyed the congregation. So unruly did the children become that it was found necessary to appoint a special committee of seven persons “ to inspect their behaviour in the meeting house.” This committee was “ Impowered and desired to prosecute those that are

disorderly in the time of public worship, that are above the age of 16 years before a Justice of the Peace." The younger disturbers were to be "set before the Deacon's seat as a public example." In March 1748, it was "voted that the young women that are seated in the front corner Pew in the Gallery be removed & the Pew be seated with young men." An absolutely ungallant vote, unless other seats were provided for the young women, of which there seems to be no evidence.

The Controversy with Mr. Edwards. The controversy concerning the admission of members to the church, the ostensible ground on which the dismissal of Mr. Edwards was based, began in 1749. This contention, so fully treated in Dwight's "Life of President Edwards," has been the theme of many able writers. Its historical details have been exhausted, but a general outline of its principal facts, to which it is impossible to add anything essential, seems to be necessary. This chapter of history, while not at all creditable to Northampton, must needs find a place in its annals.

The Great Awakening. Before entering upon that subject it may be well first to outline the Great Awakening, which left its impress upon the English speaking world. It commenced in Northampton, and spread, not alone throughout the town and county, but encompassed New England, embraced the colonies of America and extended across the ocean to England and Scotland.¹ The labors of Mr. Edwards had been abundantly rewarded. Thus far during his pastorate revivals had followed each other at intervals, each more effective than its predecessor, till the fame of Northampton's minister extended far and wide. During the fifteen years immediately following the death of his grandfather his earnest and powerful presentations of Gospel truth had borne almost constant fruit. This last and most powerful awakening, which took place within half a dozen years of that of 1735, already alluded to, was the most effective of any that had yet visited the New England churches. It began

1 Allen's *Life of Jonathan Edwards*, p. 134.

in this town in 1740, and its manifestations were very greatly stimulated by the aid of George Whitefield, who visited Northampton in October of that year.¹ From this time forward the revival continued to increase till it spread throughout the town, embracing both old and young. At first it appeared among professors of religion, but soon deep concern was manifested among the youth. This was followed by an awakening among the very young, and before the new year commenced religious subjects almost absorbed the conversation in all classes. The fervor augmented as the season progressed, and in the Autumn Mr. Edwards writes :—²

“The months of August and September, were the most remarkable of any this year, for appearances of the conviction and conversion of sinners, and great revivings, quickenings, and comforts of professors, and for extraordinary external effects of these things. It was a very frequent thing, to see an house full of out-cries, faintings, convulsions, and such like, both with distress, and also with admiration and joy. It was not the manner here, to hold meetings all night, as in some places, nor was it common to continue them till very late in the night; but it was pretty often so, that there were some that were so affected, and their bodies so overcome, that they could not go home, but were obliged to stay all night where they were.”

In the latter part of 1741, there was “some abatement of these extraordinary appearances, but they did not wholly cease.” Early in the following year Mr. Buell,³ an evangelist of some note, came to Northampton, and during a

1 In alluding to the work of Mr. Whitefield in Northampton, Mr. Edwards says:—“He preached here four sermons in the meeting house (besides a private lecture at my house) one on Friday, another on Saturday, and two upon the Sabbath. The congregation was extraordinarily melted by every sermon: almost the whole assembly being in tears for a great part of sermon time. Mr. Whitefield’s sermons were suitable to the circumstances of the town; containing a just reproof of our backslidings, and in a most moving and affecting manner, making use of our great professions and great mercies, as arguments with us to return to God, from whom we had departed.”—Dwight’s Life of Edwards, p. 160.

2 Dwight’s Life, pp. 162, 163.

3 Rev. Samuel Buell was born in Coventry, Ct., and was graduated from Yale College in 1741. He proposed to study theology with Mr. Edwards, but owing to the progress of the great revival obtained a license to preach and entered upon the work of preaching as an itinerant. He was for several years an evangelist, and finally settled at Easthampton, L. I. Of him Mr. Edwards writes:—“About the beginning of February, 1742, Mr. Buell came to this town. I was then absent from home, and continued so till about a fortnight after. Mr. Buell preached from day to day, almost every day, in the meeting house. He spent almost the whole time in religious exercises with the people, either in public or private, the people continually thronging him.”—Dwight’s Life of Edwards, p. 164.

brief absence of Mr. Edwards,¹ preached almost every day in the meeting-house. He was accompanied by a number of zealous persons from Suffield, Ct., and his discourses, supplemented by their exhibitions of feeling, greatly intensified the already prevailing nervous tension. "The people were exceedingly moved, crying out in great numbers in the meeting house, and a greater part of the congregation commonly staying for hours after the public service." The manifestations mentioned by Mr. Edwards seem to have been redoubled under the lead of Mr. Buell; there were tears, shoutings, fallings, and trances, sometimes continuing for twenty-four hours or more. Disturbances of this nature became so frequent that on several occasions meetings were completely broken up by them. Mr. Buell remained here in all six weeks, and succeeded in stirring up the people in a most wonderful manner. But the strain was too great to last, and during the summer the religious fervor sensibly abated, and died out completely during the following winter.

Beneficial Effect upon the Town. Notwithstanding the strong nervous stimulation under which it was conducted, and to which in a great measure may be attributed its success, the effect of this revival upon the people of Northampton was beneficial in a marked degree. It permeated all classes, influencing old and young alike, and everywhere exhibited its good results. This was especially noticeable in the conduct of public affairs. Faction which had long overridden the community, was well nigh obliterated. The two parties into which the town had for so many years been divided, were essentially mingled into one. The temper of the people was greatly softened; they were more guarded in their communication with each other; and town-meetings were carried on with less heat and acrimony. One of the most memorable results of this state of feeling was the settlement of the controversy about the common lands, which had agitated the town for

1 It was customary for the clergy of New England to go about among other churches at various times, sometimes making an exchange of pulpits, extending over several weeks. It was probably when Mr. Edwards was away on an occasion of this kind that Mr. Buell took his place. It seems to have been a system of awakening tactics much in practice at that time.

more than a generation. Another equally memorable result was that the people were more than ever united in their religious opinions.¹ Such a condition of affairs was never before known in the history of the town. Apparently religion had taken deep root, and the moral standard of the people had been greatly benefited. This feeling outlived the immediate heat and excitement of the revival, and the impression upon church and people had every appearance of permanence.

Such was the result and such the effect of the great awakening upon the town of Northampton, yet like all similar movements it gradually subsided. The methods of the revivalists, always combated by the more conservative, at last came under censure, and clergymen of high repute opposed their continuance; a controversy arose so deadening in its effects that finally the revival died out entirely.

1 Letter of Jonathan Edwards, Dwight's Life, p. 170.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONTROVERSY WITH REV. JONATHAN EDWARDS.

Young People Ac-
cused of Read-
ing Immoral
Books.

AS might have been expected, the reaction following such excitement left vital religion at a low ebb, and a season of unusual laxness prevailed. During this condition of affairs occurred the first radical difference between Mr. Edwards and his people. It originated in 1744, among the younger and more recently admitted members of the church, some of whom laid themselves open to censure by reading immoral books.¹ Mr. Edwards at once took measures to suppress the evil and punish the offenders. He delivered a sermon touching upon the matter in a general way, called the church together, made his charges and produced his evidence. Unanimously the church voted to investigate, and a committee of inquiry was chosen. Without due consideration, and certainly with questionable judgment, Mr. Edwards then proceeded to read from the pulpit the names of the young people implicated, requesting their appearance at a certain date before the investigating committee. In the list were the names of many persons, members of the oldest and most influential families in the town, as well as of others nearly allied to them. No discrimination was made between the accused and those who were merely cited as witnesses. When this revelation burst like a bomb upon them, church and people were astounded, "and the town was suddenly all in a blaze."²

1 "Possibly they preferred 'Pamela,' which had then just revealed a new source of amusement to the world, to awakening sermons"—Leslie Stephen, *Hours in a Library*, Series 2, p. 63. The most harmless work of modern fiction would then doubtless have been denounced by the clergy of New England as an emanation from the devil, and there may be a grain of truth in the above suggestion.

2 Dwight's *Life of Edwards*, p. 300.

While the innocent vehemently protested against such publicity, the guilty were equally vociferous in their denunciations of the whole proceeding. Consequently their parents declined to continue the investigation.¹ Many of the persons implicated refused to appear, others who did obey the summons, were insolent or treated the committee with contempt, and nothing could be accomplished. The evil-doers triumphed, and the authority of both pastor and church was greatly weakened. The young lost much of their respect for religion and its interpreters, and a state of great worldly-mindedness prevailed for many years. Still the immediate bitterness of this unfortunate occurrence would undoubtedly have disappeared and was to some extent diminishing, when Mr. Edwards four years afterwards proclaimed his opposition to the established method of admissions to the church, and refused longer to abide by the usual custom.

Mr. Edwards Re-
pudiates St o d-
dardeanism.

During these seasons of awakening, all admissions to the church were made in accordance with the method pursued for so many years by Mr. Stoddard. This universally called "Stoddardean System" was believed in and adopted by Mr. Edwards. For many years, however, he had scruples of conscience about the admission of members to the church "who made no pretence to true godliness." Study and research only confirmed his doubts, and he decided that should any one seek admission to the church he would put his theory into practice. But so completely had the effects of the previous excitement died out, that for several years there were no applicants for church-membership. In order to acquaint the public with his change of sentiment, in

1 Very few incidents concerning this affair have been preserved, and but few names of persons in any way connected with it can now be identified. The following statement is transcribed from the Judd MSS. : — Sarah Clarke, daughter of Ebenezer, was one of those accused of reading bad books. She told her story before the committee : was herself innocent and believed most of those were who were accused. She said there was much exaggeration, though some were guilty. Moses Lyman was the complainant to Mr. Edwards. Sarah Clarke in time of revival used to hear one sermon every day, and spin a run of yarn daily. When those accused of reading bad books were some of them examined at the house of Mr. Edwards, the males were assembled in a room on the main floor, and the females in the room above. A ladder stood against the house, and a young man, said to be — Pomeroy, went up the ladder, and looked in at the chamber window. This caused some talk, and was condemned by all. Ephraim Wright acknowledged that he was one of the bad book party.

1746, he published a pamphlet entitled a "Treatise on the Religious Affections." Few of his people perused this work, and it was not till three years after, when he made known his sentiments to the standing committee of the church, that the parish began to realize the position he had assumed. The year previous, however, Mr. Edwards arbitrarily refused to admit a certain person to the church, unless he made a profession of faith in accordance with the new views of the pastor. Though willing to subscribe to the profession prepared by the pastor, the young man declined to accept it as a passport to church-membership.¹ This apparently abrupt change of sentiment and procedure on the part of Mr. Edwards, caused considerable excitement. At that time "all the churches in the county, except two, and all the clergy, except three, approved of the lax mode of admission."² Still venerating the memory of their former pastor, who had led them for so many years, the people were unwilling to accept the new doctrine. When Mr. Edwards announced his change of views to the church committee he proposed to them to preach on the subject. But this, while the public mind was in such a ferment, they decidedly opposed, suggesting that instead he should give his reasons in print. Accordingly he "applied himself with all dilligence to prepare something for the press."³

And Publishes his Views. In the meantime a young woman presenting herself for admission to the church, was required by Mr. Edwards to make a public profession. This she consented to do if the church authorities approved. The church committee, however, refused to admit her on those conditions by a vote of three to fifteen. In April, 1749, Mr. Edwards proposed, "if the church desires it," to resign his ministry. He coupled his offer, however, with a proviso that everybody should have an opportunity to read his book, and that in the council of dismissal no one should be allowed to vote who had not either read his treatise, or listened to what he had to say in

¹ Dwight's Life of Edwards, p. 314.

² *Ib.* p. 307.

³ *Ib.* p. 315.

his own defence from the pulpit. No response was made to this proposition. As Mr. Edwards seemed to depend so fully upon the effect he had hoped to produce by the publication and circulation of his book, the people, who had already determined upon their course, were impatient that it should appear, and the delay always attendant upon printer's work, was actually used to discredit the pastor. It was not that a majority were waiting to read the book, for when it appeared in August, only about twenty copies were distributed through the town, and very few of these were carefully perused.

Mr. Edwards tries to Ascertain the Opinions of other Clergymen by means of a Day of Fasting.

On the 15th of October, no further advance having been made in the settlement of the difficulty, Mr. Edwards, desiring the advice of some of the neighboring ministers, proposed that a day of fasting and prayer should be observed. The church assenting, the pastor suggested that the advice of those clergymen invited to assist in the fast-day services, should be requested concerning the admission of members. The church, however, after discussing the matter adjourned without action till after the fast. Several persons desirous of joining the church had signified their willingness to make a public confession, but the committee were unwilling to admit them in that manner, and it was concerning these pending requests that Mr. Edwards desired the opinions of the neighboring clergy. The fast was announced for Thursday, the 26th.

Petition for a Precinct Meeting.

To such a height had the excitement already reached, that many persons were ready to proceed to extreme measures at once. In the church meeting a council "to bring matters to an issue" had been advocated. This feeling manifested itself without delay in a most unmistakable manner. The next day, October 16th, a petition signed by eleven persons was presented to the precinct officials, asking that a meeting be held "as quick as may be," to consider the position of affairs. In this document it was proposed

"that Mr. Edwards, by the Precinct, or by a committee which the Precinct shall appoint, may be in a friendly and in a christian manner treated with and entreated to recede or come back from his principles.

which he has pretended to maintain in his late book, against his own practice and Mr. Stoddard's practice and principles, with respect to the admission of church members."

If he refused, and the precinct declined "to come into his notions or principles," then the alternative of a separation was to be considered. Here was a threat that if the pastor did not back down he must be dismissed. The following names were signed to this petition :--

John Hunt, Gad Lyman, Ephraim Wright, Josiah Pomeroy, Jonathan Strong Jr., John Lyman, James Lyman, Jonathan Hunt, Joseph Wright, Gideon Lyman, Seth Pomeroy.

A Family Party. Here was quite a family party ; nine of the eleven signers were related by birth or marriage. John, Gideon and Gad Lyman were brothers ; Gad Lyman married the sister of Josiah and Seth Pomeroy. The latter were brothers ; and Seth Pomeroy married the sister of John and Jonathan Hunt, who were also brothers. Jonathan Strong Jr., and the wife of Jonathan Hunt were cousins, and James Lyman was an uncle of John, Gad and Gideon Lyman. These men were all strong opponents of Mr. Edwards. Ephraim Wright acknowledged that he was among those accused of reading immoral literature. The wife of Zadoc, son of John Lyman and nephew to Gideon and Gad Lyman, was among the number cited before the committee by Mr. Edwards. These facts indicate that much of the bitterness of feeling engendered by the unfortunate affair of five years before still lingered and was coming to the surface. Only four of the above eleven names can be found upon the church records at that time.

Continuous Precinct Meeting. Three days after, the precinct meeting convened, but it was not deemed advisable to act upon the suggestions of the petitioners till after the fast. The only question decided was that the parish did not desire Mr. Edwards to preach upon the question at issue. The meeting was adjourned for two weeks. Though the petitioners had not gained their object, they had accomplished an important purpose. In thus placing the matter before the precinct, the way was opened for that series of meetings by means of which affairs were managed by the opponents of Mr. Edwards throughout

the controversy. This meeting was not dissolved till the desired result was reached. For more than a year it was continued by adjournment from time to time.

The Day of Fasting. No record remains concerning the day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. It was shorn of much of its significance when the invited clergy were not permitted to consider the question at issue, and its proceedings had no influence whatever on subsequent events.

The Adjourned Precinct Meeting. On the 22^d the precinct met according to adjournment. It decided not to ask the advice of the neighboring clergy concerning the admission of members by profession, nor was it willing to allow any one to enter the church in that way pending the existing controversy. Mr. Edwards was denied the privilege of preaching on the absorbing topic, and his request to leave that point to the decision of the neighboring ministers was also negatived.

A Committee of Conference Chosen. At the adjourned precinct meeting held on the 2^d of November, the original petition came up for action. The principles advanced by the pastor were not accepted, and a committee of nine persons was chosen to confer with Mr. Edwards,

“and to devise or Concert what proper methods Shall be taken to preserve the peace, Unity and Comfort of this Church & Precinct and to put an End to the Controversy now Subsisting between minister and people.” This committee was composed as follows:—Ebenezer Pomeroy Esq., Dea. Jno. Clark, Samuel Mather, Mr. Joseph Hawley, Lieut. Noah Wright, Sergt. Joseph Wright, Deacon Noah Cook, Major Seth Pomeroy, and Sergt. Ebenezer Hunt.

In it may be traced relationships similar to those already pointed out, not only among themselves, but also in some instances with the signers of the petition, two of the latter being members of the committee.

The Conference and Counter Propositions. In a conference with Mr. Edwards the next day, he was asked by the committee if he had any “measures to propose.” He replied that he had already suggested what he considered

reasonable; a fair hearing was all he desired, and he was willing to admit to his pulpit any person whom the committee should designate to reply to his arguments. Thereupon the committee submitted a proposition fairly on a par with the one in which Mr. Edwards offered to resign his pastorate. Mr. Edwards was to preach upon the subject at issue, but his sermons must first be submitted to the committee, who were to lay them before some clergyman, who should read his reply immediately after Mr. Edwards had concluded his sermon. With this proposition Mr. Edwards was unwilling to comply unless he should be allowed to examine his antagonist's sermon before preaching his own. So this battledore and shuttlecock method of argumentation did not materialize. Objection was also made by Mr. Edwards to the precinct's taking the initiative in the management of an ecclesiastical affair of this nature. It should be done he said by the church.

The Committee Reports to the Precinct. Unable to come to any satisfactory agreement with the pastor, the committee submitted a report to the precinct, at an adjourned meeting held on the 9th of November. They were unanimously of the opinion that the precinct should request the church to apply to some of the neighboring ministers for advice and counsel.

Mr. Edwards Objects. This report was put into the hands of Mr. Edwards on the evening before the precinct meeting. But having no opportunity to confer with the committee after perusing it, he forwarded a communication to the meeting. In it he made strong objection to the precinct's requesting the church to call an ecclesiastical council to "issue the dispute between the minister of the Precinct and the Precinct." If the church should call a council, it would be for the purpose of considering difficulties of its own, and not the precinct's disputes. He said that it was "not yet certain that there was any dispute or difference between the pastor and the church, for this had never been properly tried." He still further objected to the church being limited by the precinct to any course of action. The precinct had no more right to direct or limit

the church to a certain method of proceeding than the church had to limit or direct the precinct in the management of its affairs. The church might yet take some action which would supercede the need of a council. He was not opposed to calling a church meeting to secure and promote the interests of religion.

A Church Meeting Called. This communication had a decided effect upon the meeting. Though the report of the committee was accepted, yet the vote requesting church action was so modified as to cover one at least of the points raised by Mr. Edwards. The church meeting was to be called to determine "whether there is not a dispute between" Mr. Edwards and the church "respecting the question he hath argued in his book," and if so, "to see if the church will not apply to some of the neighboring ministers for their advice." Ten more persons were added to the committee, two of whom were deputed to wait on the pastor, and lay before him the action of the precinct.

Ignore the Book but want it Answered. The principles propounded by the Northampton minister at once opened up a discussion among the clergy throughout the colony, and rumor intimated that their pens were busy in reply. Unwilling either to read Mr. Edwards' book or allow him to preach on the subject, yet his parishioners were anxious that his arguments should be confuted. Accordingly the precinct desired Mr. Ebenezer Hunt to obtain of Rev. Mr. Solomon Williams of Lebanon, a copy of the notes he was preparing in opposition to these new doctrines. After voting to pay the expenses of the council, the precinct meeting was adjourned one month.

A Stormy Church Meeting. Agreeably to the vote of the precinct, Mr. Edwards called the church together. But tenacious of what he deemed the peculiar rights of that body, he varied somewhat from the phraseology suggested by the parish in naming the purpose of the meeting. He proposed this question for their action:—"What course ought to be taken by the church under its

present difficulties, with respect to the admission of members into the church." This was not exactly the subject, at least not as thus stated, that the opponents of the pastor desired the church to act upon. A heated discussion followed, and plain talk was indulged in on both sides. Finally the threat was made that if he refused to act as had been suggested, the precinct would warn a church meeting without him. Mr. Edwards denied the right of the precinct to dictate to the church the reasons for calling it together. He argued that it was a bad precedent for the church to submit to the dictation of the precinct, and an unreasonable way of managing church affairs to bring them first into a precinct meeting in which the pastor had no right to appear, and when decided upon, order the pastor to carry them out. By such a course, he said, church meetings would become a nullity, and the pastor a "cypber." He considered the proposition to apply to neighboring ministers for advice concerning the course the church should pursue, unreasonable, because all but one of them were opposed to his teachings. Notwithstanding he consented to put to vote as desired by the parish, the question whether there was any dispute between the pastor and the people on the subject at issue. The vote which was largely in the affirmative, must have satisfied him on that point. Then instead of complying with the suggestion of the precinct with reference to seeking advice from neighboring ministers, he insisted that a mutual council should be called to consider the general question in controversy and the best method of deciding the difference. A long debate ensued and the meeting adjourned without action for one week, having first chosen a committee of five persons, with Major Seth Pomeroy as chairman, all members of the already existing precinct committee, to confer with the pastor.

Major Pomeroy
Swings the
Meeting.

At the consultation with Mr. Edwards, his arguments so far prevailed, that the entire committee, with the exception of its chairman, signed a report recommending a mutual council, on the terms proposed by the pastor. This was presented at the adjourned church meeting. Major Pomeroy, however, was strongly opposed to this course. He contended that

the terms of the proposal were too broad, and opened the way for the discussion of topics that they were not yet ready to submit to the decision of a council. He accused Mr. Edwards of having more regard for his own welfare than the good of the church, and argued that the church, ensnared by the general terms of the proposition, would thus consent to a consideration of the question concerning the pending admissions. Should a recommendation to admit them prevail, Mr. Edwards would gain a victory, and though the advice of the council was not binding "it might lay the church under a disadvantage." Major Pomeroy's arguments had a decided effect, and the church refused to accept the report. Ten more names were added to the committee and the meeting adjourned for two weeks.

The Church Decides not to Celebrate the Lord's Supper. So strong had become the feeling against the pastor, that certain members of the church refused longer to partake of the Lord's Supper under his administration, and censured him for appointing Sacraments. To test the sentiment of the church on this subject, Mr. Edwards put to vote the question whether that ordinance should be continued, and it was decided in the negative.

Composition of the Committees. The committees chosen by the church and precinct, were composed, the former of fifteen and the latter of nineteen persons. And it is worthy of note that fourteen of the fifteen members of the church committee were identical with those who served the precinct in the same capacity. This may have been a coincidence, but in all probability it was unavoidable, as the leading men in church and parish were the same.

Report of this Committee. The enlarged committee, after due deliberation, prepared a report which they submitted to Mr. Edwards. They proposed, that previous to any endeavors after separation, an advisory council should be chosen, confined wholly to Hampshire County churches: suggesting that the definitive council, if decided upon, should also be bound by the same limits. They recommended that if Mr. Edwards continued to ad-

vocate the principles set forth in his book, he ought not to remain pastor of the church; that the business proposed to the advisory council should be:— whether the church should take any longer time to peruse Mr. Edwards' book; whether the church, considering the great opposition to Mr. Edwards, both in church and precinct, should not use means for an immediate separation; and if so what measures should be taken to that end. The committee also prepared a vote to be offered in the church meeting, proposing that steps should be taken for an immediate dissolution of the pastoral relation, in case Mr. Edwards refused to accede to their views.

Mr. Edwards Refuses to Accept these Propositions.

To these suggestions Mr. Edwards promptly demurred. He replied at great length in a communication addressed to the meeting, taking up each topic separately, showing their inconsistency with one another, and their unfairness to him. He charged the committee with arranging beforehand what was to be done, and confining the action of the council solely to that decision, and he suggested that having provided beforehand a verdict for the council, it was superfluous to call one. He took the ground that the church might possibly differ in opinion from the precinct (losing sight of the fact that the same men composed both bodies, and had the power to carry out in one organization what they formulated in the other). Most strongly he objected to the determination to confine the council to members of the Hampshire County churches, because nearly all of them were in sympathy with his opponents. He charged them with endeavoring to influence him by the threat of recommending an immediate dismissal unless he assented to their views. Undoubtedly this reply of the pastor was irritating and provoking. It contained some thrusts that the committee could not well parry. The effect was plainly noticeable at the next meeting with him.

Another Meeting. Strong Language.

At the next conference with the pastor there was considerable excitement, and Major Pomeroy spoke plainly. It was the opinion of the committee, he said, that the church had

been put to an abundance of trouble and difficulty by reason of the course pursued by Mr. Edwards. His own opinion and advice was that the pastor should take the matter into serious and solemn consideration and contemplation. He further intimated that the committee had decided not to dally longer about the matter, at the same time presenting him with their ultimatum, which would be reported to the church. They recommended a mutual council, composed of seven or nine churches, all in Hampshire County, to which should be communicated the existing state of affairs, insisting that the opposition to Mr. Edwards was so great that the council should proceed at once to dissolve the pastoral relation.

Reply of Mr. Edwards.

To these statements Mr. Edwards replied, proposing that five or seven of the nearest churches should be called to decide whether churches out of the county should be included in the council to dismiss the pastor, whether the time had come to take such action, and if not, to advise with reference to the present conduct of affairs. With regard to the proposed report of the committee he would not consent to it, or put any such thing to vote in the church meeting, unless first advised to do so by a council such as he advocated. This was something of a set-back to the committee, and they revised their report, agreeing to suggest that a council of five churches in Hampshire County, mutually chosen, should consider the question whether the proper time had arrived for convening a council for dismissal, whether ministers of churches from other counties should be allowed to take part in it, and to advise upon the course to be pursued in preparation for such a council.

The Report Debated and Adopted.

This report having been submitted at the adjourned church meeting, Mr. Edwards protested vigorously against its propositions. He insisted that the council should be composed, not of churches, but of neighboring ministers, who although they were prejudiced against him, were less outspoken in their opposition than other ministers in the county. As an alternative, he proposed to leave the mat-

ter with the ministers of the association. The question was long debated and various suggestions were offered by both sides, but the meeting adjourned without action. The next day, after further discussion, the report of the committee was substantially adopted. It was decided that a council from five of the seven nearest churches should be invited, and steps were taken to present the case properly, on behalf of the church. Hon. Ebenezer Pomeroy, Lieut. Noah Wright and Joseph Hawley were chosen agents for that purpose, but Mr. Hawley declined to serve. Again the church refused to observe the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Precinct Meetings. While the church was laboring with the problem, the precinct met from time to time, but transacted no business. On the 18th of December, a vote was passed to provide for the "entertainment of the Council," to pay all the expenses and to engage Major Lyman [Hon Phinehas Lyman] of Suffield, to assist in presenting the case. Major Seth Pomeroy was authorized to wait on Mr. Lyman¹ and "obtain his services at a suitable reward."

Meeting of the Council. On the 26th the council met. It was composed of Rev. Chester Williams of Hadley, Rev. Timothy Woodbridge of Hatfield, Rev. Edward Billings of Cold Spring (Belchertown), and Rev. Jonathan Judd of Southamton. The church in Sunderland, which had been invited, was not represented. The names of the delegates, with the exception of that of Dea. Strong of Southamton, have not been preserved.

Mr. Edwards Argues his Case. Mr. Edwards spoke in his own behalf before the council. The main questions he presented were, whether it would "be worth the while to use any endeavors for an accommodation," whether the parties were "now ripe for a separation," "whether it was for any thing blame-worthy and scandalous in the pastor, which rendered him unfit for the ministry, and worthy to be dismissed from it," and whether

1 In Dwight's Life of Edwards, p. 341, it is stated that Mr. Lyman "declined the proposed service."

he should be allowed to go out of the county for members of the final council. He claimed that the clergy in the county were nearly all opposed to him, and would not therefore be impartial judges; and that his people had never given him a fair hearing, either in public or private. Declaring his right to preach his principles, he contended that if he did so the people were obliged to hear him, and requested the council to decide that point in his favor. Many of the accusations against him he answered completely, arguing that he had not been treated fairly, attributing it to the fact that his people or the leading men among them, had from the first determined that he must be dismissed.

Contention of the Church Unrecorded. No record is to be found of the arguments advanced by the agents of the church. Only from an occasional allusion to them in the remarks of Mr. Edwards, can an idea of their purport be obtained.

Mr. Edwards again offers to Resign Conditionally. After another lengthy argument in favor of his position, Mr. Edwards made a second conditional offer to resign his pastorate. He proposed that the people should listen to his declaration of principles, defer all further action upon the matter till spring, when the traveling would be more comfortable, not agitating the question in the meantime. Then if they desire a council of churches to settle the controversy, allowing him to choose some members of it from other counties, and the council should be able to "find out no way for a composition or accommodation," he would resign, provided the precinct would free him from rates.

Decision and Adjournment of the Council. The council decided that there should be a restoration of the sacrament: that pastor and people should converse freely about the points in controversy, but that there should be no public proceedings relative to them. An opinion was also expressed that the opposition of the church committee to Mr. Edwards' preaching upon his principles was one probable occasion of the uneasiness and dissatisfaction which pre-

ailed. Probably to see what effect their recommendations would produce, the council adjourned to the first Wednesday in February, 1749.

Another Abortive
Conference.

An adjourned precinct meeting was held on the first of January, at which a committee of seven persons, all of them prominent in the previous interviews with the pastor, was chosen to "confer with Mr. Edwards in a free christian and friendly manner, agreeably to the advice of the late council." Still anxious, however, that the arguments of Mr. Edwards should be answered, Mr. Williams not having published his pamphlet, the precinct voted "to take effectual care to employ some suitable person that is going to Boston," to interview Mr. Clark of Salem [Rev. Peter Clark] to ascertain if he proposed to answer Mr. Edwards' book.

When the above committee sought an interview with the pastor, he objected on the ground that the proposition of the committee made the whole matter a public proceeding, contrary to the advice of the council, but he expressed a willingness to confer with each member of the committee or any others in their private capacity.

CHAPTER XVII.

DISMISSAL OF REV. JONATHAN EDWARDS.

Final Decision of the Council. AGREEABLY to adjournment the council re-assembled February 7th, the subject under discussion being the right of the pastor to select members of the final council outside the county lines. Mr. Edwards presented his opinions with fervor and earnestness, evidently producing a favorable impression. After considerable debate the council found itself evenly divided, and no decision was reached. A compromise was finally agreed upon, by which the pastor was permitted to select a minority of the members from other counties. Mr. Edwards had contended for the privilege of naming one half the council outside of Hampshire County, while the church insisted that none should be so chosen.

Pulpit Rights of the Pastor. Mr. Edwards then desired that the council should decide whether he had a right to preach his opinions from his own pulpit, but they declined to consider the question, holding that he had that privilege, and that he ought not to leave that question to any council. Thereupon Mr. Edwards declared that he judged he had a right to preach on the subject on the Sabbath, but would take the least offensive method, and deliver a course of weekly lectures on the topic.

The Precinct Unwilling to allow him to Preach his Peculiar Doctrines. At a meeting adjourned to February 12th, a committee to confer with Mr. Edwards, and endeavor to dissuade him from preaching on that subject, was appointed: it then adjourned to March. Mr. Edwards declined to accede to this request, and went forward with his lectures. The first one

was attended by many strangers, but few of his parishioners were present. It fell on a day when the County Court was in session, and the Justices adjourned the court in order to attend the lecture. A deserved compliment to the fame of the preacher, as well as a decided indication of the interest manifested in this important question.

Advice Sought from the Hampshire Association. A movement was then made to have a church meeting convened in order to seek the advice of the Hampshire Association of Ministers. But Mr. Edwards objected. Hardly a week, he said, had passed since a council had been held for that very purpose, and the condition of affairs had not since materially changed. He further declared that he would have no hand in calling any more councils, unless he might be permitted to invite from other counties, members favorable to his own views.

Thereupon a paper was prepared desiring the association to convene and give advice. It recited that Mr. Edwards had declined to call the church together to make the request, and that he refused to assist in calling any more councils, unless he might choose one half the members from other counties. This paper received about fifty signatures, and was forwarded to Rev. Mr. Williams of Hadley. He sent the summons to the members of the association to meet at his house at a time named. In this document it was stated that the people of Northampton were desirous that some one should preach on the opposite side of the controversy, and sought the advice of the association thereon.

Only six of the twenty-five ministers comprising the association responded. Three of them had an interview with Mr. Edwards, who told them that he desired to select only a portion of his half of any council from beyond the county, and not the whole as had been represented. The meeting adjourned without action. Indeed it would have been impolitic and contrary to usage for so small a number of members to pledge any thing in behalf of the association.

Another Animated
Church Meeting.

In the meantime the weekly lectures were continued, and large audiences gathered to listen, among whom were to be found few Northampton people. After the fifth and last lecture, in accordance with a vote of the precinct, Mr. Edwards called a church meeting to agree upon a council. This was apparently one of the most hotly contested of the many church meetings that had been held. The first vote was upon admissions to the church, and a large majority signified their preference for the old way. By a bare majority, at the conclusion of an animated debate, it was decided to call a council, which was to take into consideration the state of affairs, and if judged best to proceed to dissolve the relation between pastor and people. Then followed another lengthened discussion concerning the question of inviting ministers from other counties. Mr. Edwards insisted on the privilege of naming one half the council, three of whom should be from churches not in the county, if the council consisted of more than fourteen churches, but he would be satisfied with two if the whole number was not more than ten. The church decided against this proposition, and adjourned to the next day. An attempt was made at the adjourned meeting to amend the vote already adopted concerning the business to be brought before the council. But after a spirited debate, Mr. Edwards refused to put to vote the motion to amend, virtually ruling it out of order. Again the suggestion to select members of the council from other counties was negatived. Thereupon the moderator threw out the hint that the meeting had better be dissolved, as there seemed to be no prospect of joint action. He thought that if the church had decided "not to leave it to the discretion of the council, whether to separate and not allow him to choose any members of the council outside of the county," it would not be worth while to make any attempt to act in concert. This ultimatum only added fuel to the flame, bringing out in a more emphatic manner the determination not to yield those points. The more hot-headed were in favor of the church acting ex-parte in the matter, and after the meeting had been dissolved some one proposed that they should then and there take action in defiance of the pastor, and pass the amended call, but wiser counsels prevailed.

Lower Association Applied to. At a precinct meeting held on the 2nd of April (after two adjournments without business), it was voted to "apply to the association of the lower part of the county for advice whether it were best to comply with Mr. Edwards' terms respecting the choice of a council." This body was to meet at Springfield Mountains on the following Wednesday. Mr. Josiah Pomeroy was appointed messenger to present the request of the parish, and Major Ebenezer Pomeroy and Major Joseph Hawley were designated to prepare the document. The precinct then adjourned till the 10th of April. In order that the association might fairly understand the case, Mr. Edwards sent a communication to a member of the association setting forth his views. At the precinct meeting held on the 10th, the letters of the association to the pastor and precinct were presented, and the former also offered a letter which he had addressed to one of the deacons. Neither of these documents have been preserved. This meeting was composed of but forty-four persons, and the only business accomplished was to request Mr. Edwards to call a church meeting to consider the question at issue, and adjourn to the 17th.

Its Advice Rejected. The suggestions offered by this association nowhere appear, but from a sentence in Mr. Edwards' report of the church meeting, called in accordance with the latest vote of the precinct, the inference may be drawn that its purport was to call another council to decide about inviting members of the definitive council, from other counties. At the church meeting the advice of the association was read and discussed, and by a vote of one hundred nine to fifty-six it was decided not to admit members from other counties, and also not to call another previous council.

Deacons Warn a Church Meeting. On the 17th of April the precinct met again, and a letter from Rev. Mr. Clark of Salem was read. No copy of this communication remains, but in it he undoubtedly declined to undertake to answer the arguments of Mr. Edwards. It was voted to apply to the deacons of the church to warn a meeting of

that organization, to be held the next "Fryday," and to pay them for their trouble. Mr. Edwards had gone on a "journey down the country," and the precinct was in such haste to have its mandates carried out that it could not await his return. The precinct meeting was adjourned to the 2^d of May.

Its Proceedings. Three days after, on the 20th, the church was convened, and the question concerning the expediency and propriety of the brethren acting without the pastor in calling a council was under discussion. A proposition was made by Mr. Hawley that seven persons, ministers or laymen or both, should be summoned, not as an ecclesiastical council, but as advisers, to consider whether by some method pastor and church might not consist together notwithstanding their differences of opinion. These men were to be mutually chosen from any part of the county. This was the beginning of the end, and after the proposal had been fully argued, it was adopted by a great majority. A committee of five persons was chosen to consider what "circumstantial alterations" might be deemed necessary in the call, and the meeting adjourned for one week. This committee was unable to agree, a majority of them holding the opinion that it would be better to comply with the request of the pastor in reference to the residence of members, and so reported. Apparently the church had become tired of the wrangle, and at the adjourned meeting voted that the pastor should be granted the privilege of choosing some members of the council "without the bounds of the county," and requested him to notify a church meeting. Probably the meeting held in the absence of the minister, was not deemed legally competent to act finally in the matter.

A Mutual Council
Decided upon.

Accordingly another gathering of the church was held, and the previous action ratified, with the qualification that it should not have the "force of a precedent." The number to be chosen from abroad was limited to two, with the privilege of naming two others as substitutes. It was also decided that the council should be one of churches, to consist of

ten members. The pastor and church then selected the churches they desired as follows :—

“By Mr. Edwards, Rev. Mr. Reynolds of Enfield; Rev. Mr. Billings of Cold Spring; Rev. Mr. Abercrombie of Pelham; and Rev. Mr. Woodbridge of South Hadley as substitute. He also named Rev. Mr. Foxcroft of Boston; Rev. Mr. Parkman of Westborough; and Rev. Mr. Wigglesworth of Ipswich Hamlet, and Rev. Mr. Hobby of Reading as substitutes.

On the part of the church were chosen Rev. Mr. Woodbridge of Hatfield; Rev. Mr. Breck of Springfield; Rev. Mr. Hubbard of Sheffield; Rev. Mr. Williams of Hadley; Rev. Mr. Ashley of Sunderland; and as substitutes, Rev. Mr. Williams of Longmeadow, and Rev. Mr. Leavitt of Somers.

Major Pomeroy, Lieut. Wright and Joseph Hawley were appointed to manage the case before the council. The Precinct convened by adjournment, immediately after the church meeting, and voted to pay the expenses of the council, as well as of some person who should be procured by the church to assist them in presenting their case.”

Proceedings of the
Council.

On the 19th of June the council met. Nine churches only were represented. The church at Cold Spring (Belchertown), did not accept the invitation, but Mr. Billings, the pastor, being in Northampton on the day on which the council assembled, was desired by Mr. Edwards and the church to sit and act in the council, and was admitted by that body. As he had no delegate with him the council was not full.¹

The council was composed of the following named churches and delegates :—

“Enfield—Rev. Peter Reynolds, pastor; Mr. Edward Collins, delegate.

“Sheffield—Rev. Jonathan Hubbard, pastor; Mr. Daniel Kellogg, delegate.

“Sutton—Rev. David Hall, pastor; Mr. Jonathan Hall, delegate.²

“Reading—Rev. William Hobby, pastor; Mr. Samuel Bancroft, delegate.

1 This act of Mr. Billings cost him his pastorate. Within two years he was dismissed, ostensibly on the same grounds as was Mr. Edwards. When the church at Cold Spring was invited to join the council by Mr. Edwards, it declined on the ground that it did not agree with his principles, and was unwilling that its pastor, who was of the same opinion as the Northampton pastor, should represent it there.

2 It is nowhere stated how the church in Sutton came to be included in the council. It was not among those originally named by Mr. Edwards. Undoubtedly it was accepted by both parties in place of some one of them that declined.

“Springfield, First Church—Rev. Robert Breck, pastor; Mr. Thomas Stebbins, delegate.

“Sunderland—Rev. Joseph Ashley, pastor; Mr. Samuel Montague, delegate.

“Hatfield—Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, pastor; Oliver Partridge Esq., delegate.

“Hadley, First Church—Rev. Chester Williams, pastor; Mr. Enos Nash, delegate.

“Pelham—Rev. Robert Abercrombie, pastor; Mr. Matthew Gray, delegate.”

The council organized by the choice of Rev. Jonathan Hubbard as Moderator, and Rev. Chester Williams as Scribe. Both sides presented their case, and the council, having endeavored to harmonize the differences between the parties without avail, voted that the pastoral relation should be dissolved if the people still persisted in desiring it, and adjourned for a couple of days in order to give the church another opportunity of expressing its opinion. That body was again convened, and again it voted—by two hundred against twenty—that the pastor must be dismissed. Accordingly on the 22^d of June, the council took the necessary steps to dissolve the relation between pastor and people. The result of the vote was as follows:—

“Affirmative—Pastors—Jonathan Hubbard, Robert Breck, Joseph Ashley, Timothy Woodbridge, Chester Williams.

“Delegates—Daniel Kellogg, Thomas Stebbins, Samuel Montague, Oliver Partridge, Enos Nash.

“Negative—Pastors—Peter Reynolds, David Hall, William Hobby, Robert Abercrombie, Jonathan Billings.

“Delegates—Edward Collins, Jonathan Hall, Samuel Bancroft, Matthew Gray.”

A Protest against
the Action of the
Council.

Those pastors and delegates voting in the negative entered a protest against the decision of the council. They believed that the proceedings had been consummated in too great haste, considering the past conduct and present temper of the people; some who voted to dissolve the connection expressed surprise at the uncommon zeal manifested by the people in voting for the dismissal, which showed “that they were far from a temper of mind, becoming such a

solemn and awful transaction considered in all its circumstances." ¹

Compromise Im-
possible.

Had the council been full the result would have been a tie. Both pastors and delegates had decided upon their course beforehand, and each voted in accordance with the views of the party by whom he was selected. The position of affairs in the church—the bitter uncharitableness which prevailed on one side, and the unyielding stubbornness on the other—precluded any attempt at compromise, and the council had none to propose. The doors of the church so far as the admission of members was concerned, had been closed for some time, and apparently could not be opened unless one party or the other yielded unconditionally, or were forced to submit to a decree of the council. The people of Northampton, whether with or without sufficient cause, had lost confidence in their pastor. Taught by the emotional preaching of that day, which permitted feeling to usurp the place of reason, they sought to compass their ends despite all opposition. The two parties which had since its settlement, embittered the social and political life of the town, united by means of the great awakening under Mr. Edwards, now made common cause against the man whose influence had brought about this unity. So thoroughly had this spirit of contention among themselves been subdued, that one argument against allowing the pastor to preach on the issue, was the fear that it might "make parties in town."

1 In the foregoing narrative of the dismissal of Rev. Jonathan Edwards from the church in Northampton, the Journal of Mr. Edwards as quoted in Dwight's Life of that eminent Divine has been followed. The church records are mute concerning the whole matter. So little appears there during the pastorate of Mr. Edwards, that it has been suggested that they have been tampered with, and all information relating to that controversy abstracted. But there is little or no evidence to justify such an insinuation. It was not then customary to make full records of any public meetings, and it is not to be supposed that church records would be an exception. The church records previous to the pastorate of Mr. Edwards, are very imperfect. They contain a list of church members, but scarce anything relative to its business transactions. While it is to be regretted that more minute reports were not preserved, it is yet fortunate that Mr. Edwards' Journal remains to supply the deficiency. The records of the precinct meetings during this time, are all carried out in the usual brief and unsatisfactory manner, and from them Mr. Edwards must have obtained his facts concerning parish action.

Pastoral Relations
not Indissoluble.

Much may be said on both sides of this controversy, and neither party can be deemed entirely blameless. The ground has been so thoroughly covered by other writers that it is needless to enter largely upon the matter here. In those days the dismissal of a pastor was by no means a rare occurrence. The impression prevails that then clergymen were settled for life. That was the understanding among pioneer churches, and in the majority of cases, so resulted. Still when a church and people found sufficient reasons for parting with a pastor, they had no hesitation about dismissing him. During a little more than thirty years—from 1721 to 1755—no less than six clergymen were dismissed within a radius of twenty-five miles of Northampton, and within the bounds of what then constituted the County of Hampshire.

Extenuating Circumstances.

Not a little severe and in some degree just criticism has been bestowed upon the people of Northampton, for the bitterness of their opposition to Mr. Edwards. Sharp controversy and extreme partisanship were characteristic of the times. In a community where the clannishness of relationship largely prevailed, personalities were brought into every contest. Letters to government officials concerning local disagreements, to be found on file in the archives of the state, amply prove this assertion. It will be remembered that during the contest over the settlement of Mr. Breck at Springfield, in which Mr. Edwards bore a conspicuous part, so strong was the partisanship displayed, that the aid of the County Court was invoked by one party to silence their opponents. While there may be no sufficient apology for the unchristian hatred which pursued Mr. Edwards to his dismissal, there are still extenuating circumstances. To the people of Northampton, the religious opinions by which they had been so long governed, were no less significant than were to Mr. Edwards the principles by which he sought to supplant them. The battle of methods was fought out on both sides with equal zeal and ability.

There is another consideration, which though it may be deemed of slight importance in comparison with other

suggestions, ought not to be entirely overlooked. When Mr. Edwards was dismissed he was simply the pastor of an obscure country parish. His renown as a thinker came afterwards. The odium of dismissing the greatest theologian of modern times is imputed to the people of Northampton, but while the uncommon heat and ardor of his opponents cannot be too strongly censured, it must be considered that much of modern criticism, in fact most of the denunciation of his opponents, has been founded upon the reputation that came to him after his dismissal. In the solitudes of Stockbridge he wrote his immortal treatises on the "Freedom of the Will," "Original Sin," and "The History of Redemption," and won a name that will never fade. While he was known as a preacher of more than ordinary power, and a man of greatly superior intellect, the halo of a subsequent achievement that challenged the sympathy of his admirers, had not then appeared. He was dismissed as a pastor of a small country church, of more than ordinary capacity it is true, but not as the man of commanding influence which he afterwards became.

The Precinct followed Established Precedent.

There were precedents for the position taken by the citizens concerning the make-up of the council, though they finally yielded that important point. The precinct, in acting in advance of the church, but followed the course pursued since the establishment of the town. In almost every case respecting the settlement or call of a minister, the town vote contains no allusion to any co-operation with the church. Up to within a few years of this time, town and church were practically the same. Now as another church existed, the precinct or parish took the place of the town, and following out previous practice, took all the preliminary steps. Mr. Edwards resented this, and in some degree undoubtedly aggravated the feeling against him by assuming certain rights as pastor and moderator of church meetings, by which he sought to modify or change the line of action proposed by the precinct. But it is unprofitable to discuss further this unpleasant controversy. Mr. Edwards was misrepresented by his opponents, and every means was adopted, however unscrupulous, in accordance with the prevailing temper of the times, to compass his dismissal.

A Doubtful Assertion.

It has been many times asserted that at last the precinct voted no longer to hear Mr. Edwards preach. His farewell sermon was delivered July 1, 1750. After that he was engaged by the committee to preach whenever he was in town, but as he says, only "when no one else could be obtained, and only from Sabbath to Sabbath." "At length," observes Dr. Hopkins, "great uneasiness was manifested by many people of Northampton, that Mr. Edwards should preach there at all. Upon which the committee for supplying the pulpit, called the town together to know their minds with respect to that matter; when they voted that it was not agreeable to their minds that he should preach among them."¹

Not Justified by the Records.

While it may be possible that such a meeting was held and such a vote passed, the records of both precinct and town are silent concerning the matter. The exact date of this meeting is not given, but it is generally understood that it took place in the latter part of the month of November, 1750. Precinct meetings were held in that month, and at one of them it was voted "to pay Mr. Edwards £10 old tenor, per Sabbath for the time he preached here since he was dismissed," but there is nothing on record concerning a determination to hear him preach no more. If at any meeting such a vote was passed, it must have been at one hastily summoned by the committee, in such an informal manner that no record of its proceedings was ever made. Certain formalities were required to establish the legality of any town or precinct meeting, and while it is doubtful whether any meeting called in accordance with the usually prescribed formula, ever passed such a vote, it is still barely possible that it may have been omitted from the records. It is not to be asserted that Dr. Hopkins, who was familiar with all the proceedings of the time, though not settled in Hadley till four years after the dismissal of Mr. Edwards, would deliberately falsify in such a matter, yet there seems to be the shadow of a doubt resting upon that statement. If any such opinion was ever expressed by the people of Northampton, it was undoubtedly instigated by the at-

¹ Dwight's Life of Edwards, p. 418.

tempt made about this time, or soon after, to resettle Mr. Edwards over a new church in town, to be formed by his personal friends and admirers. Whatever of truth there may be in this statement, it is certain that Mr. Edwards preached here after the passage of the vote. The last sermon delivered by him in Northampton, was in the afternoon of October 13th, 1751, from the text to be found in Heb. 11 : 16. Rev. Jonathan Judd of Southampton occupied the pulpit in the morning, and in his diary both facts are recorded.

Mr. Edwards Called to Stockbridge. Mr. Edwards received proposals from the church and congregation in Stockbridge to become their pastor, in December, 1750.

About the same time he had an invitation from a London Missionary Society to take charge of the Housatonnuck Indians, who were located at Stockbridge and its immediate vicinity. Accordingly he went in January to that place, where he remained throughout the winter, and finally accepted the call, removing to Stockbridge in the autumn of 1751.

Another Difficulty in Northampton. But he did not leave Northampton without one more unpleasant encounter with his old parishioners. The friends of Mr. Edwards, though small in numbers, were devoted to him, and were anxious to retain him in Northampton. With this intent they, together with "some who acted on neither side, but after his dismissal adhered to him," proposed to form another church, and settle him as its pastor. When this subject was first introduced is somewhat uncertain. Probably it was in contemplation for some time, and came to a head when he received the call to Stockbridge. Mr. Edwards was satisfied that this would only perpetuate and prolong the strife here, and did not favor the design. Yielding at last to the importunity of his friends, he consented to join them in seeking the advice of an ecclesiastical council.¹ This body met in Northampton, May 15th.

1 "The opponents of Mr. Edwards imagining that the convening of this council was part of a plan for reversing the proceedings of the former council and restoring him to his old pastoral charge, were exceedingly excited, gave way to great violence of feeling."—Miller's Life of Edwards, p. 122.

1751. Great excitement was created in town by this movement. It was believed that Mr. Edwards, through his friends, was endeavoring to obtain a re-settlement in town.

Remonstrance of
the Church. At a church meeting called to consider the subject, a committee was appointed, who drew up a remonstrance which was presented to the council. This paper was one of the most bitter documents that the opponents of Mr. Edwards had formulated against him. It has disappeared, and only from the manner in which Mr. Edwards and Mr. Hawley allude to it, can any idea of its purport be obtained. Mr. Edwards, in a letter to Mr. Hawley (which together with the reply of Major Hawley, will be noted hereafter), says in regard to it :—

“as to your Remonstrance to the last council, it not only contained things that were uncharitable and censorious by which Facts were misinterpreted and overstated but it was full of direct, bold slander asserted in strong terms, and delivered in very severe opprobrious language merely on suspicion and surmise.”

Major Hawley, who, though he denied writing the document, acknowledged that he assisted in compiling it, and copied and read it to the council, thus characterises it. He says that it was

“Everywhere interlarded with unchristian bitterness, sarcastical, and unmannerly insinuations. It contained divers direct, grievous, and criminal charges and allegations against Mr. Edwards, which, I have since good reason to suppose, were all founded on jealous and uncharitable mistakes.” “It was,” he continues, “a scandalous, abusive, injurious libel, against Mr. Edwards and his particular friends.”¹

The council immediately invited the committee to appear and substantiate the charges and insinuations it contained. Refusing to recognize that assembly as an ecclesiastical body, the committee declined to act. The church was also desired by the council to unite with it in a friendly conference upon the affair, but the state of feeling was such that nothing could be accomplished. Finally the council, agreeably to the judgment of Mr. Edwards, advised that he accept the call to Stockbridge.

¹ Dwight's Life of Edwards, p. 424.

Mr. Edwards Re-
moves his Family.

For more than a year Mr. Edwards continued to occupy his homestead on King Street, and did not remove his family to Stockbridge till October, 1751. The interval he spent between Northampton and Stockbridge, having been installed over the church in the latter place, in August. He preached his last sermon here on the 13th of October, and three days after set out with his family on the journey to his new place of abode. Nothing is known concerning the manner of his leave-taking, or who of his faithful friends were present to bid him a sorrowful farewell. All that remains relative to it is the following entry in the diary of Rev. Jonathan Judd of Southampton:—“Oct. 16, met Mr. Edwards and family at Lorin (?) Bartlett’s, rid some miles.” It is gratifying to know that at least one faithful friend cheered by his presence, the wearied divine as he severed the last ties that bound him to the scene of his aspirations, his triumphs and his tribulations. From that time onward no evidence appears to show that Mr. Edwards ever again preached in Northampton. However, as he had two married daughters living here it is probable that he occasionally visited the place. He made a journey to Northampton in 1755, and no doubt came at other times to visit his daughters.

Major Hawley Ar-
raigned.

Mr. Edwards, in a letter to Rev. Mr. Erskine of Scotland, written in July, 1750, in a review of the controversy with his people, thus speaks of one of the most prominent among his opponents:—

“The people, in managing this affair on their side, have made chief use of a young gentleman of liberal education and notable abilities, and a fluent speaker, of about seven or eight and twenty years of age, my grandfather Stoddard’s grandson, being my mother’s sister’s son, a man of lax principles in religion, falling in, in some essential things, with Arminians, and is very open and bold in it. He was improved as one of the agents for the church, and was their chief spokesman before the council. He very strenuously urged before the council the necessity of an immediate separation: and I, knowing the church, the most of them, to be inflexibly bent on this event, informed the council that I should not enter into the dispute, but should refer the matter wholly to the council’s judgment.”¹

¹ Dwight’s Life of Edwards, p. 410.

He Writes to Mr.
Edwards.

The individual referred to in the above extract, was Major Joseph Hawley, who doubtless contributed more than any of his contemporaries towards the dismissal of Mr. Edwards. In a short time Major Hawley began to realize the injustice of his course, and on the 11th of August, 1754, opened a correspondence with that gentleman, requesting him to give his judgment concerning the conduct of the writer in that affair. To this letter, which has not been preserved, in the following November, Mr. Edwards made an elaborate reply. In it he reviewed to some extent the entire controversy as well as the part taken in it by his correspondent. He dwells especially upon the uncharitable and unchristian spirit evinced by the people and their leaders, the continued perversion and misrepresentations of his views, the want of deference towards him whom most of them "esteemed to be the chief instrument in the Hand of God of the eternal salvation of their souls," and the manifest determination from the beginning of the controversy that he should be dismissed. He says:—

"The People most manifestly continued in a constant flame of high Resentment & vehement opposition for more than two years together: & this spirit instead of subsiding grew higher and higher, till they had obtained their end in my expulsion; nor did it cease then, but still they manifested their Jealousy of me, as if I was personally doing the part of an Enemy to 'em so long as I had a living in the Town, yea till they saw the Town well cleared of all my Family. So deep were their Prejudices when their Heat was manifested that nothing would quiet 'em till they could see the Town clear of Root & Branch, name & Remnant." With reference to Mr. Hawley's own course, he says in the same letter:—"And therefore, sir, I think you made yourself greatly guilty in the sight of God, in the Part you acted in this affair, becoming, especially toward the latter Part of it, very much the Leader in it: & much from your own forwardness, putting yourself forward as it were as tho' fond of meddling & Helping, which were the less becoming considering your youth and considering your Relation to me. Your forwardness especially appeared on this occasion, that after you were chosen as one of the committee to plead their cause before a council, you came to me and desired me to stay the ch. on purpose that you might have opportunity to excuse yourself from the Business: which was accordingly done, and you did excuse yourself and was excused, but when the matter came to be pleaded before the council you (I think very inconsistently) thrust yourself forward and pleaded the cause with Earnestness, notwithstanding 'tis manifest that what you

did in the affair from Time to Time, not only helped the People to gain their end in dismissing me, but much encouraged and promoted the spirit with which it was done; your confident, magisterial, vehement manner had a natural direct tendency to it." He also gives his views concerning the Remonstrance, to which allusion has already been made, and strongly states his own position in the affair of the proposed re-settlement.

Major Hawley in
Reply Apologizes
to Mr. Edwards.

To this letter Major Hawley replied on the 21st of January, 1755, receiving "kindly and thankfully," the strictures upon his conduct which it contained. He acknowledged that he was guilty in many ways, though he had not in all respects apprehended himself so culpable as did Mr. Edwards. Several instances are cited in which he condemns himself for his manner and language, and evinces much sorrow therefor, though he still adheres to the sentiments then uttered. The following paragraph indicates sufficiently the general tone of the letter:—

"As to what I said at Father Lyman's before the previous council, I freely confess, Sir, and own that the air and language in which considerable of what I said was delivered, was irreverent, immodest, derisive, magisterial and savouring of haughtiness and levity, and such as illy became me when arguing with you, Sir, who was so much my superior in age, station and accomplishments, and who deserved from me great respect and deference; for which I humbly and sincerely ask your forgiveness and am very sorry, not only for that it was disrespectful to you, Sir, But also a very ill example to others, and had a tendency to abate the respect and reverence which the bystanders ought to have maintained in their minds towards you, and which it was my Duty to have by all means Endeavored to have maintained, and probably had an influence upon the hearers towards prompting them to a disrespectful and Irreverend treatment of you afterwards. But with regard to the sentiments I then delivered, upon the most impartial consideration I have ever been capable of I have not been able to discover sufficient reason to alter them, and apprehend that if I had declared them in a decent, moderate, humble manner, I should not have reason to reflect upon myself therefor. And I make no doubt, Sir, But that if I had opportunity for free and calm conversation upon the matter I would satisfy you that there was no inconsistency in what I said before that council, with my wholly declining to act as the ch's. agent in the matter that were to have been laid before it." In regard to the remonstrance he offers little excuse, but condemns the substance of it, the manner of its presentation, its undue heat and exaggeration and the untruths and slanders it contained. He expresses sorrow for the

part he had taken in that "melancholy affair," and "humbly & earnestly" asks the forgiveness of Mr. Edwards.¹

And Writes another
Letter Six Years
Afterwards.

Ten years after the proceedings for dismissal had been closed, six years subsequent to the above quoted correspondence, and two years after the death of Mr. Edwards, Major Hawley again opened up the matter. This time he addressed a very humble and apologetic letter to Rev. Mr. Hall of Sutton, a member of the two councils. Having made his peace with Mr. Edwards and been forgiven by him, he now made a full and free confession to the public. In this document he takes much the same ground as in the letter to Mr. Edwards, accusing himself of bitterness, partisanship and uncharitableness, acknowledging in particular certain marks of disrespect to Mr. Hall, as well as to the council. He strongly condemns his own acts in preparing and promulgating the remonstrance against the resettlement, and is humbly penitent and sincerely sorry for the course he pursued in that unhappy affair.² That Major Hawley greatly regretted the position he had assumed and maintained in this controversy is manifest, and that he had the manliness and courage to confess it, is greatly to his honor as a man and a christian.

Mr. Edwards' Friends.

When the final council voted to dissolve the pastoral relation between Mr. Edwards and his church, "if the people still persist in desiring it," the church was speedily convened to answer the question. As has been previously stated, "a great majority (above two hundred against twenty)³ voted" in the affirmative. Mr. Edwards writes that twenty-three persons voted in his favor, and "others staid away choosing not to act either way." Which statement if correct is of very little significance, but the very full vote given—the church consisting of "about 230 male members"⁴—shows the state of

1 This correspondence may be found in full among the Hawley papers in the Bancroft collection, at the Lenox Library in New York. The letter of Mr. Edwards was published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1, p. 583, but the reply of Major Hawley has never before been given to the public.

2 The above letter may be found entire in *Dwight's Life of Edwards*, pp. 421-427.

3, *Dwight's Life of Edwards*, p. 399.

4 *ib.* p. 410.

feeling in that body. In another letter Mr. Edwards states that there were "about 20 heads of families, besides others, women and young people, who appeared openly against the proceedings of the town." These were the men who voted against dismissal, notwithstanding the social ostracism that pursued all who publicly adhered to him. The position in the community of those who befriended the pastor at this time, is summed up by Mr. Edwards. He says:—"A person by appearing my friend at Northampton, even so much so as openly to discountenance my being turned out of the pulpit, exposes himself to the immediate persecution of his neighbors, and perhaps of his nearest friends."¹ It appears that only a score of men throughout the whole town had the courage of their convictions, and dared to brave public sentiment in that time of prejudice, strife and contention. Their names are worthy of preservation, but only a few of them can now be positively identified. Mr. Edwards himself names Col. Timothy Dwight and Dr. Samuel Mather. Mr. Sylvester Judd records the following:—Samuel Kingsley, Nathaniel Strong, Benjamin Lyman, Joseph Allen and Benjamin Sheldon. To this list also belong the names of Major Timothy Dwight and Elihu Parsons, who both in 1750, married daughters of Mr. Edwards. Tradition and conjecture add the names of Dea. Samuel Lyman, Dea. Stephen Wright, Daniel Clark, Simeon Clark, Capt. John Baker, John Baker Jr., Ebenezer Clark Jr., William Clark, Capt. Roger Clap, Major Jonathan Clapp, Joseph Bartlett and Increase Clark.²

¹ Dwight's Life of Edwards, p. 467.

² See Appendix.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SELECTION AND SETTLEMENT OF A NEW MINISTER.

Advice Sought about
a New Minister. THE precinct, on the 29th of June, 1750, took measures to supply the pulpit, instructing the committee appointed for that purpose to apply to the neighboring ministers and solicit their advice respecting some "suitable gentleman to preach here on probation." Mr. Edwards was invited to preach the next Sabbath, and the church was desired to "appoint a day of solemn fasting and prayer to God for his direction and blessing in seeking a gentleman to settle here in the work of the Gospel Ministry."

An Illiberal Act. A controversy arose with Mr. Edwards the next month, respecting the use of the sequestered land. Apparently the custom had been to rent one half of it, and give the minister the use of the rest. In 1750, the year of his dismissal, Mr. Edwards claimed the usual privilege. But although the year was already half completed, the precinct refused to grant him the use of any of the land.

An Extraordinary
Vote. In November the town passed a somewhat extraordinary vote, allowing Daniel Sheldon "£30 old Tenor at y^e rate Dolls @ 52s., & as much more as he deserves for his extraordinary service by Ringing y^e Bell for church meetings & extraordinary parish meetings and extraordinary Sweepings occasioned by such extraordinary meetings." From October 9, 1749, to November 19, 1750, no less than twenty precinct meetings had been held, as well as a large number of church gatherings, for all of which Daniel Sheldon had to ring the bell.

Lightning Strikes the Meeting-House. During the summer of 1751, the meeting-house was struck by lightning, and was considerably damaged. The lightning struck the weatherecock, and ran down the spire to the ground. Whether it was considered a direct visitation of the Providence of God frowning upon the people for dismissing their pastor, is not recorded. Doubtless there were those who took that view of the matter. A question arose whether a new weatherecock or a vane should be procured, to surmount the steeple. Economic considerations prevailed, and the committee was ordered to obtain whichever was the cheaper. A weatherecock was purchased at a cost of £10.13.

The Pulpit Supply. The committee appointed to supply the pulpit was diligent in its work, and during eighty-seven Sabbaths, immediately following the dismissal of Mr. Edwards, there were but seven in which there was no preaching. Mr. Edwards preached twelve Sabbaths in all, but not consecutively, for he says that he only preached when the committee could obtain no one else. Mr. Pierce¹ of Hadley, was employed ten Sabbaths between July 22^d, 1750 and February 18th, 1751. He did not always preach here, however, but on several occasions arranged an exchange with other clergymen in the county. Rev. Mr. Frink of Rutland, preached about eight Sabbaths, to February, 1751. Major Hawley, in a letter to his brother Elisha, thus alludes to the efforts to obtain preachers:—

“They have no candidate for Mr. Edwards place. Mr. Frink preached two months, to good satisfaction, but he was not with us on probation. Capt. Wright was sent to the Jerseys for a Mr. Arthur, but he was sick and died soon. Mr. Wright then obtained through Prest. Burr of New Jersey College, knowledge of Mr. Farrand, a graduate last commencement. He was highly recommended by President Burr,” but Mr. Hawley thought he “must be very fresh not having been licensed when Mr. Wright was in the Jerseys.” “Our estate,” he continues, “is very melancholly whoever is in the mistake, either Mr. Edwards or y^e people, yet surely our loss of him and y^e difficulty we meet in endeavoring for a candidate are tokens of the great displeasure of the Almighty. May God be merciful to us.”²

¹ Josiah Pierce of Hadley was a graduate of Harvard College, removing to Hadley, where he was employed as town clerk and teacher. He sometimes preached, though he does not appear to have been ordained.—History of Hadley, p. 532.

² Hawley MSS., Lenox Library, N. Y.

Mr. Farrand Called. During twelve Sabbaths previous to June 17th, 1751, Mr. John McKinstry¹ preached and Mr. Daniel Farrand officiated thirty Sabbaths, to February 13th, 1752. His preaching was quite satisfactory, and in September, 1751, when he went to New Jersey to attend commencement, the parish voted that he should be requested to return and preach longer as a candidate, it being the "almost universal desire of the parish that he should return hither as soon as may be." He did return, and occupied the pulpit till February 13th, 1752. On the 29th of April, he was invited by a "very large majority" to settle. Afterwards there was a "polling of the members of the meeting," and eighteen persons voted in the negative. He refused to accept the call, and finally settled in Caanan, Ct.

"Sorrowful Circumstances." After the refusal of Mr. Farrand different clergymen were employed as they could be obtained during that year, but their names do not appear, and undoubtedly the people were destitute of preaching much of the time. In a letter written November, 1752, Mr. Edwards touches upon the position of affairs in town during this period:—

"The people of Northampton are in sorrowful circumstances, are still destitute of a minister, and have met with a long series of disappointments, in their attempts for a re-settlement of the ministry among them. My opposers have had warm contentions among themselves. Of late, they have been wholly destitute of any body, to preach steadily among them. They sometimes meet to read and pray among themselves, and at other times set travellers or transient persons to preach, that are hardly fit to be employed."²

The Aggrieved Brethren. The agitation caused by the recent controversy that convulsed the church and parish did not immediately subside. Its influence undoubtedly retarded the settlement of a new pastor. For a time it destroyed unanimity of feeling towards any candidate proposed, and must have had an unpleasant effect upon the minds of the clergymen who were invited to the pastorate. That there was a difference of sentiment exist-

¹ Rev. John McKinstry was born in Sutton, was graduated from Yale College in 1746, and ordained pastor of the second church in Springfield (now Chicopee), in 1752. He did not preach here as a candidate.

² Dwight's Life of Edwards, p. 518.

ing in the church is apparent from the following vote, passed at a meeting in February, 1752 :—

“Then after some Conference The Question was put whether the Precinct would use any means to procure a Candidate for the work of the Gospell Ministry in s'd Precinct before the church in s'd precinct had Endeavored to accommodate and settle the Difficulties subsisting therein with those who call themselves the aggrieved Brethren, and It passed in the Negative.” It was also voted that the moderator of the church be desired to warn a meeting “to take y^e papers, called the church's remonstrance, of the Clerk of the church, and give y^e Aggrieved Brethren (if they desire it) an opportunity to take a copy of part or y^e whole thereof, under the inspection of s^d Committee.”

Nothing more is known of this document, neither is there positive evidence of the cause of disagreement.¹ That it was an outcome of the late trouble can not be doubted. This was without doubt, the contention to which Mr. Edwards alludes in the heretofore quoted letter.

Major Hawley Turns
Jones out of the
Pulpit.

During the remainder of the year, after the declination of Mr. Farrand, about whom Mr. Edwards says that there was much contention, no person seems to have appeared here as a candidate, and the treasurer's books contain no account of any money paid for the pulpit supply. It was during this period that Sunday services were conducted as stated by Mr. Edwards, by “travellers and transient persons.” Tradition asserts that Major Hawley on one occasion became so disgusted with the preacher, that he went into the

1 The “aggrieved brethren” may have been disturbed on account of the attitude of the precinct, which seems to have taken the initiative in ecclesiastical affairs throughout the controversy with Mr. Edwards. In almost every movement during that time the church appears to have acted at the dictation of the parish. Indeed the records show that heretofore all action in reference to church matters originated in town-meetings: at least there is nothing to prove that the two organizations were in the habit of acting in concert. In the absence of any other information it may be inferred that at last certain members of the church, who were undoubtedly the friends of Mr. Edwards, objected to any further continuance of this method, and desired that in matters relating to the calling of a minister, the church should have an equal voice with the parish. Mr. Edwards dwelt especially upon this point in his arguments against the precinct votes. It will be noted that but twenty votes were cast in the church meeting in favor of retaining the pastor, when decisive action was taken at the desire of the council. When Mr. Farrand was invited by the precinct, eighteen votes were given against him, and it is legitimate to conclude that they were cast by the same persons. After this, when it is presumed that the “aggrieved brethren” had been appeased, it will be seen that the votes in the precinct relative to calling a minister are in “concurrence with the church.” Nothing points absolutely to such a solution of the difficulty, but in the absence of certainty this one is at least plausible.

pulpit, turned the speaker out of it, and concluded the services himself. Mr. Baneroff has among his notes about Mr. Hawley: "turned Jones out of the pulpit about 1752." This tradition fits in admirably with the state of affairs then existing and may contain a grain of truth. Jones, (if such a person was employed to preach), was evidently an itinerant, who had no standing as a clergyman, and was one of those who, according to Mr. Edwards, was "hardly fit to be employed."

Difficulties Increase. An attempt was made to obtain "a young minister, a Mr. Green of Barnstable,"¹ but there is no evidence that he ever preached here.

Rev. Judah Champion Invited. This state of affairs continued till the commencement of the following year, when Rev. Judah Champion² was invited to preach as a candidate. He occupied the pulpit for about three months, apparently to the satisfaction of the congregation. In April, 1753, the precinct voted to concur with the church in inviting him to settle, but he declined. He was offered £266.13.4 as a settlement, and a salary of £80.

Rev. Mr. Hooker Preaches as a Candidate. During the summer of 1753, affairs began to improve somewhat. The committee was fortunate enough to obtain the services of another candidate, and preaching was much more regular; yet the condition was by no means encouraging. Up to this time several candidates had been called, but at the close of the third year after the departure of Mr. Edwards his place had not been filled. From a worldly point of view the position was most desirable. The community was prosperous, the town increasing in wealth and population, and the salary was the "largest paid by any country congregation in New England."³ Yet the clergy seemed unwilling to settle here. There was something unsatisfactory in the moral and religious aspect of the place. The antag-

1 Dwight's Life of Edwards, p. 490.

2 Rev. Judah Champion was the son of Col. Henry Champion; he was born in East Haddam, Ct., graduated at Yale College in 1751, and settled in the ministry at Litchfield, Ct., in 1753. He died in 1810, aged 81 years.

3 Dwight's Life of Edwards, p. 436.

onisms engendered by the controversy that ejected the former minister were more pronounced than ever, and the ministers shrank from undertaking the task of reconciling them. Entire unanimity had not prevailed at either call, and no one knew how soon the scenes of previous years might be repeated.

The First Precinct Merged into the Town. The meeting at which Mr. Champion was invited to preach on probation was the last precinct meeting. In 1752, Northampton declared its willingness that the second precinct should be erected into a separate district, and the next year the legislature passed the requisite enactment. The name of Southampton first appears on the town records in that year, and the first precinct was merged into the township. For twelve years two precincts had been in existence, and while all general town business had been transacted in one town-meeting, everything pertaining to church affairs had been managed separately by the separate precincts. With the incorporation of the new district the old system was revived, and all town business, ecclesiastical as well as secular, was hereafter transacted at the same meeting.

Mr. Hooker Invited to Settle. On the 17th of September, 1753, the town voted "in concurrence with the church" to extend a call to Rev. John Hooker. The vote was unanimous. Mr. Hooker probably preached here about four months previous to the invitation to settle, though there is no vote to be found requesting him to preach as a candidate. On the 10th of September he was paid £19.4, which, according to the sums paid other ministers, indicates a candidacy of about sixteen Sabbaths. In all probability he came here in May, a few weeks after the departure of Mr. Champion. It may well be believed that it was largely through Mr. Hooker's ministrations that the long existing disagreements in the community were reconciled, and he had the good fortune to find among the first fruits of his labors a people cordially united in seeking his services. The town offered him

the sum of £256.13.4 in the present lawful money of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, to enable him to procure a settlement in this town; £200 whereof to be paid him in the spring of the

year 1754, and the remainder in the spring of the year 1755, and that they give him for a salary besides and exclusive of the above sum of settlement y^e sum of £80 like lawful money for his first year's Salary," with an increase of £5 each year till the amount should reach £100, which was to be his permanent compensation. In addition the sum of £6.13.4 was voted "to enable him to procure firewood."

He Accepts the Call. The meeting was adjourned to the 15th of October, and at that time the written acceptance of Mr. Hooker to the above propositions was presented. In that document he declared "That the unanimity with which he understood y^t he was chosen and y^e above proposals made, He could not but look upon as the voice of Providence calling him to undertake y^e work of y^e Gospel ministry in this town." He demurred slightly at the sum allowed for fire-wood, deeming it insufficient, but finally consented to the arrangement. It was also voted that money paid to Mr. Hooker should be in "silver of sterling alloy at six shillings eight pence by the ounce or in Spanish milled pieces of eight at six shillings by the piece." This contract with Mr. Hooker was entered in full upon the records, and signed by him on the 11th of December, 1753.

The Ordination. His ordination took place on the 5th of December. A committee of six persons was appointed to order the sittings of the people in the meeting-house, and the services were to commence at 10 o'clock, A. M. Ten ministers and delegates comprised the council. The ordination services were as follows:—

Rev. Stephen Williams of Longmeadow, moderator of the council, made the first prayer at the Imposition of Hands and gave the charge; Rev. Mr. Hopkins of Springfield made the prayer after the Imposition of Hands; Rev. Peter Reynolds of Enfield made the prayer before sermon; Rev. David Parsons of East Hadley (Amherst) preached the Sermon, from Acts 10th Chapter, 33^d verse; Rev. Robert Breck of Springfield gave the Right Hand of Fellowship. The other members of the council were Rev. John Woodbridge of South Hadley, Rev. Jonathan Ashley of Deerfield, Rev. Joseph Ashley of Sunderland, Rev. Timothy Woodbridge of Hatfield, and Rev. Jonathan Judd of Southampton.

Expenses of the Ordination. The expenses of the ordination were paid by the town, and amounted to £48.14.9 old tenor, equal to £6.8.7 lawful currency. Included in the account was the sum of £7.4 paid for wine. While the different amounts paid to certain individuals may be found among the town treasurer's papers, the articles provided, with the single exception of wine, are not stated. An ordination dinner for the ministers and their delegates was an important and never omitted proceeding, and it was for this that the largest expense was incurred. What rejoicings among the young people in the evening followed the religious exercises of the morning, are not known. It is easy to imagine that everybody, both old and young, felt like indulging in some kind of celebration at the conclusion of this long and bitter struggle. The custom of finishing off the ordination exercises with a ball in the evening was almost universal, and no doubt was followed on this occasion in Northampton, though nothing has been discovered which throws any light on the subject.¹

¹ Ordinations in old times were regarded as a pastime, an occasion for frolic and amusement. By common consent Wednesday seems to have been the day of the week usually fixed upon for the ceremony. These occasions were somewhat rare, and the general interest manifested in them, always drew large crowds. The exercises usually occupied from an hour and a half to two hours. At first they were much more elaborate, sometimes continuing throughout the day, and formerly it was the custom for the candidate to preach a sermon at his ordination. But much of the solemnity of the occasion gradually wore away, the exercises were curtailed to an hour or two, and the rest of the time was devoted to conviviality and social intercourse, the affair closing in later times with the ordination ball in the evening. The town or parish always paid the expenses of the ordination which, in some cases were quite large. As much as £50, equal to half a year's salary, was expended at an ordination in Charlestown, in 1713. A dinner was always provided for the attending ministers and their delegates, and it came to be one of the most important features of such an occasion. An open air ordination was held at Wrentham, in November, 1738. A great concourse of people assembled, and the services took place in a valley.

CHAPTER XIX.

FOURTH FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

The French and English extend their Conquests in all Directions.

DURING the short interval of peace which followed the close of "King George's War," in 1749, and which continued but half a dozen years, both French and English endeavored to push their conquests to the utmost. The boundaries between the contestants for American soil were left undetermined by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, but were to be arranged by a commission. A conference settled nothing, and negotiations only protracted the uncertainty. While the French penetrated the wilderness to the west and established posts down the Ohio, claiming jurisdiction to the Gulf of Mexico, the English were pressing to the eastward in Acadia, to the Northward in New York, New Hampshire and Vermont, and to the westward in Pennsylvania. The governments of both countries were engaged in negotiations concerning the movements of their subjects on the American continent, the negative results of which it was apparent must inevitably end in war. Expecting, indeed with little prospect of avoiding such an outcome, and in preparation for it, both nations dispatched armies of observation across the Atlantic:—The English to Virginia under Braddock, and the French under Dieskau to Canada.

Union of the Colonies Discussed.

In the meantime the question of taxing America was under discussion in Parliament. Many plans for the union of the colonies among themselves, as well as for closer connection with Great Britain, were suggested. A conference of delegates from the colonies was held at Albany, a system of union decided upon and referred to the several legislatures and to Parliament; but it failed to meet the views of either and nothing was accomplished.

War Commenced. Though the only apparent settlement lay in a resort to arms, neither nation was quite ready for that decisive step. But while the diplomatic warfare was raging in the old world, open hostilities had commenced in the new, and the "seven years' war, the school of the Revolution,"¹ was begun. The war in America had been two years in progress before a formal declaration was made.

Several Expeditions Projected by the English. In February, 1754, an expedition was sent out by Gov. Dinwiddie of Virginia under the command of Col. Washington to protect the frontiers, and drive the French from the Ohio. Though at first successful, Washington was compelled to yield to superior numbers, and surrendered to the French. The following year occurred the unfortunate expedition under Gen. Braddock, and at the same time three other movements were in progress. One of them was intended for the preservation of Oswego, and the reduction of Niagara; another was directed against Crown Point, and a third had for its object an attack upon the French settlements in Nova Scotia. These expeditions, however, are not material to this history, except so far as they were participated in by citizens of Northampton, or its immediate vicinity.

Protective Measures Adopted. Gov. Shirley, prominent in planning the campaign, took precautions for the protection of the Province, and the several towns were ordered not only to provide ammunition, but to take all necessary measures for defending themselves. In accordance with this order, the town had in July an inventory made of its stock of ammunition. Hezekiah Wright, who had it in charge, reported that it consisted of 345 lbs. of powder, 720 lbs. of lead, and 1,000 flints. Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield was made commander-in-chief in Hampshire County, and Capt. Elijah Williams of Deerfield, was put in command of the cordon of forts erected for the protection of the frontiers, all of which were greatly strengthened.

¹ Oration of Edward Everett.

The Forts already Garrisoned. The more important of these fortifications had been garrisoned from 1749 to 1754, though but few if any soldiers from Northampton had been stationed in them. Capts. Elisha Hawley and William Lyman of this town, then lieutenants, both served during this period, and were at times employed at Forts Dummer and Massachusetts.

Indian Raids in Western Massachusetts. Before any declaration of actual warfare had been made, the Indians became active and alert. Existing fortifications in the more exposed towns were repaired, and many new ones erected. The first attack fell upon the New Hampshire settlements. In August, a woman was killed and several persons captured at different places. On the 30th, a party of nine persons were made prisoners at Charlestown, and carried to Canada. These raids caused great alarm everywhere. Many settlers in the newly established towns withdrew, and others sought refuge within the fortifications. Pittsfield was deserted, and it was feared that in other towns this example might be followed. The Indian hordes were again let loose, and in the language of the military correspondence of that day:—“It is now open war and a very dark distressing scene opens; a merciless miscreant enemy invading us in every quarter, pushed on by our inveterate foe.”¹

Indians Discovered at Southampton. On the 9th of September, Col. Israel Williams writes to Secretary Willard that “6 Indians were discovered at Southampton yesterday, a party of 30 men were sent after them. The Indians seem full of fury and malice.” He had previously issued an order to Major Hawley at Northampton to enlist ten men for service in Southampton. The same day on which the above letter was written, Major Hawley reported that he had enlisted and dispatched from Northampton the following named men, under command of Sergt. Noah Strong:—Medad Edwards, Samuel Fairfield, Asahel Birge, Eleazar Pomeroy (servant of Samuel Clark), Elijah King (servant of Joseph Bascom), Benjamin Bartlett (servant of

1 Letter of Col. Israel Williams.

Samuel Alvord), Phineas Colfax (servant of Jonathan Hunt Jr.), and Edward Higgins, who figures somewhat further in this particular expedition. In November, Noah Burt, Silas King, Shammah Pomeroy, and John Birge, were added, probably to take the place of some who had been dismissed. The next day these men marched to the house of Rev. Jonathan Judd in Southampton, the only fortified place in the town. They put the structure in good condition for defence, and there made their headquarters. They remained till the 18th of December, when the squad was disbanded. Part of their duty was to guard the inhabitants while at their daily labor. How one guard performed that duty and the results to Private Higgins are detailed in the following letter from Major Hawley to Col. Israel Williams : —

“Sept. 22, 1754.

“Yesterday about 3 o'clock, P. M. an enemy was at Southampton, about a mile from Mr. Judd's. Two men and some lads were picking corn, and one man carting corn. Two soldiers were on guard, one at the bars of the field and the other at the opposite side of the field. The carter was gone with a load of corn, and returning. Higgins at the bars supposed he heard some one stir in the brush (which were very thick) near him. He turned and faced the place where he heard the noise, upon which a gun was discharged, which shot the left thigh of his trousers through on the crotch side, with a ball and three swan shot, but missed his flesh. The account when it came to me yesterday seemed to be unaccountable and to bear several marks of incredulity, viz. : that no Indian was seen, but one gun shot, that his trousers were blacked with the powder and he not hurt : the gun was a very loud one, and Higgins to account for his not being hurt said he stood somewhat astraddle. A number of our people from the other side of the river had gone out a little before. I was inclined to think the fellow had shot his own breeches with a view to make noise, but the people who went out are satisfied the fellow was shot upon by an enemy. Lt. Nathaniel Clark, whom I esteem judicious, has been on the spot and informs me that the place where the gun was shot was on the east side of Manhan river, that upon the beach of a brook the west side of the river, they evidently tracked two Indians about 40 rods from where the brook goes into the river. The brook is thickly set with growth. They saw the track of one on the east side of the river, and they find at about a rod's distance from where the fellow said he stood when the gun was discharged, evident signs of the standing of a man in very thick brush. No track was visible, the ground being hard : & small alders were bent or broke down, and a large alder burnt to the white by the powder, and very much blacked, so it is evident the muzzle of a

gun was not a foot from it. A little nearer was an elder cut off by the ball in a line to where Higgins says he stood, and in the line to his breeches. This experiment was tried. The spot where he said he stood was in the middle of the cart path, where there was nothing standing to hang his trousers on, so that if he did it himself he must have managed with great art and design hardly possible. His breeches were not blacked.

“The people in the field say he came to them as soon after they heard the gun as was possible for a man to come, and his gun was then loaded with two balls; he appeared in the utmost consternation. His brother soldiers proposed to go to the spot but he said ‘for the Lord’s sake don’t go there.’ The soldiers and laborers all immediately fled from the field at the opposite part to the nearest house that way. The fellow appears innocent and is uniform in his account. No persons had been where the tracks were discovered. The most considerate are satisfied the enemy was there. The people of Southampton will be together today and therefore not exposed. I hope to send a suitable number of men tomorrow early to Southampton (today is the Sabbath) to secure those parts, and a party west where they may be most likely to come across the Indians, or their tracks if they are returning.”¹

JOSEPH HAWLEY.”

Excitement in South-
ampton.

A few days previous to this alarm the people of Southampton were considerably excited, and were evidently ready after the adventure of Higgins as Mr. Hawley suggests, to come together, concentrating within and about the fortifications for safety. On Sunday, September 1st, while good Parson Judd was preaching, his audience suddenly left him. “The assembly,” he records in his diary, “broke up in sermon time by a gun shot at a bare.” Whether the “bare” escaped and the congregation returned to the “improvement” of the remainder of the discourse, the diary saith not. The next day he made the following entry:—“The scout came in who went out yesterday; people began to move together.” On the 9th, Mr. Judd “rid to Hatfield and obtained orders to Major Hawley for 10 soldiers,” and the next day he records “the soldiers enlisted and came to my house.” This seems to have been the origin of the order for the guard at Southampton, though Mr. Judd does not mention that any Indians had been seen there on Sunday, the 8th, the inference being that the “bare” incident of the previous week had been sufficient to call for the presence of ten soldiers.

¹ The above letter in its abridged form is found in the Judd MSS.

Militia of Northern
Hampshire Reor-
ganized.

A complete reorganization of the militia of Hampshire County was entered upon this year. Joseph Hawley of Northampton and Elijah Williams of Deerfield were promoted to the rank of major at about the same time by Gov. Shirley, and the former became quite active in the formation of the new companies. Apparently there was to be a muster and a reorganization of the regiment in the northern part of Hampshire County, and on the 16th of August Major Hawley wrote to Col. Israel Williams about the officers of the Northampton companies. He proposed the following names :—

His own Co.	2 ^d Co.	3 ^d Co.
Lt. Gideon Lyman	Capt. [John] Hunt	Capt. Benj. Sheldon
Lt. William Lyman	Lt. Ebenezer Hunt	Lt. [Eben] Kingsley
Ens. Nathaniel Clark	Ens. Josiah Pomeroy	Ens. Dan'l Pomeroy

Major Hawley's Sug-
gestions.

He mentions a Capt. Wright, who probably belonged to the first company, who it was expected would refuse his former commission. If Capt. Wright declined, the companies were to be officered as above, but Wright and Gideon Lyman would not serve together, or one under the other. Should both decline, then he suggested that Lieut. William Lyman should be made captain, and Josiah Pomeroy lieutenant of the first company, Daniel Pomeroy, ensign of the second company, and Jonathan Strong Jr., ensign of the third company. His brother Elisha, he thought in case of the failure of one of the above officers, would be a better lieutenant than Lieut. Caleb Strong, as he had done much more to merit the position. It is not probable that any companies were officered at that time in just the manner proposed by Major Hawley, though several of the persons named served in the expedition against Crown Point, and some of them were killed. Indignant at the manner in which his suggestions had been received by his commanding officers, Major Hawley on the 3^d of October addressed a pungent letter to Col. Williams, plainly intimating his dissatisfaction at the snub inflicted upon him. In it he suggests that Col. Israel Williams, Col. Oliver Partridge, Major Ephraim Williams, and himself, should confer upon military affairs “ for y^e defence of our people on y^e west of

Connecticut river." He complains that Col Israel and Major Ephraim concert such schemes as they "think proper, and labour it with y^e Governour, and he also with y^e whole court," while "Col. Partridge schemes something different perhaps, which he will labour with ye Governour and House. I am privy to neither scheme, and perhaps y^e first of my hearing thereof should be in y^e House." He says "I don't think y^t in my private capacity I am of much importance in such matters, but as a member of y^e House it is possible I may be, for I have always spoke my mind in y^e House and sometimes have been heard."¹ Major Israel Williams and Major Hawley were cousins, and as nothing further has come to light, it is presumed that neither party pressed the quarrel to the point of interference with the best interests of the service. In November Major Hawley was appointed on a committee in connection with Major Elijah Williams and Capt. Timothy Ruggles to disburse money in building and repairing forts on the frontier west of Connecticut River. In the above proposed list of officers Major Hawley claims one of the companies as his own, but there is no proof that he ever entered the field. Indeed in July of the succeeding year, after news came of the disaster at Hoosack, he gives two reasons for not volunteering. They were as follows:—"one is that the weather is so extream hot that it would instantly bring on y^e disorder to which I am incident in hot weather," and the other was the "hurrying time in y^e business of my profession."² From evidence thus far obtained, it seems that Major Hawley passed from the rank of chaplain at Louisburg in 1745, to that of major in 1754, without ever having taken part in anything more hazardous than an occasional scouting expedition, yet he took a prominent part in the organization of the Hampshire County Regiments, as will hereafter be noted.

Activity Everywhere. All the forts on the frontiers were garrisoned in 1755, and scouting parties were constantly on the move. Indians hovered about in every direction. Attacks were made upon fortified places in New

1 Perry's Williamstown, pp. 267, 268.

2 *Ib.*, p. 268.

Hampshire, a number of people were killed, many captives taken, and much property destroyed. In some places it was impossible to harvest the crops for want of protection, and starvation was imminent.¹

Service of Titus King. Among the Northampton soldiers who served in Col. Williams' regiment, was Titus King. He was stationed with nine others under Corporal Zebulon Allen at Charlemont. In June, while guarding a company of men at work in a meadow, they were attacked by Indians. Capt. Moses Rice and Phineas Arms, a garrison soldier, were killed, and Titus King and Asa Rice, grandson of Capt. Moses, were captured and carried to Canada. King remained a prisoner there three years.² On his return he petitioned the legislature for compensation for the loss of his gun and time. His gun cost 44s., for which he was allowed 40s. His three years' service as a prisoner in Canada disgusted him with military life, and he became a pedagogue. For twenty-eight years he taught school in Northampton, commencing in April, 1759. He was noted for his peculiarities and eccentricities, and many humorous anecdotes are related of him by those who attended the town schools. He taught the English school, and received about £19 per year.

Preparations for the Movement upon Crown Point. Early in 1755, Gov. Shirley commenced preparations for the campaign against Crown Point. The expedition was popular among the western settlements, and requisitions for men were promptly filled. The people welcomed the opportunity for definite action: they were glad to be relieved of the strain of guarding against an Indian raid, of the hurried pursuit, and fruitless, unsatisfactory return. They welcomed a change from the monotony of garrison duty. It was believed also that an offensive movement would tend to prevent the merciless incursions of the Indians, all of whom would be required to defend the point assailed.

1 For a detailed account of the casualties on the northern frontiers see Sheldon's History of Deerfield and Hoyt's Indian Wars.

2 Hoyt says that King was "carried to France, thence to England, whence he at length returned to Northampton, his native place." King, however, does not mention his foreign trip in his petition to the legislature for the payment of his losses, as quoted in the Judd MSS.—See Hoyt, p. 266.

A Regiment Enlisted. Orders were issued in March for enlisting a regiment of five hundred men to consist of ten companies in Hampshire County, and Col. Israel Williams, Col. Partridge and Major Hawley were authorized to "settle the officers" of the regiment. Major Hawley was representative from this town that year, and by him Gov. Shirley sent all the necessary papers. These gentlemen held a meeting at South Hadley, where the matter was considered. Major Ephraim Williams was, at the suggestion of the Governor, appointed colonel of the regiment, and through the influence of Major Hawley, Major Seth Pomeroy was named lieutenant-colonel. In a letter to the other gentlemen of the commission, dated April 9, Major Hawley strongly urges that appointment. He says also that Capt. Nathaniel Dwight of Belchertown would "accept a captaincy if he could have it seasonably," and that he would have no difficulty in raising a company "speedily in his own parts." He received his commission and joined the army after the battle of Lake George. The custom had been years before first to enlist the men and then to allow them to choose their own officers, but that had long since been changed, and now it was the duty of the commissioned officers to recruit their own men. The ability and influence of captains in that direction were prime factors in their selection. All of them entered vigorously upon this work, and on the 30th of May orders were issued for the regiment of Col. Williams, as soon as the companies were "compleat," to march to the general rendezvous at Albany.¹

Lieut. Lyman's Com- Lieut. William Lyman of Northampton
pany of Scouts. was promoted to a captaincy in June, and
ordered to enlist a company of scouts to
consist of not less than thirty men. None but able-bodied
men were to be accepted, each scout was to cover not less
than thirty days, and provisions for that length of time
were to be carried. The captain and other commissioned
officers were to "keep as exact journals" as possible of
each of their marches. Capt. Lyman raised his company,
but no record of any of his excursions has been found.
When reinforcements were needed for the Crown Point

1 Perry's Williamstown, pp. 300, 301, 302.

expedition, he recruited his company to the number of fifty-nine men, joined the army, and was attached to Col. Pomeroy's regiment, where he served from September 15th to December 10th, but was not in any engagement.

Col. Seth Pomeroy
and Capt. Elisha
Hawley leave
Journals of their
Services.

Sir William Johnson was given command of the army destined to operate against Crown Point, and the history of his failure to capture the position is familiar to every one. Only the fact that in the enterprise participated many citizens of Northampton, some of whom lost their lives there, and two of whom left journals containing many interesting details not elsewhere to be found, renders any extended allusion to it of special importance. Many extracts from the journal and correspondence of Col. Seth Pomeroy have from time to time found their way into print, but no part of the journal of Capt. Elisha Hawley, who was killed in the "bloody morning scout," has ever been published. It is believed that both of these documents are of sufficient interest to be given entire.

Northampton Com-
panies in the
Army.

About the last of June the army commanded by Gen. Johnson, to the number of nearly three thousand men, was concentrated at Albany. About one thousand more were added as reinforcements during the progress of the campaign. In one of the regiments raised in Western Massachusetts were several companies enlisted in Hampshire County, and three of them were commanded by Northampton men. One of them under Capt. Elisha Hawley, brother of Major Joseph Hawley, was composed mainly of Northampton men.¹ It was the custom for field-officers to command companies, and Lieut.-Col. Seth Pomeroy was at the head of another. After the promotion of Col. Pomeroy it was commanded by Capt. Simeon Davis of Greenwich. It contained few men from this town. The company of Capt. William Lyman has already been mentioned.² Other soldiers from Northampton seem to have been scattered through the regiment. The troops marched to Albany about the middle of June, and went into camp about two miles below that city.

1 For Muster-Roll, see Appendix.

2 *Ib.*

Capt. Hawley's Com-
pany.

The soldiers from Northampton and vicinity under Capt. Hawley set out for Albany the last week in June, and were in camp at Greenbush on the 29th of the month. They marched by way of Westfield,¹ and the entire army remained in camp, waiting for stores and ammunition till the middle of July. On the 17th the corps of Gen. Phineas Lyman, who commanded the Massachusetts and Connecticut troops, was ordered to build a fort at the "Great Carrying Place" on the Hudson River near the site of Fort Nicholson. The details of this march will be found in the appended journals. General marching orders were not issued till the 2^d of August, and about the middle of the month the army joined the advance guard at the new fort, which had been appropriately named Fort Lyman, but was afterwards changed to Fort Edward. On the 26th, the army went slowly forward and encamped at the lower extremity of Lake George, where it remained, collecting means of transportation through the lake, till attacked by Dieskau on the 8th of September.

Baron Dieskau and
his Army of French
and Indians.

While Gen. Johnson was thus slowly advancing, Baron Dieskau with an army of French and Indians, about fifteen hundred strong, occupied Fort Ticonderoga. On the 6th and 7th of September he moved southward, landing at South Bay. His plan was to get in the rear of Johnson's army, attack Fort Edward, then barely completed, and held by Col. Blanchard with his New Hampshire regiment, and secure the great amount of supplies stored there. But his Indian allies refusing to participate in an assault upon a fort defended by artillery, he decided to attack Gen. Johnson's camp. Proceeding by the way of Wood Creek, he gained the rear of the English army, and counted upon a speedy victory. Gen. Johnson, anticipating the attack upon Fort Edward, though unaware that Dieskau had changed his

1 The principal thoroughfare from the Connecticut Valley to Albany during the seven years' war was by way of Westfield, Blandford, Tyringham, North Sheffield (Great Barrington) and Kinderhook. It was the route that had been used as far back as 1665. There were several other routes, but they were not much in use. A new way was cut from Northampton to Albany, in 1753, but it was in an imperfect condition, impassable for wheels. There was another way from Deerfield through Charlemont to Fort Massachusetts, thence to the fort at Hoosack.

plan, sent a detachment of one thousand English and two hundred Indians to "catch the enemy in their retreat." The battle which followed has been many times described, and need not be enlarged upon, as many incidents relating to it will be found in the journal and correspondence of Col. Pomeroy.

Capt. Hawley's
Journal.

Capt. Elisha Hawley, who lost his life in this engagement, was a son of the second Joseph Hawley, and an only brother of Major Joseph. He had seen much service during King George's War on the frontiers, and was at one time in command at Fort Massachusetts. It was at the latter post in 1748, when serving as lieutenant under Capt. Ephraim Williams, that he had been wounded. He was a capable, efficient and popular officer. In the last week of March, 1755, he received an order to enlist a company for the Crown Point expedition, and in a short time he had fifty-three Northampton men ready to march. With his company he went forward with the advanced guard to the building of Fort Lyman, was in the thick of the fight in the "bloody morning scout," where he was wounded Sept. 8th, and died on the 24th. His journal, commenced when he left home for the army, and continued till the day before his wound, giving an account of the services of the Northampton company, is appended in full:—¹

June 26th 1755 set out from Northampton for Albany in order to proceed in the Expedition against Crownpoint, road to Westf^d and Lodged there

friday 27th road to Sheff^d in Company with Cap^t Porter and several others Lodged at Sheldons

28th Saturday road to Lodewicks between Kenderhook & Albany. A rainy afternoon

29th Sunday road to Greenbush found most of my Company who left Northampton before me Arrived, and station in Col Ranslier Barn—I myself with Ensⁿ Smith got a birth in one End of House where we were very Courtyously Treated by one Lawson who lived there.

¹ The Journal of Capt. Hawley is copied from the original MSS. in the Hawley papers, which form part of the library of the late George Bancroft, now in the Lenox Library, New York City.

30th monday Continued at Col Ransliers with my Company

July 1st 2^d 3^d 4th nothing remarkable

5th Saturday Col: Williams and many other Officers of his Regiment arrived—L^t Pomroy Came with Col: Williams, and quarterd with us at y^e Col^s

9th Wednesday Gen^l Johnson Came to review the army the Regiments were all drawn up to receive him

10th Gov^r Shirley Arrived at Albany in Order to go to Niagara

11th this day there was an Indians Scalp brought from Kinderhook to Albany

12th we were order'd to Carry our tents which I had the day before taken out of the Stores up the river as far as Col Skylers, where the were order'd to be set up

13th Sunday hear'd m^r Becket preach in Connecticut Camp—but the Col^s with many of the Companys were very busey in seting up our tents at the flats

14th this Day we were again revein'd¹ by Gov^r Shirley at Greenbush

15th were Employ'd in Carrying batoos from the yard to the river

16th Wednesday rec^d Orders to git our Stores ready and march with Gen^l Lyman up to the Carrying place

17th moved up to Col: Skylers

18th 19th 20th & 21st were Employ'd in getting and Loading Stores

22^d Tuesday set out from the flats in Company with Col: Ruggles's Regiment and three Companys of Col: Williams's besides our own went to the half moon about 12^{ve} miles above the City

23th Set along up the river with our batoos the water this day that we past overwa² very bad a great part of the way falls

24th Set out again Up the river after we had unloaded our batoos to about 2 barrels weight: about 2 aClock came to still water where Gen^l Lyman with his regiment was Encamp^t we pitch our tents on the E^t side the river alittle above the mouth of Scattacook river

1 Reviewed. The word in the original is very indistinct.

2 So in original manuscript.

25th 26th 27th 28th Lay at Still water were employ'd in Clearing the road for y^e Waggons to Come with our Stores

29th Set out for Surrotoga with our Stores that were brought up by wagg[ons] as well as with what we brought in the batoots: Arrived there a little before night and Encamp^t

30th & 31th tarried at our Camps and were many of us Employ'd in repairing y^e roads &c

Agust 1^t struck our tents and moved up the river about four miles—Cros'd a bar in the river where the water fell about six or seven feet drew our batoots over this bar by ropes with much difficulty—Encamp^t at y^e foot of another pair of falls

2^d unloaded our Batootes and drew 'em up the falls and Carry'd our stotes by in Waggons: L^t Pomroy was this day very Ill.

3^d Sunday Loaded our batoots again and set out for the Carrying Place where we arrived a little before night—L^t Pomroy was this day quite Sick, we Carry'd him in the batoots

4th this day Ensⁿ Smith was taken very Sick with a bloody flux which prevails very much in the army—L^t Pomroy is still very sick

5th Sent out Several Scouts

6th the Scouts sent yesterday return'd—this day one of our army was whip'd 100 stripes for the most vile Cursing & Swearing

7th we were very busy in geting timber & bark for a storehouse & fort—Ensⁿ Smith very sick L^t Pomroy better

8th still busied in getting timber & framing it

9th 10th 11th 12th 13th Continued at y^e Carrying place were employ'd about y^e building as before

thursday 14th Gen^l Johnson Came to us with about 40 Indians. Col: Williams Companys that were behind, Col: Titcomb & Col: Guttriges Regiments, and some of the Rhode Islanders

16th 15th Nothing remarkable

17th Sunday this day we were Join'd by the remainder of the R. Islanders and the New Yorkers, with a large number of Waggons loaded with Stores

18th this day one Sam^l Stebbins of middleton was drowed in y^e river against y^e Camp—'twas Supposed he had a fit by some tho 'tis not Certain what was the occation of his drowning

19th this day we were imploy'd in Grinding axs Court martials &c Nothing very remarkable

20th began to Intrench about y^e Fort by Cap^t Ayres direction

21th Continued the Intrenchment. a scout arrived from Crownpoint

22^d Continued y^e work at y^e trench &c

23^d Saturday the women who have followed us every time the army came together were sent away from the army by Order of Council

24th Sunday I went to Clear the road towards Lake S^t Sacramento with about 400 men—m^r Williams preach'd at y^e camp

25th work'd again at y^e road &c

26th the Gen^l with Col: Ruggles, Col: Williams's & Col: Gutteridges Reg^{mts} and some of the Yorkers and Rhode Islanders set out for Lake S^t Sacramento we had about 150 waggons with us and 5 field peices went about 4 miles and Lodged

27th Continued our march went about 6 miles this day

28 Set out again for the Lake where we arrived about 4 O'Clock—from the foot at Lydias to the Lake a fine road

29th spent the day in Clearing y^e Ground about y^e end of the Lake &

30th this day we were join'd by about 160 Indians—fir'd y^e Cannon at y^r Coming were Employ'd as Yesterday

31st Attended publick worship &c

Sep^t 1st this morning about 50 men deserted because they were refused their back Allowance of Rum &c L^t Nieson of Col: Ruggles's Regiment went after 'em about 4 or five miles and brought 'em all back to the Camp

2^d had news by the Indians that the French had not secured the Carrying place at y^e N. end the Lake

3^d Wednesday Gen^l Lyman Came up to us with his own & Col: Titcomb's Regiment

4th 5th 6th nothing remarkable, stores were Continually Coming in Waggons &c

7th Sunday, Last night we had a Gen^l Alarm in y^e Camp occasion by the Cent^s hearing something

[After this the journal contains a number of blank leaves followed by the following : —]

Province to my Company,		D ^r
July 22 ^d	To 24 days work in the battoes	24
23	To 24 more ditto	24
24	To 24 ditto	24
27	To 7 days work @ y ^e roads	7
28	To 5 d ^o	5
29	To 24 days work in batoos	24
30	To 5 days work at y ^e roads	5
31	To 14 ditto	14
Aug st 1 st	to 30 days work in Batooes	30
2 ^d	to 10 days work in Batoos	10
3 ^d	to 24 days work in Batoos	24
	To 8 days works at y ^e roads	10
5 th	To 3 days work at getting bark	3
7 th	To 15 days work at getting bark	15
8 th	To 8 days work at getting timber	8
9 th	To 3 days work at fraiming	3
10 th	To 16 days work at y ^e timber	16
11 th	To 12 days work at gitting timber	12
14 th	To 6 days work at y ^e road	6
15 th	to three days d ^o	3
17 th	to 4 days work about y ^e Hospital	4
18 th	to 6 days works at the Hospital	6
24 th	10 days work at y ^e road	10
25 th	to 12 ditto	12
28 th	to 10 ditto	10
29 th	& 30 10 ditto	10

[Then follows on the last page the following memoranda :—]

Augst 17th 1755

Memorandum d^d Serj^t Bardwell 4 dollars to purchase Stores at Albany

The weight of the beef & tallow we had of Gen^l Lyman 529^l.

Capt. Hawley's Last Letter. Capt. Hawley was shot through the left breast; the ball was cut out near the shoulder-blade, having pierced the left lobe of the lungs. For nearly three weeks he lingered, hovering between life and death; the surgeon at one time expressed some slight hope of his recovery. His last moments before the fatal march were occupied in writing to his brother, and this letter full of brotherly affection is given below. Major Hawley was too ill to undertake a journey to the camp when he learned the sorrowful tidings. That sad duty devolved upon his brother-in-law, Major Samuel Clarke, who cheered and soothed the last few days of the wounded and dying man.

“Lake St. Sacrament (now called Lake George)
8th Sept. 1755.

“I rec'd your letter dated at Springfield the 29th of August wherein you manifest a great concern for us and tell me that if you should hear from us that we were likely to proceed to effect, you are resolved, Providence permitting, to come to us. Sr. I suppose 'tis the fixed determination of the chief officers of the army, to proceed to Crown point as soon as we are joined by the recruits that we hear are raised, 'tis apprehended the consequences of our returning without going thro' with what was projected when we set out would be so fatal that I believe we shall be ordered to proceed altho' our Numbers should not be equal to the Numbers that we are informed are at Crown point—but with respect to your Coming I have but little to say. I should be very glad to have your company, but I am sensible that you are needed at home on many accounts. Shall leave the matter to your prudence. Should be very glad Lt. Lyman would come and join us and Capt. Dwight, but I fear they will on some account or other excuse themselves. While I am writing one of our Scouts who has just come in informs that the day before yesterday they discovered a little west of the drowned land the tracks of a very large body of French and Indians, who were just gone — they say they made as great signs as our army and they suppose intend to attack us or the fort at Lydias's but perhaps their design may be only to attack some of our wagons as they come up with stores. We have sent again to make further discovery and I hope they may be disappointed in their design.

“Sr. we have now another messenger arrived who informs that he was on the road to Lydias's from this place in company with 8 wagons, which were going from hence for Loads (it seems they went from us without leave) he says the wagons before him were fired upon by y^e Enemy — he heard a great outcry and fled, and is now got to us. I am this minute a going out in Company with five hundred men to see if we can Intercept 'em in their retreat, or find their canoes in the drowned Land, and therefore must conclude this letter.

“from y^r loving and only Brother

ELISHA HAWLEY.”

CHAPTER XX.

FOURTH FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

Col. Pomeroy's
Journal.

THE journal of the Crown Point expedition by Col. Seth Pomeroy, which is much more full than that of Capt. Hawley, follows :—

Northampton, July 1, 1755.

Tuesday, set out from home to the Expedition to Crown Point. Arrived at Westfield, lodged at Clapp's Tuesday and Wednesday night.

Thursday, set off for Stockbridge, arrived there at dusk, next day afternoon set out for Cantuhook lodged there.

Saturday morning set off for Albany, arrived there about noon or twelve o'clock.

Sabbath morning, July 6th, 1755. Went to Mr. Ogelbee's church, both fore and afternoon, preached an excellent sermon, text from Psalms to prove a Divine Providence. To-day it rained forenoon.

Monday, 7th. Showery at night. Gen. Johnson came to Albany. I supped with him that night at Landlord Luttridge's. Stayed with him till about 11 of the clock, was well pleased with his company.

Tuesday, the 8th. The field officers waited upon General Johnson.

Wednesday, 9th. The army that encamped two miles below Albany the General went down to view, being mustered in regimental order and was pleased with their appearance.

Thursday, 10th. Governor Shirley came to town with several officers and two companies of soldiers for his army. At his arrival the cannon in the fort was discharged, the field officers that were in town waited upon the Governor and drank a glass of wine with him.

Friday, 11th. Governor Shirley invited General Johnson and the field officers of the Crown Point expedition to dine with him (*viz.* the colonels). We accordingly waited upon him and were well entertained.

Saturday, the 12th. I dined with Maj. General Lyman at Col. Rensalers; this was a showery day and it hath been showery every day this week.

Sabbath day, 13th. I attended public worship at Mr. Oglebee's Church, both fore and afternoon. In the forenoon Governor Shirley and Gen. Johnson were there, the sermon was well adapted to the occasion.

Monday, 14th. A very hot day, the army mustered down at the camp the Generals to view them, in the afternoon up at the flats where part of the army lay they were mustered for the General to view.

Tuesday, 15th. Dry and hot no news.

Wednesday, 16th. The hottest of weather.

Thursday, 17th. Dined with General Johnson, at about 7 of the clock at night left Albany to go forward to Crown Point. Arrived at Col. Seyton's lodged there that night at the flats so called.

Friday, 18th. Staid at Col. Seyton's that day, well entertained but the hottest of weather.

Saturday, 19th. Major General Lyman went off from Col. Seyton's at the Flats with his regiment with about 20 of the Dutch waggons took part of the stores in the afternoon, about 4 of the clock it rained.

Sabbath day, 20th. Somewhat cloudy in the forenoon — no rain — Mr. Page preached both forenoon and after.

Monday, 21. A fair morning still staid at the Flats.

Tuesday, 22. Rain in the forenoon, afternoon Col. Ruggles and our Battoes went off with part of the stores.

Wednesday, 23. All the forenoon I loaded waggons with our stores. Set out myself about 12 of the clock from Col. Seyton's at the flats, arrived at the upper end of the Half Moon lodged in the tent.

Thursday, the 24. I set out with a guard of 100 men to guard the wagons up to Stillwater. Arrived there at 12 of the clock, dined with Maj. Gen. Lyman.

Friday, 25th. This day a steady rain so we kept pretty close in our tents.

Saturday, 26th. A fair day, we are still at Stillwater and employed getting up stores.

Sabbath day, 27. A fair day, attended public worship both fore and after noon. Mr. Williams preached. Last Friday died an Indian soldier who enlisted from Natick, is the first one I have heard of who has died since we arrived at Albany.

Monday, 28. This is a fair day. A Court Martial was held on 5 deserters in General Lyman's regiment, there not being time to finish it adjourned over to Wednesday at Saratoga.

Tuesday, 29. This day Gen. Lyman gave orders for all our army (now at Stillwater) to remove up to Saratoga all our stores were put into the battoes and we all Marched off between 11 and 12 of the clock with our 2 field brass pieces a number of men to guard on each side of the river. We all came up, viz : Gen. Lyman's Col. Ruggles regiment and 4 of Col. William's companies. Arrived at Saratoga about 5 in the afternoon.

Wednesday, 30. A very rainy night last night and this morning, we are now encamped at Saratoga. Our regiments today are being reviewed, and clearing our camps and up the road towards the carrying place, the afternoon fair weather.

Thursday, 31. A fair day. 300 men sent up towards the carrying place to mend the roads, and about 50 down the road towards Stillwater to complete the bridges that were defective that way which are all finished. A number to the fort at Saratoga to search for cannon balls, and they dug up about 1100 shot and brought them to our camp which was above a mile above the old fort. Saratoga is a rich fertile soil, full of feed, though well stocked with cattle and horses, yet loaded with grass more than the cattle can eat.

Friday, Aug. 1, 1755. Set out this day from Saratoga with all our stores loaded in the Battoes, came to the first fall about 11 of the clock and at about 5 in the afternoon got all our battoes up with the stores which were about 200 and a very great fatigue we had ; then we went on to the next fall, there we encamped at the bottom of the large fall.

Saturday, 2. This morning a detachment of 200 men went forward to mend the roads and about 60 back to mend some that were not finished; before the remainder of the army landed the battoes and took them up the falls, all the battoes got up that carrying place which is 4 or 5 miles above Saratoga.

Sabbath 3rd, 1755. Our army set out from that landing above these falls at half an hour after 10 of the clock and came to Fort Nicholson about 6 at night, with our battoes and the stores but the two field pieces that we brought all that way with us were not able to arrive there that day the way not being all repaired.

Monday, 4th, at Fort Nicholson. A very rainy night last night and this morning till noon. Our stores received considerable damage in landing so late last night, but took good care of them in the morning; this is a pleasant well situated place here at the carrying or Fort Nicholson.

Tuesday, 5th. A fair pleasant day. A scout of 30 men sent to Wood Creek and another scout of 10 men sent to Lake St. Sacrament.

Wednesday, 6th. A fair day. The scout sent out yesterday returned today bring no news of the enemy; there is a considerable number of our army now that are sick. I myself have been ill these two days but not confined. I hope it will wear off. We have made a thorough search in our bread cask, and find much damage in the bread, the cask being poorly made. A soldier one Bickenstaff was whipt for profane swearing, a sodomitical attempt 100 lashes and drummed out of the army with a rope about his neck, and ordered to be sent to a convenient place there to be kept and placed till the Crown Point expedition was over.

Thursday, Aug. 7th. A fair day, orders given to build two store houses—hands sent to cut and hew timber, peel bark and a considerable number of sticks of hewn timber was drawn by men with a rope. A scout of men came in today who had discovered the tracks of about 20 Indians about a mile to the East, travelling to the South.

Friday, 8th. We are now a great number of hands bringing timber, peeling bark and framing store houses. A scout of about 30 men sent to the drowned lands to see what discovery can be made that way.

Saturday, 9th. A fair day. Many hands at labor, cutting timber and drawing it for our fort. This day I made me a bedstead and lodged in it at night; wrote a letter home in the evening which was my 5th.

Sabbath day, August 10, 1755. A fair day. Mr. Williams preached both fore and afternoon and a number of hands at work at the fort. Two men were sent this morning to Albany. A scout this day who came in who went last Friday for the drowned lands, but did not [reach] their designed place. Made but little discovery of the enemy.

Monday, 11. A fair day. Several scouts came in, made no discovery, a small number of men went down the river fishing and hunting, and brought in one deer, and about 30 large fish, some as big as a cod and much the same sort of flesh both in looks and taste.

Tuesday, 12. A fair day. About 300 men sent towards Fort Ann to repair the roads. A considerable number of our army not well, the common illness that attends armies, but none died. Many have recovered that have been sick.

Wednesday, 13 Aug. A fair hot day and we finished the timber work of our store house which is in the form of an L, 70 feet one way and 40 the other, 150 feet wide at the north end of it. A guard house 30 feet in length 15 in breadth with a mount upon the north end of it, the roofs of the whole sheds inwards; upon the outside about 12 feet high, in two stories are loop holes to fire out of. A mount at the west corner of the river bank enclosed from the west end of the store house to the mount with stockades, from the northwardly end straight to the bank of the river with the same, and on the river bank to the aforesaid mount at the west end, so enclosed about half an acre of land.

Thursday, 14. A fair day. This day General Johnson came to the carrying place at the entrance to our camp. We fired our two field pieces, and aided him into the fort by an interval of the army.

Friday, 15. The forenoon fair, the afternoon showery. A council sat in the forenoon and agreed to send for 400 men to New York, Connecticut 500 and Massachusetts 500; all of which we have ordered to raise the above said number of men in case they are needed.

Saturday, 16. A cloudy day. A post was this day sent

to the several governments with orders to send men to our relief. I sent letters by them to my sons at New Haven and to my wife at home.

Sabbath day, 17th, 1755. A fair day. So much business this forenoon that no sermon. Met at 11 o'clock, sang and publicly prayed. Orders given for a meeting 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Just after we met and began prayers news came that the waggons were attacked by 300 Indians. I was immediately ordered with about 400 men to march directly in the utmost haste to their relief, but after going about 4 miles down the road got to the rear of all the waggons and meeting Col. Cockraft he informed me it was a false alarm, so we had to march back doing no service.

Monday, 18th, 1755. A fair day. A scout went off for Fort Massachusetts. I sent a letter by one Chapin to my wife. A man in swimming its thought was taken with the cramp or a fit, sunk down though a great number of people were near, yet no one went in soon enough to get him out alive; one depended on another and some were afraid to go in so that the poor man perished. The fourth man we have lost and the first by accident.

Tuesday, 19. A fair day. A council sat this day at Head Quarters, and concluded that 1900 of our army as soon as we should have intelligence, should march forward to clear the road to the next water and build store houses and a fort, and also voted that all the women should be sent out of the camp the first opportunity of conveyance and not return to it again.

Wednesday, 20th. A fair day. Capt. Ayers with one of his wild schemes set to work 200 or 300 men to dig a trench round our store house with a design to secure the store house, but if I was to judge by the present appearance of things, an ill constructed piece of fortification.

Thursday, 21 Aug. A rainy morning and fair afterwards in the afternoon. 4 Indians came that General Johnson sent to Canada before he left home, the news if any comes afterwards. Capt. Parson the head of the scout that went 5 days ago came in this day, but could find no road to the Broadway, which was his business to look out, it being all mountainous so not to be cast with cannon or waggons.

Friday, 22. This a fair day. A council sat at 3 of the clock in the afternoon to consider some things of importance.

Saturday, 23. The Council that sat yesterday adjourned over to 9 of the clock this day, and voted to send to the several Governments for a reinforcement, having news from 4 Indians who came from Canada that they had made a party much superior to our own. This a fair hot day.

Sabbath day, 24th. Sent a letter by Major Foot to my son Seth at New Haven. Sent my 7th to my wife by a scout across to Fort Massachusetts, and one to Major Hawley and to Elisha Pomeroy. A thunder shower today. Mr. Williams fore and afternoon.

Monday, 25. A fair day; this day the express went off that was to have gone yesterday.

Tuesday, 26. Orders given to march with about 2000 men, and a number of waggons to carry cannon and stores. We set off about 4 of the clock in the afternoon, 6 or 8 cannon fired at our departure. We proceeded a little above the falls which were about four miles. There encamped with our army under hemlock and bush shelters.

Wednesday, 27th. A fair morning. We set out with our army $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 7 o'clock in the morning went on about 4 or 5 miles then stopped, eat pieces of ham broken bread and cheese, drank some fresh lemon punch and the best of wine with General Johnson and some of the field officers, we staid about an hour and then marched on slow for the road was not clear, but a large number of hands clearing before the army.

Thursday, 28. Our army encamped at a good brook about half way from the carrying place to the lake; a small party of Indians went off to hunt a little above last night; they killed and brought in 3 deer; they gave me a thigh of one on which I supped and breakfasted next morning with a good appetite. Set out about 8 of the clock with our army having early sent about 400 men to cut our way; about noon stopped and dined with General Johnson by a small brook under a tree; eat a good dinner of cold boiled and roast venison, drank good fresh lemon punch and wine, we came to the Lake about 4 of the clock.

Friday, 29th. A fair cold day, strong wind at north.

This day clearing the land about our camp, our waggons sent back for loading, some addition of Gen. Johnson's Indians.

Saturday, 30. A fair day, wind strong at north pretty cold, about noon there came in about 180 of Gen. Johnson's Indians, we made an intervail with our army that was off duty—The Indians fired off their guns at the entrance to our camp, and with our cannon we fired two rounds. We have now about 280 Indians with us, they seem to be engaged in our interest but time only will prove their sincerity, and show whether they will fight for us or not.

Sabbath day, Aug. 31, 1755. A fair day. In the forenoon Mr. Williams preached a sermon to Indians by Interpreters. In the afternoon one to the English in the camp, at 5 of the clock, a Mr. Newell, a young gentleman in the Rhode Island Government a chaplain of Capt. Babcock's preached a very good sermon from Christ's Sermon on the Mount, "Love your Enemies." At night came the waggons loaded with stores and artillery. This day at the carrying place 4 or 5 men being out together 2 or 3 miles from the fort, 2 of the men together, one sitting on a log the others standing by a tree, the Indians fired at those 2 men and killed one on the spot. An Indian fellow belonging to Connecticut and the other an English man—one Dibble was wounded and taken; the other 2 or 3 men made their escape they being a little distance.

Monday, Sept. 1, 1755. A fair day. Early in the morning a great uneasiness tending to mutiny in our army. In Capt. Jones company 30 or upwards marched off with their packs on their backs and guns clubbed. Others threatening to go, we mustered 30 odd men and sent after the runaways and they brought them back about 1 or 2 of the clock in the afternoon. At night the army seemed more composed. Today went, sent out a scout of 30 English and 4 or 5 Indians. The Indians Scout daily both on the Lake and on the land.

Tuesday, 2nd. The scout is returned that went yesterday, but made no discovery; a number of waggons came this day loaded with stores, &c. This is a fair pleasant day, pretty hot.

Wednesday, 3rd, 1755. A fair day. A number of wag-

gons came this day. Maj. Gen. Lyman with his regiment and Col. Titcomb with part of his came and about 10 Indians. The whole number of Indians now here is about 300. Today we have the sorrowful news of 4 men dying at the carrying Tuesday and Wednesday nights, who were the first men we have had die there with sickness, and they had been there at Fort Nicholson about a month, but many are now sick at the carrying place.

Thursday, 4. Last night a shower beginning about 12 of the clock held till the day, followed a fair day. Sent a letter to my wife this day which was the 8th and one to Brother Deacon Pomeroy and received one this day from Charles Phelps. I am field officer this day, the first turn I have had since I came to Fort George, went the grand rounds at 11 of the clock at night. Came back about 12.

Friday, 5th, 1755. This a cold day, something cloudy; sent out a scout of about 50 white and about 4 or 5 Indians. Old Hendrick was one of the Indians. I eat a dinner of venison and squash this day which seemed to taste like our own county food.

Saturday, 6th. The scout sent out yesterday came in today and discovered nothing. Today somewhat cloudy but no rain. An alarm about 12 of the clock last night throughout the whole army but it proved a false alarm; we have an account of 8 persons that have died down at the carrying place this week, which is double the number that have since we came to Albany. They were all strangers to me.

Sabbath day, 7. A fair day but small showers. About 200 waggons came this day loaded chiefly with battoes. I attended public worship this day. News at night of a large body of men travelling south up or near the Wood Creek.

Monday, Sept. 8. Upon the account of the large body of men that were tracked, the account came in last night—this morning sent out about 1200 men, near 200 of them our Indians went down the road towards the carrying place and had got about 3 miles, when they were ambushed and fired upon by the French and Indians. A number of our men who were in the van returned the fire and fought bravely, but many of our men in the rear fled, the others being overmatched were obliged to fight upon a retreat and a

very handsome retreat they made, by continuing their fire and then retreating a little, and then rise and give them a brisk fire and so continued till they came within about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from our camp—then was the last fire our men gave our enemies, which killed great numbers of them; they were seen to drop as pigeons that put the enemy to a little stop—they very soon drove on with undaunted courage down to our camp, the regulars came rank and file about 6 abreast so reached near 20 rods length in close order; the Canadians and Indians took the left wing helter skelter down along towards the camp; they had the advantage of the ground—passing over hollow and rising a knoll within gun shot, then took trees and logs and places to hide themselves—we made the best shift we could for batteries to get behind but had but few minutes to do it in; as soon as they all came within shot of the regulars rank and file they came towards that part of the camp, where we had drawn up 3 or 4 field pieces, the others towards the west part of the camp, there I placed myself and part of Col. Ruggles and of our regiment along together—the fire began between 11 and 12 of the clock and continued till near five in the afternoon—the most violent fire perhaps that ever was heard of in this country in any battle. Then we beat them off the ground—we took the French General wounded, and near 30 of his men, a considerable number dead on the ground, and by the account of the General and others we took—the greater part of his officers killed and his army broken to pieces—the number they lost we have no certain account but by what we found and what the prisoners tell us their loss is not less than 4 or 500 men.

Tuesday, Sept. 9. This a fair hot day. We are about the melancholy work of burying our dead that were killed here in the camp yesterday; their number is —— and we are making some sort of a fortification or battlement to stand behind to fight in case the enemy should attack us again which we daily expect.

Wednesday, 10th. A fair day and hot. I went out today with the command of about 400 men to bury the dead bodies of those slain in battle the 8th inst. We spent the day in a melancholy piece of business and put into the ground 136 bodies of men, we put up and brought in a great

quantity of the French stores, guns, blankets, hatchets, &c, of provisions 2 or 3 waggon loads; brought in at night the names of the dead. I have not time nor room to mention them but my brother Lt. Daniel Pomeroy was one of the brave, heroic number that fell in that memorable battle which will never be forgot. Sent an express to Col. W^{ms} Hatfield by Capt. Fellows who went away from the camp about 12 o'clock this day.

Thursday, 11th, 1755. A number more sent out to pick up what they could find left on the battle and found the bodies of I think about 4 of our men, a number of the enemy that were hid and buried and a great quantity of stores the enemy left in their flight.

Friday, 12th. Fine hot weather but a melancholy place, so many of our near friends taken away and their places left vacant. We are more and more convinced that our enemies have met with a great slaughter by picking up their things that in their haste they ran off and left. Three companies of Provincial forces being new recruits came in. An express was sent today by Capt. Wyman.

Saturday, 13th. Still fine warm weather; upon the examination of the General and other prisoners we find out their designs who came with the full expectation to cut us all off, but to their great surprise their well laid schemes were turned upon their own heads.

Sabbath day, 14th, Sept. 1755. Mr. Williams preached both fore and afternoon and a melancholy time it was to find so many of our brave men missing, but when considered how we were delivered we might well sing of mercy and of judgment. A number of waggons came this day also 22 cattle sent by the provinces.

Monday. Hot and showery; a part of the waggons went down for stores today, and the French prisoners that could be conveyed on waggons carried off for Albany.

Tuesday, 16th. Some waggons did not start till this morning, then they went off, and the French General in a horse litter. Cold last night but today fair and pleasant. We have got our whole camp fortified with some battlements to stand behind to fight with small arms—our cannon all mounted and placed ready for firing.

Wednesday, 17th, 1755. Today it was ordered that Lt.-

Col. Gilbert act as Col. in the late Col. Ephraim Williams regiment, and Capt. Gadfire act as Major in the same regiment. Today a very cold rain—the soldiers are very much pinched, having lost their clothes in the late battle.

Thursday, 18th, Sept. A fair day. Sent Seargent Bardwell with 3 other men, with letters to Col. Williams, Hatfield, a number of waggons came this day to bring stores of which we were most out.

Friday, 19. A fair day. A considerable number of soldiers in our regiment set out for home, being in an ill state of health and some wounded, so unfit for service here. The waggons that went yesterday came back today.

Saturday, Sept. 20. Fair and pleasant. Sam'l Clarke from Northampton with letters from my friends at home, one from my wife, which I received with joy though it found me in an ill state of health by reason of a severe cold which is now common in the camp.

Sabbath day, 21. Cloudy and some rain, we had preaching in the forenoon, in the afternoon none by reason of the rain; the main body of the Indians went off a few days after the battle of the 8th inst. with a quantity of plunder they had picked up after the fight, being much more forward for that than to fight. They carried off no doubt many of our goods, and things left by our people in the battle and not suffered themselves to be searched before they went off. Today 4 went away which I think is the last and if they had never come among us it had been much better for us I think if they had never joined us.

Monday, 22nd. Moderate weather for the season, but showery. I have been and still am in an ill state by reason of a great cold but not confined and able to walk about. Recruits and stores are daily joining us.

Tuesday, 23, 1755. Very ill with a bad cold. Last night and today cloudy and misty, not much rain. A great number of waggons and 2 or 3 companies came in today. We had news at night by a scout we sent out of an army of men supposed to be designed for this camp or Fort Edward, at the great carrying place.

Wednesday, 24. A fair day. Col. Ruggles with his regiment moved down to Fort Edward to take the command there. Tonight came in Capt. Rogers with 2 men who

went with him 10 days ago to view Crown Point; they were within fair sight of Crown Point for 2 days and saw the eminence upon the west side where the French were at work making trenches round where we intended to build some works. At 7 of the clock at night Capt. Hawley died of the wound he received in the memorable battle Sept. 8. Eleazar Harmon and Elijah King went away this day. Sent a letter to my wife and one to Seth.

Thursday, 25th Sept. This morning I got a coffin made for Capt. Hawley and at 11 of the clock in the forenoon attended his funeral, appointed four bearers, viz: Capt. House, Capt. Burt, Capt. Doolittle and Capt. Burk. Mr. Williams made a prayer, the funeral was attended with decency and order. Waggons stores new recruits &c flocking in upon us. Showery day.

Friday, 26th. Received a letter from Col. Israel Williams, dated Sept. Major Samuel Clark went off today a little after noon. Sent letters to Col. Williams and one to Major Hawley. Some showers today. A number of waggons came in.

Saturday, 27. Last night a very cold night and a white frost this morning but a pleasant day. A council of war sat today to consider of things of importance and not being able to finish adjourned to some future time, the day not mentioned. Capt. Rogers with 2 others went off this evening to Ticonderoga.

Sabbath day, 28. A cold night last night. Many people were poorly by reason of colds which are very much brought upon them by reason of the cold and their sufferings from want of clothing, having lost their blankets and some of their clothes in the battle of the 8th Inst. Mr. Williams preached today forenoon and afternoon. In the afternoon exercise Elisha Pomeroy came to our camp.

Monday, 29th. A scout of 20 men being out today found an Indian about 4 miles off and his thigh broken and brought him in at night, he was examined; he was one of the Penobscot Tribe, the 2nd man in that tribe who was at the treaty last summer at the Eastward country. The fellow had his thigh broken in the battle of the 8th Sept. and had lived ever since in the woods, though it is pretty certain he had some company within that time which was 21

days and we understood by him that there were a number to come the next day to carry him off.

Tuesday, 30, 1755. A windy cloudy day, some showers. Capt. Rogers with 4 men who went up the lake last Saturday night in order to view Ticonderoga returned. They took a good view of that place and found in their judgments to be as many if not more encamped there than we have in this place and they were building a fort. They saw a battoe with ten men in it put off and come up the Lake; they hastened back and placed themselves in a narrow place on a point of land to wait their return; the battoe then went up to an island, the men landed and stayed a little while and then came back and coming by Capt. Rogers and his 4 men within gun shot they fired upon the battoe with 9 Indians and one Frenchman in it, and killed 2 at the first shot and so they continued firing till they had shot four or five times apiece, and killed or so disabled six of them, that they were not able to paddle the battoe and only four could work—they put in their canoe and jumped into it pursued them till they had almost caught up to them, and came so near the French army that they sent out a number of their battoes after them, so our people were obliged to turn and make the best of their way off, but they all arrived safe without any harm from the enemy, and a bold adventure it was.

Wednesday, Oct. 1. This a fair day; began today to build a fort for cannon and one quarter of our army was appointed to work at it. A man went out a little beyond the fort, lit on a Frenchman deserted from the army at Ticonderoga and gave an account of 400 men at that place which seems to contradict Capt. Rogers account, but Capt. Rogers was there 2 or 3 days after, who gave an account of an army not less than our army which must have come there after the Frenchman had left that place, so that it is likely they went and brought cannon for Rogers saw a battery there with cannon planted; the deserter said there was none when he came away so it is proveable they both spoke true.

Thursday, Oct. 2, 1755. A fair pleasant warm day. Between 5 and 600 men at work at the fort. Ensign Joseph Sheldon with 8 of Capt. Hitchcock's company came today

that had been down at the Flats all the time. About 14 sick when they left.

Friday, 3. A warm pleasant day. Two men buried today who belonged to Col. Titcomb's regiment. There are many now in camp who are sick. Gen. Johnson is much amiss with a violent pain in his head.

Saturday, 4th. A pleasant morning but the sky soon covered with clouds and cold N. wind, some rain. Mr. Williams went down to Fort Head in the afternoon. Col. Gilbert went with him and so fled to the horns of the altar, and left his flag here standing, which he set so much by and one night some person took it away, and set it up where it ought to be at Col. Williams' tent. Gilbert in the morning brought it back and said he had rather they had taken his head off.

Sabbath day, 5th Oct. This a cloudy day. Mr. Emerson, chaplain for the New Hampshire regiment preached and prayed with us that night and Monday morning to very good acceptance. Sergeant Bardwell came today and brought some good tidings from the County of Hampshire.

Monday, 6th. A fair weather day. Our fort goes on well. Col. Blanchard, Col. Willard, Mr. Emerson and the whole of that regiment (except Capt. Symes and Capt. Rogers who are to stay here at the fort all the winter with each of them a company of volunteers that they think they can raise for that purpose) are gone home.

Tuesday, 7th. A fair day. Major Hore came tonight from Boston his flag much lowered from what it was when he went away, wholly losing his journey and his raised expectations of so many commissions for field officers in Col. Ruggles regiment being all disappointed. The famous insulting Col. Gilbard who so much lotted upon a commission over the late Col. Williams regiment, though to the dissatisfaction of the whole regiment, one night some person moved the flag from before his door, and set it up at the late Col. Williams tent where it ought to stand. Gilbard in the morning was so enraged at it that he sent a file of men to fetch it and set it up before his own door threatened many, but could get no proof, declared that he had rather they had taken off his head, and now he is obliged to go off and leave house and flag; the house he had built,

the flag that his honor so much depended upon to his shame.

Wednesday, 8th October. An unhappy accident occurred today : a gun fired off shot a man in the thigh so that it is thought he would die. About 4 of the clock in the afternoon a very hard thunder storm arose. Some of our people on the lakes with battoes came near being cast away but did recover. A tree was struck with lightning which stood within a rod or two of three tents, but nobody was hurt. One tree blew down upon one shelter and liked to have killed 2 or 3 men but all escaped with their lives, but received some wounds but none mortal. Wonderful interpositions of Divine Providence are daily passing before my eyes in the deliverance from sudden death by accident. Surely we carry our lives in our hands.

Thursday, 9th, 1755. A fair day. A number of waggons and some of the Connecticut troops, Col. Chaucer and Col. Dyer came today. At four of the clock in the afternoon a Council of War sat to consider of sundry articles ; viz, whether we should go to take possession of Ticonderoga, or march for Crown Point immediately answered in the negative, the reasons : 1. We wanted both provisions and men. 2. Whether we should take off any of the men from building the fort to work at the great boat—answered no—there not being tools enough for both purposes, so determined the work at the fort must not be stopped. I hear today that Maj. Foot who went from hence about a fortnight ago, came to Albany, was taken sick, but having a great desire to get home, an opportunity presented to go on board a vessel down the river, getting out of a hot bed—got a relapse and was carried back to the house from whence he came, and died last Sabbath day. A good honest gentleman, his death is much lamented. Instances of the frailty of human nature are constantly passing before my eyes.

Friday, 10th. Today moved into the house that the famous Col. Gilbard built when he reigned. Find it very convenient, having got rid of Col. Gilbard's tyranny, invited all the commission officers in my regiment in the evening to drink with me and it appeared to be a time of universal satisfaction with the officers but I am still in an ill state of health by reason of a cold.

Saturday, 11, 1755. A very cold day, snow blasts, etc., the poor soldiers suffered very much with the cold for want of blankets and clothes that they lost in the battle. Capt. Rogers came in who went 4 days ago to view Ticonderoga, found them building about two miles this side of the carrying place, the number appeared to be about a thousand men—there is a considerable number of our men sick. Voted in the council today that all persons judged by the Doctor not fit for service now, nor are like to be this fall, by a certificate from the Doctor are to be dismissed.

Sabbath day, 12th. A rainy day. Voted in Council today that the Fort should be carried forward as fast as possible. Voted to send to the several governments the true state of our army as to store, provisions, men and the difficulty of getting up stores at this time and wait their orders.

Monday, 13th. A scout went out today of about 50 men, about three miles off at sunset. Capt. Simes head of a scout set out his guards. One of the sentry about 20 rods off not being well on his guard, a small party of Indians fired upon him and killed him dead on the spot, and not the first man that died like a fool.

Tuesday, the 14th Oct. Last night a very rainy night and bad for the guards and new comers, which I hear are six companies. Our men crowd in faster than —— — ? Agreed in council today to march back those that were in the road above Albany leaving six hundred at Fort Edward there to stay till further orders, only such as were wanted for guards for the provisions, etc., and they to be of the Massachusetts and Rhode Island troops.

Wednesday, Oct. 15. Raw, cold misty, cloudy and snow upon the high hills. I still remain poorly yesterday and to-day kept my house except yesterday I just went a little while to Council this day. Capt. Rogers went last night with a small scout to see if by any means he could find some of the enemy. I hear that yesterday five Frenchmen were taken near Fort Edward by our guard who were with the waggons. I have not yet heard a particular account of the circumstances nor their account, but it is supposed they were deserters. My cold seems to be wearing off, but fever follows.

Thursday, 16. A fair pleasaut day ; took a sweat last night and the night before, but my fever prevails. Keep my house and do not go out on any business. Capt. Buckingham came up from Milford with some of his men to guard the stores yesterday and returned back to Albany today. Capt. Buckingham brought me up a bag of potatoes and cabbages that cousin Elisha Pomeroy being then at Albany got and sent up which came in good time though I have very little appetite.

Friday, 17th. Rainy night and part of the day, but it cleared off pleasant. I still remain weak and low. As to news I am obliged to keep house so can give but little account.

Saturday, 18. I still remain very ill. Cannot do much business ; one third of my regiment work at the Fort every day.

Sabbath day, 19th. I moved to the General for liberty to go home my sickness prevailed upon me so fast. I obtained it. At the same time Maj. Gen. Lyman's horse that had got away from him and was lost, came to my house and stood there. I ordered him to be caught and taken to the General's. I wrote to him desiring liberty to ride him down : this was quite providential for without that horse I don't know how I could have come, and if I had stayed one day longer I suppose I should not have come. The General gave liberty but said I must go the next day for he could not keep his horse.

Monday, 20. This a fair day, set out this morning. Titus Pomeroy with me but I was very sick : arrived at Fort Edward at night lodged there and was very sick all night.

Tuesday, 21st. A fair day set out on my way home, arrived at Saratoga at night and very sick all night.

Wednesday, 22. Not able to ride, got a Dutch bin to lay in with some straw in it, carried it into a battoe and the soldiers rowed me down to Stillwater and then I got a Dutchman acquainted with the falls to steer down and got to the Half Moon, half an hour after 7 o'clock and was very sick all night. Drank some milk and water.

An account of the charges of my soldiers at the several taverns they called at upon the road down to Boston, viz :

Saltmarshes 28 men charged	7.3.8
At Balden's 34 men each a meal of victuals	4.5
At Malbury, Daniel Ward's, 35 men supper and breakfast	10.3.9
I paid eight shillings of the above sum.	
At Staines 33 men suppers	4.2.6
To 35 Breakfasts	4.7.6
To lodging and liquor	2.5.4
To 1 horse hay and oats	4.2
	<hr/>
So copied	32.8.9

Thursday, Oct. 23. This morning I drank some tea boiled in a teakettle without a teapot and then my soldiers led me down to the water, got into the battoe—covered myself well up in my bin or Dutch straw bunk as they call it; they brought me down to the Flats to Col. Schuyler's between 10 and 11 of the clock and then very sick, and there I lay very bad for about ten days, and part of the time but very little hopes of my life, but after that I seemed to mend some. After a few days grew better very fast and recovered so much strength that on Monday the 17th November — — days after I came there I set out for home — came to the city dined at Mr. Sanders—in the afternoon came over the river, and travelled about five miles and lodged at one Jacob Launson's. About 4 of the clock in the morning a very still night, bright moon shone it being near full there was a hard shock of earthquake; the next day.

Tuesday, the 18th,¹ we traveled to Kinderhook, lodged at one Burent Van Buren, had 5 in company with myself; my wife, my son Seth, Jonathan Kingsley and Ebenezzer Strong; we set [out] next morning which was Wednesday, 19th. Arrived about 4 of the clock at Aaron Sheldon's at Sheffield, lodged there that night.

Thursday, 20th. Set out for Glasco. Arrived there about 5 of the clock, lodged at Henstone's.

Friday, 21. Every day fair and good weather since we

¹ Some mistake in the original about date.

set out, but this morning cloudy, we set out between 7 and 8 of the clock for fear of rain. Came to Clapp's at Westfield about 10 of the clock, there eat breakfast and about 11 of the clock set out for Northampton. Came to my own house about 2 of the clock afternoon. All good weather since we set out which was a great favor, especially for me when just recovered from sore sickness.

I left Albany June 17, 1755, and left at my lodgings, in Jacob Clement's Indian interpreter a small trunk. I think about 4 or 5 fine shirts and necks some caps 2 or 3 white handkerchiefs a little bag of gold in the trunk, the number of pieces or of pounds I can't tell for I did not count them; when I came away I lost my best clothes, coat, Jacket, and britches, my best wig, best hat, books, and saddle bags. I dont think of anything else there. But at Col. Taylor's at the flats I left 2 fine shirts, 2 necks and I think 2 caps. Things lost at Clements are in a closet locked up; the key I brought with me it is now in a little trunk locked in my port mantle.

June 15. Maj. Gen. Lyman, Dr.

To making a gun, £4.0.0. To mending three locks, 4s. 8d.

An account of the goods and chattels taken after the battle Sept. 8, 1755, in the late Col. William's regiment.

Lake George, Sept. 12, 1755.

An account of what plunder, guns blankets, coats &c. Col. Williams Company Capt. Buck hath got, viz:	}	six blankets from the enemy, 3 coats, 3 jackets.
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Col. Pomeroy's company, viz:

I myself have got one gun one pistol, one hatchet, one bayonet, one in our company belonging to our regiment No. 94 3 French guns, a blanket belonging to the Province in the hands of Joseph Owen, a belt of wampum in the hands of Ensign Bixby also an English gun marked I D.	}	one gun suppose to belong to our army. 2 Gun locks 5 Hatchets 2 broken English guns a coat English and Knapsack.
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Major Ashley's company now Lt. Callender commander :
one French gun, a pair plush breeches, one pair straked

ditto—linen—one pair trowsers, one French axe one gun marked T. E. 24 small bags.

Capt. House, 3 French guns, one English gun marked A. T. E. a pair of English shoes, 2 Knives 2 hatchets 1 Bear-skin.

Capt. Porter's Company : one gun marked S. S. one French gun, one blanket E. T. a large bullet pouch and strap, one shirt one jacket, ten bags one pair linen breeches, 1 Hatchet E. E.

Capt. Hitchcock hath got pair leather breeches, pair brown stockings, one hatchet E. O. one jacket a red one and blue, one pair breeches, linen.

Capt. Ingersoll's company : one province blanket mark S. H. 3 French blankets, 11 bags, 1 bottle.

Capt. Burt hath a French gun, a blue great coat a blanket marked B. R. 3 shirts, 2 bags, 1 cutlass.

Capt. Doolittle's company : 4 hatchets, 2 blankets, 1 Kettle, 1 French gun.

Capt. Hawley's Company : coat quaker and breeches, Indian stockings, a Kettle, an old hat and jacket, one seal-skin Knapsack, one sauce pan, an Indian root bag, a French coat, 3 pair Indian shoes, 4 bags, 2 guns, both French guns one gun barrel, one old blanket, 2 jackets, one hat.

CHAPTER XXI.

FOURTH FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

The "Bloody Morning Scout." NEWS of the advance of the enemy up Wood Creek was received on Sunday, Sept. 9th. Col. Pomeroy reports officially to Col. Israel Williams:—

"We suposing y^e they intend to Cut off our wagons, or atack y^e Fort at y^e Carrying Place but wanted better Information. Sent Monday morning about 1200 Men near 200 of them Indians commanded by Col^o. Williams Col^o. Whiting & Col^o. Cole of Rhode Island. Whiting In y^e Middle Cole brought up y^e rear old Hendrick King of y^e Six nations before with Col^o. Williams the Indians, Some afore, some in y^e middle & Some in y^e rear & so Intermix'd Through."

Dieskau pursued the old, well tried and too often successful game of ambuscade, into which the colonial commander marched with the stereotyped alacrity characteristic of the military movements of that campaign. The French general drew up his forces so as to form a "cul de sac," in which he placed the French regulars at the bottom, and the Canadians and Indians on opposite sides. Consequently after marching about three miles without throwing out scouts or flankers, "between 10 & 11 of y^e clock," the detachment of colonial troops suddenly found itself in the midst of a deadly fire.¹ Consternation seized both officers and men, and the rear ranks, panic-stricken, fled to the camp. But the main body, as Pomeroy testifies, made a "very handsome retreat," though the commander, Col. Ephraim Williams, was killed early in the fight. A hasty attempt was made to form a breastwork to protect the

¹ Dieskau ordered the Canadians and Indians not to fire till the regulars began the battle, but some of the latter, seeing Mohawks in the ranks of the advancing army, fired a gun to warn them. This brought on the action before Col. Williams' detachment had fairly entered the trap set for it, and undoubtedly saved it from annihilation.

camp, behind which the artillery was stationed. Dieskau, though sorely wounded, ordered an attack upon the camp, but the Indians refused to expose themselves to the artillery fire, and the French, repulsed in their attempt to carry the breastwork, retreated, leaving their commander-in-chief upon the field. Both sides fought with desperation, and the "bloody morning scout," a name applied to the movement of Col. Williams, soon developed into the sanguinary "battle of Lake George."

Exploit of Capts. Col. Blanchard, in command at Fort Ed-
 McGinnis and Ful- ward on the morning of the same day,
 some. learning that several baggage wagons had
 been plundered, sent out a detachment of two hundred men
 under Capts. McGinnis and Fulsome. Hearing the firing
 at the camp, they pressed forward and came upon a large
 party of Dieskau's troops, who had fallen back after their
 repulse and had halted for rest and refreshment. This
 party they immediately attacked and put to flight, cap-
 turing a large quantity of stores and baggage. Capt.
 McGinnis, who belonged to the New York quota, was mor-
 tally wounded.

Col. Pomeroy De- Col. Pomeroy writing home says of the
 scribes the Battle. charge upon the camp: "The regulars
 kept their order till they came within
 about 20 rods, then made a regular fire by platoons; the
 regulars and Indians behind trees within about 12 or 14
 rods, and perhaps the hailstones from heaven have not been
 much thicker than their bullets came." In his official re-
 port he thus characterizes the engagement: "Such a Bat-
 tle it is Judg'd by all y^t I have heard was never known In
 America." On this bloody field the Hampshire regiment,
 in which were many solders from Northampton, bore a
 conspicuous part. Its commander reports in the official
 document already quoted, that "they being foremost, for a
 considerable time [stood] the fire of there whole army till
 they ware lik'd to be surrounded which obliged 'em to re-
 treat." Again in a letter to his wife he alludes to the
 bravery of his own regiment:—

"Officers in our regiment they being foremost and their men had the
 hottest fire, so more of our regiment are dead you will find than any

other. Their names who died in battle are Col. Ephraim Willi ms,¹ Maj. Noah Ashley, Capt. Moses Porter, Capt. Jonathan Ingersoll, Capt. Elisha Hawley is yet alive but no hopes of his life, Lieut. Daniel Pomeroy, Ensign Reuben Wait, Ensign John Stratton." Further particulars concerning the killed are found in his official report :— "Col^o. Williams was shot Dead in a Moment & before he had Time to Fire his Gun Capt. Hawley Shot I fear Mortal before he had time to fire his gun : My Brother Lieut. Pomeroy, I have had an acct his being well till the army retreated & ask'd 'what? are they going to run;' 'Yes' it is said 'well' said he 'I will give 'em one more Shot before I run,' any farther I hant heard, since I have heard he is ded & scalpt." Of himself Pomeroy says nothing in his letters to his wife till ten days after the battle, and then only in answer to her affectionate solicitations and inquiries. On the 18th, he tells of his narrow escape from death :— "I am alive and in a tolerable state of health, my mind calm and steady and in the midst of danger and the bullets continually flying near me in the time of battle, and one prevented from killing me right-out by its cutting of a small limb when it got about a foot of my body so much lost its force that only bruised me and fell down at my feet."

The French Com-
mander Wounded
and Captured.

Baron Dieskau, five times wounded, was taken prisoner by Col. Pomeroy, and sent to the tent of Gen. Johnson, who was himself wounded, leaving the command to his subordinate, Gen. Lyman. Gen. Dieskau never recovered from his wounds, though he survived the battle seven years. When Col. Pomeroy went out upon the field after the retreat of the enemy, he came upon the disabled French commander, and he has been charged with firing upon the wounded man as he lay helpless on the ground. But the Baron refutes the charge in an account of the fight, wherein he states that his last wound was given him by a French Canadian deserter. He was robbed of his watch and other valuables before Pomeroy found him. Tradition asserts that it was through the exertions of Col. Pomeroy that the watch was recovered and returned to its owner, who afterwards presented it to the Northampton colonel. This cherished relic is said to be still in the possession of his descendants.

¹ Col. Ephraim Williams was the founder of Williams College. He had seen much service during the colonial wars, and was a man of influence and ability. He had a presentiment while in Albany when about to start on this expedition, that he should not survive the campaign, and made his will, leaving his property for the support and maintenance of a "Free School" in a town west of Fort Massachusetts, to be named Williamstown. This school has since developed into Williams College. His career is fully sketched in Prof. Perry's "Origins of Williamstown," to which the author of these volumes is indebted for much valuable information.

Col. Pomeroy
Succeeded.

The two vacancies in the roster of the Hampshire Regiment, caused by the deaths of Col. Williams and Major Ashley, were promptly filled by Gen. Johnson. He designated Lieut.-Col. Thomas Gilbert of Col. Ruggles' regiment, as acting Colonel and "Capt. Gadfire" (according to Pomeroy's Journal), as Major. These appointments were very unsatisfactory to the rank and file, as well as to the officers to whom the promotions by right belonged. To Lieut.-Col. Pomeroy, who richly deserved promotion for his gallant service during the campaign, this placing of an officer from another regiment over him must have been especially galling. Very slight allusion to this matter appears in the correspondence of Col. Pomeroy, but the mention made of it in his journal indicates his own feeling as well as the sentiment which prevailed in the regiment. An unsuccessful attempt was made to induce the Governor to confirm these appointments, and at least one officer from the army went to Boston on that errand. Though Pomeroy himself found plenty of other topics with which to enliven his home correspondence, his wife seems to have been well informed upon the subject. In a letter to her husband, dated September 22nd, she writes:—

"The introducing another officer from another regiment seems universally resented here." Again on the 26th, she thus alludes to the difficulty:—"Capt. Lyman is not like to get up so soon as was expected on account of some difficulties at the camp, particularly with regard to a chief colonel in your regiment. * * * It grieves me much that there should be any difficulty about the disposition of that commission, as it must be a damage to the cause in general by making (as we hear) great uneasiness among the soldiers of your regiment, but especially as it should so nearly concern you." Once more she writes:—"I presume you are willing "Right" should take place. You kindly and I suppose purposely omit writing of any of these difficulties."

"Right" did at last prevail, and about the 7th of October Lieut.-Col. Pomeroy received his commission as commander of the regiment. At the same time Dr. Thomas Williams, surgeon, and brother of Col. Ephraim, was commissioned as Lieut.-Colonel, and Capt. James House, as Major. About a month after the fight, on the 10th of October, Col. Pomeroy moved into the quarters occupied by "the famous Col. Gilbard when he reigned."

Reinforcements from Northampton. Recruiting to reinforce the army had been in progress during the campaign, and a company of sixty men from Northampton and Southampton was ready to start on the 14th. "At midnight" of the 13th, writes Mrs. Pomeroy to her husband, "a cry came at our door, with the joyful news of victory, though stained with blood," and the company "stopped upon hearing of your victory, and went immediately to follow the directions of the court in raising 2000 men, which I hope will be with you ere long." This was undoubtedly the company of Capt. William Lyman, already mentioned. It was in service from September 15th to December 10th, and was probably sent to the front at once, though the captain did not apparently join it till sometime afterwards.

Other Northampton Men Killed and Wounded. In this sanguinary engagement, in which from sixty to seventy soldiers from this town participated, five of them were killed and several wounded. Among the killed, in addition to those named by Col. Pomeroy, were Eliakim Wright and Ebenezer Kingsley, and among the wounded were Elnathan Phelps and Kenfield, all privates in Capt. Hawley's company. Daniel Pomeroy, lieutenant under Capt. Hawley, was a brother of Col. Seth. "He was shot through the temple, leaped up several feet and fell dead." It is related of him that when about to join the army he consulted with his brother. The conversation occurred in a field where Col. Seth was at work. The latter endeavored to dissuade his brother from enlisting, but Daniel had already made up his mind, and closed the conversation by saying, "I must go and must be killed."

Col. Pomeroy Prostrated by sickness. About the middle of October Col. Pomeroy was taken sick, and on the 19th obtained leave of absence. At Albany he was prostrated for about ten days, and at times there was very little hope of his recovery. His wife and son were summoned to his bedside, and he did not reach home till the 21st of November.

Operations Sus- No further movement was made towards
pended. the reduction of Crown Point. Fort Wil-
liam Henry was erected at the southern ex-
tremity of Lake George, which together with Fort Edward
was properly garrisoned. The rest of the army was with-
drawn.

No Outrages in Though the Indians did not appear in this
Hampshire County. town during the year, there was constant
anxiety throughout the county. The oper-
ations against Crown Point concentrated the attention of
both French and Indians, and very little was seen of the
latter elsewhere. In the diary of Rev. Jonathan Judd are
constant allusions to the state of affairs. Volunteers were
mustered in Southampton in May, and in July the pastor
read from the pulpit a letter from Major Hawley, "which
gave an account of Indians out; read it after exercise in
public."

French Neutrals. The expedition to Nova Scotia under John
Winslow, great grandson of Edward Wins-
low, started in May, speedily reduced the French forts, and
obtained entire possession of the country. Two battalions
were recruited in Massachusetts, but no soldiers were en-
listed from Hampshire County, though Col. Israel Wil-
liams received orders to draw three hundred fifty men from
his regiment to be held in readiness for any emergency.
Incidentally only is this movement of local interest. In
the deportation of the inhabitants of Acadia¹ which fol-
lowed, one family was assigned to Northampton, "Silvean

1 When Nova Scotia was ceded to the English, the French inhabitants refused to take the oath of allegiance to the British crown unless they should be exempted from bearing arms against their countrymen; hence they were termed "French Neutrals." Gen. Winslow found numbers of them in the ranks of the enemy, and their influence had been everywhere opposed to the English government. Consequently it was determined to remove and distribute the entire population of Acadia throughout the English colonies. They were to be supported by the several towns to which they were sent, thereby reducing a virtuous, self-supporting, industrious Catholic people to absolute pauperism. They were transplanted into communities in which their language was not understood, and which hated Frenchmen, loathed paupers, and bitterly detested Catholics. On this shameful transaction was founded Longfellow's immortal poem, "Evangeline," as well as Whittier's vigorous but shorter lyric, "Marguerite." Two thousand Acadians were brought to Massachusetts and distributed among the towns. In Hampshire County usually but one family was quartered on a town. They were cared for by the several municipalities as far as their circumstances required, and were everywhere treated with kindness.

Dupuis" as written by himself, but inscribed on the town books as "Sylvine Dupee," was the name. The family was composed of nine persons: the man, wife and seven children. He was employed by different people, who paid him in clothing and provisions. From the town he received 4s. per week and the use of a house. These payments seem to have continued from 1760 to 1765, after which date no further record concerning him has been found.¹

Gov. Shirley Plans
another Cam-
paign.

Having been appointed commander-in-chief on the death of Gen. Braddock, Gov. Shirley—before his failure in the Niagara expedition was known in England—planned, in connection with the colonial Governors, a campaign for the following year so comprehensive as to be beyond the capacity of the colonies to undertake. It involved the employment of upwards of twenty thousand men upon the same lines as that of the previous year. But Massachusetts refused to do more than enlist three thousand five hundred men for another movement against Crown Point, and Gen. Winslow was recalled from Nova Scotia to take the command.

War Declared and
New Commanders
Appointed.

In May, 1756, England formally declared war against France, and the Earl of Loudon was appointed commander-in-chief in America. Gov. Shirley was superceded in June by Col. Webb, who was to serve till either the newly appointed commander-in-chief or Gen. Abercrombie arrived. Some time elapsed before Loudon left England, and the command devolved on Gen. Abercrombie. He did nothing, however, but await the arrival of his superior officer, who did not reach headquarters at Albany till the last of July.

The French Cap-
ture Oswego.

In the meantime the Marquis de Montcalm had been invested with the command of the French forces. He led an army of five thousand men in August against Oswego, which was garrisoned by fourteen hundred soldiers under Col. Mercer. The death of the commander, together with the exhaustion

¹ Hadley appropriated £3 in 1768, to remove the French Neutrals to Canada, and the Northampton family may have gone there previous to that date.

of ammunition, brought a speedy surrender of the post. This disaster seemed to paralyze the movements of the English general, and nothing was accomplished during the year. Lord Loudon countermanded the expedition against Crown Point, and Gen. Winslow's army was disbanded, except such soldiers as were required to garrison the frontier forts, which were placed under the command of Lieut. John Hawks. The fourteen forts and stockades extending from Stockbridge to Greenfield were garrisoned by one hundred sixty-two men, many of whom were citizens of the valley towns.

Position of Affairs. The history of events in 1756 was but a repetition of that of the preceding years of anxiety, toil and hardship for the settlers of this section. In all the towns the enlistment or impressment of men for service in the various expeditions was vigorously enforced. The same arduous struggle for a bare subsistence continued, and the farmers on the hills or in the valleys of Western Massachusetts were still compelled to labor under the guardianship of soldiers, snatching their scanty crops from a reluctant soil almost beneath the very guns of their savage foes. The most exacting as well as the most dangerous duty of the troops was that of scouting. Men were scarce, the territory to be covered extensive, and it is hardly to be wondered at that the stealthy foe should come suddenly upon detached and careless squads of men, dealing out to them death or captivity.

Casualties During the Year. In the months of June, July and August, the Indians were active, and made numerous incursions into Western Massachusetts. At Winchester, N. H., Josiah Foster and family were captured early in June: within a few days two men were killed within half a mile of Fort Massachusetts; not long after Lieut. Moses Willard was killed, and his son wounded at Charlestown. In July, Sergt. William Chidester and his son James, were killed at West Hoosack, and Capt. Elisha Chapin was captured and soon after slain. In August, two men were fired upon near Northfield, but they escaped. Within a few days an attack was made upon five

men in the northerly part of Greenfield; one was killed, and two escaped. During the same month, Lieut. Grant and thirteen men were surprised on Hoosack river some miles below Fort Massachusetts, eight were killed and the rest made prisoners. No casualties are noted in any of the valley towns, but several of them were called upon to mourn the death of some of their prominent citizens.

Slow Progress of
the War.

The campaign of the following year was even less successful than that of its predecessor. The incompetency of the commander-in-chief was equalled only by that of some of his subordinates, and the enemy were still victorious. Lord Loudon attempted the capture of Louisburg, but the expedition returned without making a demonstration upon the city. Thomas Pownall, appointed to succeed Gov. Shirley, assumed office in August. In March, a body of fifteen hundred French and Indians commanded by M. de Rigaud Marquis de Vaudreuil, brother of the Governor of Canada, and M. de Longeuil, had attacked Fort William Henry, erected by Sir William Johnson, at the lower end of Lake George. The garrison, commanded by Major Eyers, refused to surrender, and gallantly defended the fort. Five times the enemy attempted to carry the works by assault without success. After burning the vessels of the English, and all the buildings outside of the fortifications, the assailants abandoned the enterprise, and returned to Canada. The fort was immediately reinforced, and placed under the command of Col. George Monroe.

The Fort is Finally
Captured.

Determined to dismantle this important fortification, which was a standing menace against all their attempts to invade the colonies by way of the Lakes, another and more successful demonstration was made upon it during the summer. While Lord Loudon was conducting the expedition against Louisburg, Montcalm, who had succeeded to the command in Canada, early in the month of August, suddenly projected a force of between five and six thousand men upon Fort William Henry, called Fort George by the French. Gen. Webb, who had been left in command with a force of

five thousand men, was at Fort Edward, distant about twenty miles. He took no measures for the defense or relief of the place, but sent a dispatch to the commandant, exaggerating the numbers of the enemy, and advised him to surrender. Col. Monroe, however, refused to deliver up the fort and defended it with great vigor from the 3^d to the 9th of August, when his ammunition having been exhausted, and one half his guns disabled, he capitulated. The terms of surrender were most honorable; the soldiers were to march out with the honors of war under parole not to serve for eighteen months. Scarcely had the garrison begun the march towards Fort Edward under the protection of a guard, than the Indians, who had obtained great quantities of liquor, fell upon the unarmed prisoners, and a cruel massacre followed. A feeble attempt was made by the French officers to save the captives, but without avail. A few escaped by flight, and others sought protection in the camp of the French.

Northampton Sol- Great consternation prevailed when news
diers among the of this disaster reached the settlements. In
Captives. the garrison were men from almost every
town in Hampshire County, and none knew how many, if
any, had escaped the terrible butchery. A number of
Northampton soldiers were there and for a time it was
feared that all of them had perished. Several of them
were among the captives, but fortunately none were killed.
In Capt. John Burk's company from Northfield were Joel
Clapp, Nathaniel Day Jr., Nathaniel P. Hayward, and
Samuel Phelps from Northampton, who were captured.
John Birge Jr., and Rufus Brown, also from this town,
were members of the same company, but they were not in
the capitulation.

Great Alarm through- The capture of Fort William Henry
out the Province. opened the way for an advance into New
York and Massachusetts, and it caused an
alarm almost reaching a panic throughout the province.
Gov. Pownal appointed Sir William Pepperell lieutenant-
general of all the forces of the Province of Massachusetts,
and ordered him to Springfield to collect and forward re-

inforcements and supplies for Gen. Webb. One fourth of the soldiers from all the regiments in the province, except those of York, Nantucket and Dukes, were ordered to Springfield. Twenty thousand men responded to this call, and they were marched hurriedly towards the seat of war as fast as they could be organized.

Patriotism of the People. This great and threatening danger roused the patriotism of the inhabitants throughout the length and breadth of Massachusetts. So eager were the soldiers to hasten to the relief of their comrades, that when the first intelligence of the invasion, accompanied by a call for reinforcements, was received, they marched at once towards the scene of action without waiting for orders.¹

Reinforcements sent Quickly Forward. Col. Israel Williams, who was succeeded by Col. Oliver Partridge of Hatfield, took command of the northern Hampshire Regiment in active service. When Gen. Webb received information of the approach of Montcalm, he sent for reinforcements, and on the 6th of August, Gov. Pownal ordered Cols. Williams and Worthington of Hampshire, and Col. Ruggles of Worcester, to raise men and send them to Albany. They acted promptly, and soldiers were on the way to the seat of war within four days. Gen. Pepperell was ordered to Springfield on the 8th; two days afterwards he had orders to forward every available man and he at once moved the regiments of Williams, Worthington and Ruggles. On the 13th, he writes to Capt. Christie, aide to Gen. Webb, in substance as follows:—

When I came here, I found that Col. Worthington, Col. Williams and Col. Ruggles Regiments were all marched forward to relieve Fort William Henry, some of them even before the Governor could get orders to them to march. "such was the readiness of this people to go to the assistance of the distressed, that this part of the Province seems almost evacuated, and the frontier thereof in the north in a most dangerous situation, the whole militia within 40 or 50 miles being drawn off. * * * They went off on a sudden with great freedom in great numbers and thro' great difficulties of their private affairs."

1 When the enemy invested Fort William Henry, Gen. Webb sent urgent requests to Massachusetts and New York for reinforcements. It was in answer to this appeal that many soldiers marched to his relief without orders from headquarters, and before the capture of the fort was known.—Gen. Pepperell's Report.

Apparently Gen. Pepperell was not aware that on the 6th, only three days after the investment of the fort, Gov. Pownal had ordered the commanders of the regiments above named to forward troops to Albany as fast as possible. It is probable that the men whom he reports as having already gone forward, marched promptly under that order.

The Mass. Colonels decline to obey orders from New York.

Cols. Williams and Ruggles reached Kinderhook with their forces on the 12th, and sent a dispatch to Lieut.-Gov. DeLancey of New York to ascertain the position of affairs. On the following day he replied that Gen. Webb had reported that the Indians and Canadians were to go off from Fort William Henry that day, and suggested that they join Gen. Webb, and aid him in driving the French from that fort. Williams and Ruggles in their answer, dated the 13th, said that they were ordered to aid the forces of Gen. Webb, attacked by the enemy, and not to join in expeditions that might be projected at some future time; they did not think it consistent with their orders to proceed to Fort Edward, that place not being attacked, nor in danger of assault. Besides "we have learnt that a large body of the enemy have turned eastward to attack our own frontiers: our duty is to march to their relief."

Accordingly these regiments began their retrograde march at once, and were at Sheffield on the 15th. On the same day Gen. Pepperell wrote to Gov. Pownal that no more troops need be sent to Fort Edward, as the danger would be from Indians on the frontier. Though the commanders of these regiments fell back, apparently without orders, their movement was acquiesced in by their superiors, and seems to have been the proper course to pursue.

A Magazine of Supplies formed at Springfield.

Gov. Pownal took measures for the establishment of a magazine of supplies at Springfield, and ordered Gen. Pepperell, in case the enemy approached the frontiers in force, to dismantle all wagons west of Connecticut river by striking off

their wheels,¹ to drive away all the horses, and to destroy all the supplies that could not be removed. But there was no danger of further invasion. Montcalm, deserted by his Indian allies after the massacre, contented himself with destroying the fort, first securing a large amount of stores collected there. In a short time he fell back upon Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and in a few weeks was again in Canada with a portion of his army. The panic subsided and the militia were dismissed.

Patriotism in Hampshire County. News of the invasion by Montcalm and the danger that threatened Fort William Henry, stirred the patriotism of Hampshire County to such a degree that in a short time the country was almost entirely denuded of militia. Every one pressed forward, eager to reinforce the army and prevent the further advance of the foe. Between six hundred and seven hundred men responded to the call for reinforcements from the county, and most of them were on the march before intelligence of the capitulation and massacre had been received. Some of them went only to Springfield, some to Westfield, some to Sheffield, and some to Kinderhook, while a few went to Fort Edward.

Service of some of the Hampshire Companies. Capt. Benjamin Day of Springfield, with a company of over ninety men, was absent about eleven days and marched from fifty to seventy miles. Capt. Stephen Wright of Southampton, with his company of thirty-four men, went to Kinderhook. They marched in all one hundred fifty-eight miles, and were absent eleven days. Capt. James Merrick of Brimfield had about forty men under him, who marched about one hundred seventy-two miles, and were gone from eighteen to twenty-five days. Capt. Samuel Smith of South Hadley had upwards of sixty men in his company: they marched one hundred eighty miles in thirteen days. Capt. Robert Lothridge of Pelham, with about thirty men, in fourteen days marched two hundred miles. Capt. Nathaniel Dwight of Belchertown, with nearly forty men, covered

¹ By this order is intended all the wagons employed by the military: wagons were not then in such general use among the people as to warrant such an indiscriminate order.

one hundred ninety-five miles in thirteen days. Lieut. Martin Dewey of Westfield led his company of over thirty men about one hundred eighty miles in thirteen days. Capt. Ezra Clap of Westfield had between forty and fifty men, who were absent fourteen days, and marched nearly two hundred miles. Capt. Moses Marsh, of Hadley, with forty-four men, was on the march for fourteen days. Capt. John Fellows of Sheffield, with about thirty men, went to Fort Edward, marching two hundred four miles. Major John Ashley led another company of more than seventy men from Sheffield to Fort Edward, where they remained eight or nine days. Capt. Jacob Cummins of Ware River, with thirty-seven men, went to Kinderhook; they saw fifteen days' service and marched two hundred miles. Lieut. David Black of Blanford was eighteen days on the march, and Capt. Joseph Warner of Hardwick went to Kinderhook. The officers of Col. Israel Williams' regiment, who marched to relieve the fort, were: Col. Israel Williams and Major Elijah Williams, both of Deerfield, Major Joseph Hawley¹ of Northampton, Chaplain Timothy Woodbridge of Hatfield, and Adj. Elisha Pomeroy, Col. Cad'. Seth Pomeroy, Ens. Cad'. Noah Strong, and Ens. Cad'. Elisha Strong, all of Northampton. Lieut. Joseph Billings, with eighteen privates marched to the relief of Fort William Henry.

Death of Lord Howe. With a change in the British ministry, by
 Capture of Fort Frontenac. which William Pitt was placed at the head
 of affairs, new life and energy was infused
 into the war. Lord Loudon gave place to Gen. Abercrombie, and three expeditions were planned for the year 1758. The first under Gen. Jeffrey Amherst and James Wolfe, succeeded in capturing Louisburg; the second, commanded by Gen. Abercrombie and Lord Howe, was repulsed in an

¹ While on this march Major Hawley addressed the following letter to his wife, which is copied from the original in the Lenox Library, N. Y.:—

“ Sheffield, Thursday, Aug. 1757.

“ My Dear Child.

“ I am well here—came here last night—have something of the difficulty I used to have in hot weather by riding. We are proceeding as fast as we well can towards Ft Edward. Uncle Billy, Co. and Elisha are well. My duty most sincerely to Mother. Love to Moses and Hannah.

“ I am your faithful and affectionate Husband as long as God shall give us life.

Joseph Hawley.”

assault upon Fort Ticonderoga, and Lord Howe was slain ; while the third under Gen. Joseph Forbes and Col. George Washington, overran the Ohio valley and captured Fort du Quesne. But there was a gleam of sunshine for Abercrombie. An expedition against Fort Frontenac (Kingston) on the north side of Lake Ontario was entrusted to Col. Bradstreet of Massachusetts. With three thousand troops, mostly militia, he speedily took possession of the place. Many pieces of artillery, several armed vessels, and great quantities of supplies fell into the hands of the victors. This was a valuable acquisition, and its possession was of material significance in the campaign of the following year. Massachusetts raised seven hundred men for this campaign, most of whom were under Gen. Abercrombie, who lost in his unsuccessful attack on Ticonderoga nearly two thousand soldiers.

The Hampshire Regiment. Col. William Williams of Deerfield commanded a regiment in Gen. Abercrombie's army. In it Capt. Elisha Pomeroy of Northampton had a company of about one hundred men, upwards of forty of whom were from this town ; twenty-seven from Hadley ; eight from Southampton ; four from South Hadley ; eight from Westfield ; and eight from other towns in the county. They were in the service from April fourteenth to December fifth on the northern frontier. Capt. John Burk of Falltown commanded till June, Capt. Catlin of Deerfield, from June to September, and Capt. Burk again till the end of November.

The Indians get in some Work. Indian depredations commenced early in March, but much less damage resulted from them than usual. Casualties occurred at Colrain, and at Hinsdale, N. H. Several houses were burned and many cattle slaughtered. Fewer raids than usual were chronicled for this year, and none of them came within the present limits of Hampshire County.

Gen. Amherst Succeeds Gen. Abercrombie. On his return from the successful expedition against Louisburg, Gen. Amherst was made commander-in-chief in place of Gen. Abercrombie, but the season was too far advanced for

further operations, and he went into winter quarters at Albany.

The Campaign against
Canada.

The objective point of the campaign of 1759 was the conquest of Canada. An elaborate plan of operations was adopted, by which it was proposed to concentrate three English armies against Montreal and Quebec. One under Wolfe was to pass up the St. Lawrence, the second under Amherst was to move by way of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, while the third was to reduce Niagara, cross Lake Ontario, and descend upon Montreal. Massachusetts put seven hundred men in the field, and all the other colonies made strenuous efforts to increase the army. Full fifty thousand men were employed in this campaign, of which the colonies furnished one half. The seizure of Canada was still a favorite undertaking in Western Massachusetts, and enlistments were not backward. Northampton had fifty-three soldiers in the regiment of Col. Israel Williams, in which were also men from nearly every other town in the county. The Northampton soldiers were dispersed among the several companies:—twenty-two were in the company of Capt. Elijah Smith, and thirty-one in that of Col. Israel Williams.¹

The details of this campaign, which resulted in the partial subjugation of Canada, are too well known to require extended notice. All the soldiers enlisted or impressed from this section formed part of the army of Gen. Amherst. Ticonderoga and Crown Point were abandoned at his approach, but his movements were so dilatory—owing to lack of transportation and supplies—that he failed to coöperate with Gen. Wolfe, and after the surrender of Quebec he retired to winter quarters. Gen. Prideaux led the army for the reduction of Niagara. He succeeded in the enterprise, but lost his life in the attack, and was succeeded in the command by Gen. William Johnson. Col. Gage superseded Gen. Johnson, but for the same reason that baffled Gen. Amherst, he failed to carry his part of the general plan.

¹ For Muster-rolls see Appendix.

Fall of Quebec. Familiar to all is the story of the capture of Quebec by the gallant Wolfe, who was killed in the moment of victory. He captured that stronghold without the aid of either of the armies designed to coöperate with him. News of the surrender of Quebec was received with the greatest joy by the colonies, especially by the settlers near the frontiers. It meant to them a respite from the horrors of Indian warfare, and it meant to all sections relief from military guardianship, and an end to the weary scout, the fatiguing march, and the fear of starvation. But the war was by no means finished. Montreal still remained in the hands of the French, and another campaign was required to complete the victory.

Capture of St. Francis. One of the most memorable exploits of the year was the capture and destruction of St. Francis by Major Rogers. He was a noted ranger, a native of New Hampshire, whose many brilliant and successful encounters with the enemy enlivened every campaign. One of his many daring deeds was narrated by Col. Pomeroy. When an enterprise requiring courage, resource, dash and ability was to be undertaken, Rogers was usually chosen as its leader. Though Ticonderoga and Crown Point had fallen, St. Francis, a noted headquarters of the Indians, still remained in possession of the enemy. It was one of the important points from which marauding parties were sent out to annoy the English settlements, being situated at the mouth of the St. Francis River, between Montreal and Quebec, and it contained a large amount of stores and plunder. Major Rogers was ordered with a detachment of two hundred men to attack the place. The story of this adventure is told at length in "Hoyt's Indian Wars." Suffice it to say that he accomplished his object, surprising and completely destroying the village. After enduring great hardships, failing to connect with the party sent to his relief, and having been compelled to live many days on nuts and lily roots, he finally reached Crown Point, having lost in the expedition forty-six men.

Last of the Indian Raids.

While these operations were in progress, Indian depredations almost entirely ceased. The family of Joseph Willard was captured at Charlestown and carried to Montreal, but the last

appearance of the savages was at Colrain, where a party of ten or twelve of them captured Joseph McKoun, wife and child. Mrs. McKoun was killed after marching a short distance, and her husband and child were taken to Canada. Most of the militia had been drawn off for the army operating in Canada, and when news of this outrage reached Northampton, Major Hawley with a company went immediately in pursuit of the Indians. When he reached Greenfield, finding that the enemy had disappeared, and deeming further pursuit useless, he returned to Northampton.

Frontier Posts. The frontier posts were under the command of Capt. John Burk from December 1758 to February 8, 1759; of Capt. Hawks from February 9 to April 30, 1759; and of Capt. Samuel Wells from May 1 to October 8. One hundred twenty men, most of them inhabitants of the Hampshire towns, were employed in garrison duty.

Montreal Captured. For the reduction of Montreal in the following year three armies were employed, and so carefully had their movements been concerted that they met before the city within two days of the time fixed upon for their junction. Gen. Amherst commanded the main body, and with ten thousand men passed up the Mohawk to Oswego, and after capturing the posts along the St. Lawrence, descended that river to Montreal. He arrived there on the 10th of August, where he found Gen. Murray from Quebec, who reached that point the same day. Within twenty-four hours Col. Haviland, who with a smaller force had been in service on Lake Champlain, joined the combined army, and the siege began. It terminated on the 8th of September, when the Province of Canada passed into possession of the British.

Attempt to Recapture Quebec. In the spring M. de Levi, who succeeded to the command on the death of Montcalm at Quebec, attempted to re-take the city. Gen. Murray marched out and gave battle, but was defeated and driven back into the city. The French General

then laid regular siege to the place, but before anything decisive occurred, an English fleet arrived, and the besiegers speedily withdrew.

Soldiers for Canada. For the "total reduction of Canada" many men enlisted in Hampshire County and some were impressed, but it is not certain that any of them participated in the closing scenes of the war. Fewer names than usual from Northampton are found upon the muster-rolls for 1760. They were undoubtedly employed in garrison duty. Col. Seth Pomeroy had command of the frontier forts from April 16th to June 20th. He had fifty-six men under him, and they were distributed at Colrain, Charlemont, West Hoosack, and Fort Massachusetts. Several companies from this county were in service during the year. Those who enlisted for the "total reduction of Canada" received \$10 each in cash, and £6 in Treasury notes; those who recruited them were paid 3s. for each man.¹

Peace Declared. While the conquest of Canada completed by the surrender of Montreal virtually ended the war, peace was not declared till 1763. No further fighting occurred, though there were several companies from Hampshire County in the service on the frontiers during the years 1761 and 1762. Few names from Northampton are found upon the muster-rolls.

¹ For list of soldiers in the seven years war, see Appendix.

CHAPTER XXII.

FIRST SCHOOL-COMMITTEE—NEW COURT-HOUSE.

War not Recognized
by the Town.

DURING these seven years of anxiety, alarm, and bloodshed, town affairs moved forward with their usual serenity and harmony. Not an entry on the records gives the shadow of an intimation that a sanguinary conflict was raging, or that at any time there was the least danger of an invasion. By no vote was the critical condition of the country in any way recognized. The enlistment and impressment of soldiers was constantly in progress, and the young men of the town were marching in scores to the seat of war. Some of the companies were composed almost entirely of citizens of Northampton, and many from that town were members of different organizations scattered throughout the county. Several Northampton soldiers were killed, and many wounded. Not a few during the almost continuous movements of the troops were billeted here at considerable expense to individuals, if not to the town; yet no municipal action seems to have been deemed necessary. It is true that none of the Indian raiders penetrated the town, though its citizens were frequently called upon to guard the neighboring settlements. Even when nearly all the militia had been called away to repel threatened invasion, when none knew how soon the dread French and Indians would overrun the country, such matters as the following engaged the attention at town-meetings:—the removal of pigsties from the town lands, the building of horse sheds, the changing of pews in the meeting-house, or the use of the school-house on Sunday noons. If meetings were held to consult upon military matters, no records of them have come to light.

Fines for Refusing
Town Offices.

Stringent regulations were from time to time adopted in reference to the service of individuals chosen to fill town offices. The colony laws prescribed the amount of fine to be collected from those persons who refused to accept office when elected, and theoretically no man was permitted to shirk his official duties without paying the penalty. Five pounds was the legal price that was required to release a man from undertaking the duties of constable, but notwithstanding this heavy fine it was not always an easy matter to find capable men willing to serve in that capacity. While cases are not rare in which the treasury was enriched through such declinations, many refusals to serve were condoned without enforcing the penalty, and in a few instances the courts of law were resorted to in order to compel the payment of these fines. For many years the compensation paid to constables was 20s. per year. In 1741, the constables "in the body of the town" were paid £4. in bills of credit, and in the new town 40s. This law continued in force till 1746, when it was repealed, and the compensation fixed at each annual meeting. After that date the usual amount paid was 20s.

The Penalty Enforced.

A marked instance of enforcing the penalty for refusing to serve as constable occurred in 1754. At the annual March meeting Cornet John Hunt was chosen to that office. Immediately, before Cornet Hunt had opportunity either to accept or decline, Lieut. Caleb Strong (father of Gov. Caleb) moved that the town should "determine what sum they would accept of any person chosen to the office of constable in lieu of serving in that office," and it was voted to "excuse the person chosen, if he would pay down the sum of £3 lawful money, to be disposed of to the use of the poor." Evidently this action on the part of Lieut. Strong was considered as a thrust at Cornet Hunt, and his friends retaliated by electing Lieut. Strong constable. In the afternoon, permission having been granted him to consider the matter till that time, Lieut. Strong declined to serve, "but," the record reads, "he did not pay down the £3 lawful money or any part of it, nor the sum of £5, the penalty in the law (in

such cases provided) to be paid by persons refusing to serve in the constable's office, or any part of it."

Having heard the decision of Lieut. Strong, the town forthwith turned its attention to the other constable elect: "Then Cornet John Hunt being present at said meeting, the town put the question to him whether he would serve in the office of constable of the town of Northampton for the ensuing year to which he had been chosen, & he declared he would not accept said office nor serve the town therein. The town then made choice of Joseph Hawley Esq., for their agent to prosecute Lieut. Caleb Strong, Cornet John Hunt in manner as the law directs for the penalty each of them had incurred by refusing to serve as constables this year and which they ought to pay by the law of this Government in such cases provided, to the use of the poor of the town of Northampton."

Major Hawley brought the case of Lieut. Strong before the County Court and a summons was issued for his appearance before it, but no further record of the case has been found. Apparently Lieut. Strong was let off with the payment of the fine of £3, as there is no indication of any subsequent action in the case. Cornet Hunt seems to have escaped without prosecution.

More Difficulty about Constables. Still further trouble in reference to constables occurred the following year: several persons nominated for that office could not be elected. At last Ebenezer Clark Jr. and John Baker Jr., not being liable to serve, having held the office within seven years, proposed to accept the position for 40s. each, and they were chosen on that condition.

A New School-House Built. The question of erecting a new school-house in the center of the town had been a long time in agitation. Five years had elapsed since the town had decided to build one, but it soon after rescinded that order. Its need became more and more apparent as time slipped by, and in 1755, at the March meeting, a committee was appointed to consider and report thereon. They advised that a school-house should be built "large enough to accommodate the grammar school and

the writing and reading scholars in all seasons of the year." In May the town voted to build a school-house of brick, 36 by 18 feet. It was to be placed in the vicinity of the old school-house, which was to be disposed of, and the proceeds appropriated towards the expense of the new one. An account of the committee having charge of the work, is on file among the documents of the year 1755, which shows an expenditure of £84.10.05.

"Shepherd's Island." The Island in Connecticut River, formerly known as "Stoddard's Island" and later as "Shepherd's Island," was first brought into notice in 1754, when Gideon Lyman of Northampton petitioned the General Court for liberty to purchase the property. He states that there is an island belonging to the Province between Fort Meadow in Hadley and Old Rainbow in Northampton, containing "as he judges" six or seven acres, "whereon the brush begins to grow, and has been gathering about 30 years," and prays that a committee may be chosen to sell the same to him. In April, John Worthington and Oliver Partridge were appointed to sell the Island "for the most it will bring." Nothing seems to have been accomplished under this vote, and Gideon Lyman, though he owned land in Old Rainbow, opposite the Island, failed to make the purchase.

The Island a Bone of Contention. This Island, as the petition of Lyman shows, had been many years accumulating. For a long time it was nothing but sand, upon which a few bushes began to grow. By degrees it became covered with soil, and grass appeared. It was then claimed by both Northampton and Hadley. Farmers from both towns claimed the crop, and one year it was mowed by a man from Hadley, named Brooks, but the hay was carried off by Nathaniel Day of this town. In order to settle the ownership, the General Court, in 1770, appointed John Worthington, Joseph Hawley, and Elisha Porter, a committee to sell the property. It consisted at that time, "of three or four acres of good improved land and about as much more that is likely to become fit for improvement in a short time." They sold it at "public

vendue," and it was purchased by Solomon Stoddard for "£100 lawful money." In a short time he sold one half of it to Noah Edwards. "Stoddard's Island" continued to increase, and in twenty-five or thirty years, seven or eight acres were mowed.

The Purchase Money Disbursed. The next year, a committee from several towns in the county petitioned the Legislature, asking that the money paid for the Island should be granted to the county to aid in building and maintaining bridges. They say that this "Island has arisen in the river within the memory of man and so the increase of the estate of the province has grown out of the loss of the inhabitants of said county." Their petition was granted, and the county used the money for the erection and support of a bridge over Ware River.

Levi Shepherd buys the Island. In 1803, Levi Shepherd Jr., bought the Island of Mr. Stoddard and Eli and Vester Edwards, for \$1200, and sold it to his father. Since that transaction it has been known as "Shepherd's Island."

Town Action in 1756 and 1757. In June, 1756, the town refused to hire any but a Grammar schoolmaster, and ordered the selectmen to "Direct the Schoolmaster that he Spend no more Time with y^e Latin Scholars than their Equal proportion with other Scholars." The schoolmaster was evidently a believer in classical education, and took great delight in imparting his knowledge.—Dr. Mather sought permission to build a pew in the meeting-house, on the women's side of the broad alley, at the end of the body seats, but the people were unwilling to sanction any encroachments upon that portion of the house, and the request was denied.—The meeting-house had now been built about twenty years, and was in need of substantial repairs. Accordingly it was ordered that the needed improvements should be made, and a window put into the southwest gable of the house.—In May an order was passed to build a bridge over Mill River at "Welch End," provided the owners of the upper mill would provide plank.

As the main use of the bridge would be for the purpose of reaching the mill, it was considered proper that the proprietors thereof should bear a portion of the expense. They, however, apparently demurred, and in December the vote was rescinded.—Ensign Josiah Clark and Josiah Clark Jr. were occupying a portion of the highway with pigsties, and they were reminded of the trespass, and warned that they could only continue them there “during the town’s pleasure and no longer.”—Dea. Sheldon was given permission to build a horse shed on town land near the meeting-house, and also to make an alteration in the seats in his pew in the meeting-house, so that he “may more directly face the pulpit, provided that he restore the pew to its former state at his own cost, when he left it, if the town so voted.”

School-House not to be used for a “Noon House.” People who lived at a distance from the meeting-house, were often, especially in the winter months, much inconvenienced on Sundays for want of a place in which to warm themselves after their long and cold ride from home before meeting commenced, as well as a place in which to spend the intermission between services. Soon after the new school-house was finished, Samuel Janes, and other farmers residing at Pascommuck, asked permission to use that building “before and Between meetings as a place of Shelter and Retirement.” It would have made a very comfortable “noon house,” but the town refused to permit the school-house to be opened on Sunday for any such purpose. So the Pascommuck people were obliged to quarter themselves upon their acquaintances on Sunday, or rest and refresh themselves literally under the shadow of the pulpit.¹

1 People who came from distant parts of the town needed some other place than the meeting-house steps in which to pass the time between sermons. In some towns “noon houses” were built by individuals, nearly always on land near the meeting-house. Most of them had two rooms, one for each sex, with fireplaces. Such houses were in use in Southampton and Westhampton, but none seems to have been built here. One family in Northampton, hired a room near the meeting-house for their especial use on Sunday.

School-Committee
Appointed.

For one hundred five years since the settlement of the town, the schools, as well as all other municipal business, had been under the general supervision of the Selectmen. But with the increase of scholars, and the advance in methods and studies, the educational interests of the town demanded a closer attention, and more careful consideration than the townsmen with all their other duties were able to give them. Consequently on the 2^d of January, 1759, the first School-Committee was appointed. It consisted of six persons, who, together with the Selectmen, were to have jurisdiction over all the schools in town. Though it was not then termed a School-Committee, its duties were such as have since devolved upon that body. For this purpose the following named persons were selected:—Isaac Parsons, Ebenezer Clark Jr., Lient. Aaron Wright, Nathaniel Phelps, Ens. Jonathan Strong, and Capt. James Lyman. They were instructed

“to join the Selectmen to Consider how many Schools it should be necessary & profitable for this Town to keep from this Time till next ploughing Time for the Instruction and Education of y^e boys of this Town both in Grammar learning and to read & Write, and Impowered s^d com^{tee} together with y^e S^lectmen to determine y^e same in behalf of y^e Town and to procure Suitable persons to Keep and Teach such Schools and to Take up Such house or houses besides the School house as Shall be needed for that purpose. To agree [upon] the Sums to be given Such Teachers or Masters. To assign the number of Boys to Each School that at present are kept or that they Shall Judge proper to Set up and to determine and order of what Sort they Shall be: To wit, wether Grammar Scholars or readers or Writers which Shall be admitted to and Taught in Each School respectively.”

The assessors were ordered to raise such sums of money as might be necessary to defray the expenses. Ten pounds were also granted for “the instruction of boys living at y^e farms and remote parts of Northampton.” Unlimited power relating to schools was by this vote delegated to this committee. They were empowered to control the schools, to hire teachers, provide school-rooms, and were authorized to expend whatever money was needed for school purposes, without restriction.

The School-Committee Instructed.

In January of the following year, at a special town-meeting, another school-committee was appointed. It was composed of the selectmen and four (instead of six) other persons. This committee was instructed to consider the necessity of "setting up one or more English schools in addition to those already kept" either in the town school-house or some other building, and to supply the schools with wood forthwith. It is not certain that the committee increased the number of schools under this vote, as no payments were made for teaching to any other persons than Titus and Eleazar King. An extra school, however, seems to have been kept about this time in the "old Bela Strong house," situated at the westerly corner of Main and South Streets.

Meeting-House Repairs under Advise-ment.

During the month of December, 1759, the subject of repairing the meeting-house was again under discussion. More extensive repairs thereon than had been anticipated were found to be necessary, and no action was taken under the vote of three years previous. Quite extensive changes were in contemplation. Among them were an addition to the northwesterly side of the building, constructing porches over the southeasterly and southwesterly doors, moving one flight of the gallery stairs into the belfry and another into one of the porches, and making some new pews. The timbers also needed strengthening, and other repairs were imperative. A committee, appointed to consider the question, made a very unsatisfactory report and the town voted to send for Master Langdon of Springfield, an old and experienced carpenter, who was to examine the building and "give his best advice concerning the strengthening and securing the Meeting House." His suggestions were acted on to some extent, but it is evident that little was done beyond mending and patching, as the only account upon the treasurer's book, during that year, is an item of £5.12.11½ paid to joiners for work upon the meeting-house. No porches were built at this time, nor were any new pews added.

Repairs were also required upon the Court-House, owned and occupied jointly by the town and county, but the

town, though requested by the county to make them, refused an appropriation for that purpose.

Vote to Procure a New Bell. One reason for this economy of the town funds may be found in the fact that a new bell seemed to be an absolute necessity.

For seventy-eight years the old one had been on duty, and it was no longer powerful enough to be heard throughout the central portion of the settlement. In March, 1760, the town voted to procure a new bell, as soon as convenient, "to hang in the Meeting House in the Town of so large a size as shall effectually serve and answer the ends & purpose of a Meeting House bell to this Town & Society." The matter was placed in the hands of a committee with power to act. In June of the following year a "Great Bell," which weighed 7 cwt. 3 qrs. 15 lbs. was shipped from Boston on board the sloop Nancy. It was imported from England and cost in that country £6 sterling per cwt. Col. Seth Pomeroy and Timothy Dwight negotiated the purchase through Joseph Scott, in Boston, whose bill for everything connected with the bell, including customs fees, freight, insurance, wharfage, etc., was £63.13.7 sterling. On this he charged a commission of 5 per cent., amounting to £3.3.8. To this sum of £66.17.3 it was necessary to add 33½ per cent. in order to find its equivalent in lawful money, which brought the amount up to £89.3. A small additional charge for wharfage and truckage in Boston, made the cost of the bell in lawful money, when shipped on board the sloop, £89.9.8. The bell was to be delivered either at Hartford or Rocky Hill, and the freight was £1.13.4.¹ Within a year, probably on account of overzealous ringing by irresponsible persons, and possibly also because of incomplete machinery, the bell was broken. In August, 1761, the town was called together to decide about replacing it, as well as about "prosecuting those persons who were instrumental in breaking it." An order was adopted which provided for sending the bell to the founder at Fairfield, to be recast or mended. If it should be recast

¹ Similar bells were in use in the towns of Hatfield, Springfield and Longmeadow. All of them were cast in England and had this inscription:—

"To the church, the living I call,
To the grave I summon all."

the committee was authorized to receive subscriptions towards enlarging it, and to increase its weight to the amount of the subscriptions received, provided it did not exceed 1000 lbs. Repairs on the bell, whether it was mended or recast is not known, cost £21. It was received in December, 1761, and an order was adopted requiring it to be hung so as to "effect a more easy ringing," as well as a more "effectual striking of the clock to serve the purpose of a bell and clock for the town."

The Old Bell sold. Southampton made a proposition to purchase the old bell, and in 1763, a special meeting was called to decide the matter. This meeting was held in July, and the town voted not to sell, but afterwards reconsidered that vote and appointed a committee to dispose of it to the best advantage. It has been generally understood that the old bell was sold to Southampton, but the town records contain no further allusion to the subject.

Small Pox. This dread disease, which may have been the occasion of the great mortality among the Indian tribes of Massachusetts, shortly before the arrival of the whites, had since been little known in the interior, and did not prevail in the inland towns to any great extent till the latter half of the eighteenth century. The disease had, however, according to Dr. Douglass, "been epidemical in Boston eight times," previous to 1752, causing the death of many persons. Apparently no one had died of it in Northampton before that date. It was probably introduced into this section from the army, a number of soldiers having died from it in Westfield and Brookfield during the year 1761. About this time a sort of hospital for inoculated small pox¹ was established in Springfield,

1 Inoculation which had been practiced in Europe nearly half a century, where it was bitterly opposed by physicians and was very unpopular among the common people, was introduced into this country in 1720. The clergy generally defended the practice. In November, 1721, Dr. Increase Mather wrote that the practice had been introduced in England, where some judicious magistrates and ministers approved of it. Among the ministers in New England who favored it were Dr. Mather himself, who had preached over sixty years, and his son. "Also we hear," he writes, "that the Rev. and learned Mr. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton concurs with us; also Mr. Wise of Ipswich & many of our younger divines. But few profane persons approve or defend inoculation. This to me is a weighty consideration. There are worthy persons against inoculation, but the known children of the wicked are generally fierce enemies to inoculation." Its opponents called inoculation the work of the devil.

and among its patients were Caleb Strong Jr. (afterwards Governor, then sixteen years old), of Northampton, and Elisha Porter of Hadley. Cases of this nature as well as of other contagious diseases, were treated in a house owned by Increase Clark, situated probably on Pancake Plain. Some apprehension concerning this dread disease doubtless prevailed here, but the town refused to order the building of a pest-house. Existing arrangements were deemed sufficient.

Old House of Cor-
rection Sold.

In March, 1760, the town voted to sell to Ithamar Strong the land "that has so long been enclosed for the old house of correction." The prison-house on this land, at the corner of Main and South Streets, built in 1707, was sold for 56s. Very probably this old building was considerably out of repair, and was of little use for the purpose for which it was constructed. It was never very secure, but seems to have answered its purpose passably well for about half a century. A new jail was built on Pleasant Street, in 1773, and for thirteen years there seems to have been no place nearer than Springfield for the detention of criminals.

Various Town Mat-
ters acted upon.

Once more the thievish crow comes to the front, and again a price is put upon his head. For every fledged crow killed between the middle of April and the middle of June, a premium of 1s. was offered and 4d. for all unfledged.—That the gallery stairs had not been removed, as had been contemplated, is evident from the fact that children were prohibited from sitting on them on Sunday, above the first broad stair from the floor.—An inquiry was instituted concerning the cost of a fire-engine, but no machine of that kind was purchased for thirty years.—All the millers in town were required to conform to the laws respecting tolls, and the petition of the inhabitants of Pascommuck for an appropriation to pay for preaching in that village was denied.

Indicted for a Defective Highway. In January, 1761, the town was indicted for a defective highway between Northampton and the Hatfield meeting-house.

It was voted to defend the suit, and Joseph Hawley and Benjamin Parsons were chosen agents. The vote to contest was re-affirmed in March. In May the case was tried before the Court of General Sessions at Springfield, a verdict rendered against the town, and a fine of £4 imposed. Mr. Hawley carried the case on appeal to the Superior Court, and at the September term, the former verdict was set aside, the indictment being quashed as insufficient. In the meantime, it is presumed that the highway had been repaired. Major Hawley received £2 for his services.

Division of Hampshire County. The County of Hampshire was first divided in 1761. On petition of William Williams and others, the General Court sliced off the

westerly portion of it, and formed Berkshire County. Named in the act establishing the county were four incorporated towns and six plantations, and the petitioners represented that the inhabitants of some of them were compelled to travel fifty miles to attend courts at Springfield and Northampton. The question was brought before the town at the March meeting in 1761, to see, as expressed in the warrant, "whether the town had any objections" to offer to the movement. No opposition manifested itself, but by way of precaution the selectmen were authorized to take such "measures as they thought fit to prevent the town's being in any manner prejudiced by the new county." Many citizens of Northampton, as well as other towns in the old county, were interested in the settlements thus set off. Not a few owned real estate in them, and among their inhabitants were sons and daughters of persons living in this town.

Some objections were made by the selectmen of Northampton to the boundary of the new county. They contended that the proposed line would take in a considerable tract of land east of No. 4 (Becket), adjacent to Northampton and Hatfield, and suggested a slight alteration. The line proposed by them was adopted substantially as the eastern boundary of the new county.

Disputed Land in Middle Meadow. A special meeting was called to inquire into the ownership of certain lands in Middle Meadow. A committee reported that a considerable part of them belonged to the town. Thereupon a vote was passed to make the title good. From this action grew a long drawn out law suit, which was not settled till 1764, and then matters seem to have been left about as they were when the suit was commenced. Apparently a test case was made with the heirs of Jonathan Hunt, and in the course of a couple of years the town expended not far from £88 in the litigation. Northampton lost the case before the lower court, and appealed to the Superior Court. In 1764, the town decided that it "would become non suit if the Hunts would agree to be defaulted." Apparently both sides were ready to compromise on that basis, for at the September session of the higher court neither party put in an appearance.

Attempt to make Northampton the Shire-Town. Hardly had the new County of Berkshire been established, when a movement was commenced to make Northampton the shire-town of Old Hampshire, instead of Springfield. A petition signed by Timothy Dwight of Northampton and Oliver Partridge of Hatfield, in which it was claimed that Northampton was much more central than Springfield, was presented to the Legislature in April, 1761. Northampton supplemented this petition by another in the following May, instructing a committee to "procure & Send Some proper person an Agent to Boston to prosecute the affair." Col. Timothy Dwight was delegated to perform this duty, and there remains on file an order on the town treasurer, signed by the three selectmen to pay him "three £ and seven pence one fifth part of a penny in full satisfaction for the like sum paid at Boston by him in and about the affair of the town of Northampton's application to the Genl Court to be constituted the Shire Town of the county of Hampshire." Some towns in the northern part of the county petitioned in favor of Northampton, and others in favor of Hadley, while those in the southern portion opposed any change. In January of the following year, twenty-one towns in the northern half of the county peti-

tioned that the shire-town should be either Northampton or Hadley, as the General Court should see fit.¹ Both petitions were dismissed in February, 1762, and Northampton did not attain the coveted honor till the second division of the county was made in 1812.

Sabbath Wardens Either disorder in the meeting-house in-
 Chosen. creased considerably or there were not tith-
 ing-men enough chosen to preserve order,
 for in 1761, four men were selected especially to preserve
 order in the meeting-house on Sunday. They were called
 "Sabbath Wardens," and for about eighteen years were
 chosen annually with other town officers. They were sub-
 sequently ordered to procure badges of office similar to
 those carried by tithing-men. In 1764, the town by vote,
 required the tithing-men and wardens to sit by turns, in
 some public place in the galleries, to prevent disturbances,
 and to enforce the law for preserving order in the meeting-
 house.

New School Proposed Town schools were overflowing with pu-
 over Mill River. pils, and it was determined in 1761 to
 establish a new school on the south side
 of Mill River. The selectmen were instructed first to take
 the "Lickingwater" boys out of the town school, and if
 one master could "advantageously instruct those that re-
 mained in the English school, to set up a school on that
 side of the river provided the Parents and Masters of the
 boys there will procure a room and wood to support it." Provision
 was also made that boys from other parts of the town
 should be sent there. It is not probable that another
 school was "set up" in South Street at this time. As was
 the case two years before, no additional teachers seem to
 have been employed, and it may be inferred that the
 "Parents and Masters" were unwilling to provide a school-
 room and fuel as well as pupils.

1 In discussing this subject, Col. Williams of Hatfield is said to have observed: —
 "The people of Hatfield are industrious and thriving, and to have the courts there
 would injure their industry and thrift. Northampton people are very religious and
 the measure would be injurious to their religion, but Hadley has neither thrift nor
 morality to be injured." Hadley was then and long afterwards greatly demoralized
 by hard drinking.

Interior of the Meeting-House Improved.

In 1762, the town refused to determine the age at which boys should be allowed to sit in the gallery. This was probably prohibitory, and shut the boys out of that section entirely. So large had become the congregation, and so crowded was the meeting-house, that a general overhauling of the seats in it was ordered. A committee was appointed to make a "general alteration of persons sitting in the meeting house," as well as to settle with persons who have built pews at their own expense, so that the whole may be "appropriated to the town's use as others are." An exception was made in the case of Noah Clark and his daughter, the wife of Gideon Lyman. They were permitted by special vote to retain the seats they then occupied.

More New Counties Petitioned for.

With the establishment of the new County of Berkshire came a desire for a general dividing up of the old counties in Middle and Western Massachusetts. Two propositions to dismember Worcester and the adjoining counties on each side, originated in the former county within three years. In 1763, Brig.-Gen. Ruggles of Worcester and others petitioned for the formation of another county to be composed of certain towns in Eastern Hampshire and Western Worcester. Northampton voted to make no opposition to the scheme, but nothing seems to have resulted from the undertaking. The year following another county was projected from towns in Northern Worcester and Middlesex Counties, but that also failed.

The Shirkshire Road.

A road was laid from Northampton to Shirkshire or Murrayfield (now Norwich), in 1762, the committee reporting at the March meeting the following year. It was built at the expense of the town and was not completed for two years. For many years it was the main road to Westhampton. The principal portion of this highway seems to have been constructed under the superintendence of Col. Seth Pomeroy. He began the work on the 11th of September, 1764, on the "west side of Rocky Hill," and finished on the 8th of November. His account was kept by days' work. For instance, "Monday

24th Sept. 20 days work at the way. * * * Tuesday 9th October. 29 days work at the way." The whole number of days' work charged by him was five hundred sixty-three, "reckoning a team and hand with them two days or equal to 2 men." The road commenced "against Benjamin Edwards pasture bars at Rocky Hill," and probably followed the old path to Park Hill, and to King's saw-mill on the Manhan River. The entire distance was 3003 rods, about nine and one half miles.

Disorder was not altogether confined to one day in the week, nor entirely to the meeting-house. Only occasionally, however, did the young misbehave themselves to such an extent as to get into the clutches of the law. Soon after the appointment of Sunday wardens, several young men from this and other towns were brought before the court, charged with malicious mischief. In May, 1764, Elijah King of Charlestown, N. H., Joseph Burt of Northfield, and John Hunt Jr. of Northampton, were presented by the jury for making a riot and disturbance in Northampton, and breaking the windows of the school-house, on the evening of January 16, 1764. They were discharged. At the same time the above named persons and William Mather of Northampton were presented for the following unlawful and unseemly acts. They were charged with "carrying away Ithamar Strong's sled; taking down Benjamin Edwards barn yard bars and letting out his cattle; taking down Simeon Clapp's barn yard bars; carrying away a small sleigh¹ called a pung of the value of 5s. belonging to Ebenezer Hunt, carrying away a small sleigh called a pung of the value of 5s. belonging to Josiah Clark Jr., taking down Bela Strong's bars and opening the doors of his stable and manger and letting the cattle into his barn,

1 Sleighs or "Slays" as they were sometimes spelled, were not common, only six or eight being in use in Northampton in 1764. They were for the most part ordinary sleds with plank runners, and those for use with one horse were called "pungs." Sleigh-rides were not among the winter diversions in this section till the last two decades of the eighteenth century. These sleighs were quite large, some having four seats and were capable of holding twelve or fifteen persons. The young people of Northampton rode down to Elias Lyman's and Lemuel Pomeroy's in Southampton, to Capt. Samuel Fairfield's in Williamsburg, and to other places in the valley. Nearly all the sleighs in the village were called in requisition when one of these rides occurred. Occasionally they had a dance and usually took the village fiddler, a colored man, with them.

taking up two planks of the bridge over Little (Mill) River near the house of Bathsheba Hull." They were fined 10s. each and costs. Bathsheba Hull lived near South Street bridge, and probably Little Mill River was the mill trench.

Bathsheba Hull. She was a negress, widow of Amos Hull, and occupied a small house on the Island near South Street bridge, formed by the Mill Trench. She bought the property of John McLane, who had it of his father, Cuthburt McLane. The town claimed the land, and in 1765, brought an action to evict the negress. John Webb's original home lot extended from Main Street to Mill River. When the first grist-mill was built, a short distance up the stream, the trench for carrying away the waste water was dug across the lower end of this lot, and Webb relinquished to the town that part of it cut off by the trench, receiving an equivalent elsewhere. On this transaction the town based its title to the property, claiming possession within thirty years, averring disseizure through John McLane, then of Suffield. The McLanes were squatters on the land, and John, inheriting from his father, who was for many years supported by the town, considered his title good. This claim covered the site of the old brick school-house just above the old South Street bridge, though it is probable that the bridge was then somewhat further up the stream. In 1766, the case was decided in favor of the town, and the next year a vote was passed authorizing the purchase of the dwelling-house in which Bathsheba Hull lived, "notwithstanding the fact that the town had a legal right to said house." In case she "would not accept a reasonable price for it," the committee were ordered to "demolish and abate the same in such manner as to render it uninhabitable." She probably sold out, as there appears a charge in the expense account of 1768, for "carting Bathsheba's goods to the lower end of Pleasant Street, 1s. 6^d." The town afterwards sold the property. In 1837, the Mill Trench was still visible, and on the Island were three houses owned by the Hunts, who had previously come into possession of the Webb lot. Now every trace of trench or Island has been obliterated by the railroad embankment.

Workhouse Proposed. In 1765, a committee was constituted to confer with the neighboring "towns of Hatfield and Hadley, respecting the building of a workhouse in conjunction for the use and benefit of the three towns." Timothy Dwight Jr., Dea. Ebenezer Hunt and Col. Seth Pomeroy, constituted this committee, but nothing seems to have been accomplished. No report by them is anywhere alluded to upon the records. On consideration it was probably deemed a matter upon which the towns could not profitably enter into partnership.

A New Court-House
in Agitation. The Court-House and Town Hall, owned and used jointly by the Town and County, built in 1738, was old, and in need of repairs. The question came before the town in 1766, in the form of a threefold proposition made by the county:—that the town buy the share owned by the county, join the county in building anew, and in selling the old one. A committee was appointed to confer with the county officials regarding the sale of the property, but the town refused to do anything more than its rateable proportion towards building a new Court-House. No terms satisfactory to either party were arranged at this time. A proposition was made the next year to purchase the home lot of Elisha Alvord, corner of Main and King Streets, as a site for the new court-house, "soon to be erected," but the town refused to make an appropriation for that purpose. At the same time, however, it was voted "to repair the town house underpinning as may render it safe, and so not to expose any person's life by falling." Town-meetings continued to be held in this building till 1777, and after that time in the Court-House, till 1814, when a new Town Hall was built. In 1782, the Town and County united in the sale of the old building, when Robert Breck paid the town £4.8.9 for one half of it.

A New Court-House
Built. The proposition to build a new Court-House, brought before the County Court in 1766, was the occasion of the above named action by the town. William Williams of Deerfield and Oliver Partridge of Hatfield, together with others,

petitioned the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, at the November term of that year, for a new Court-House. They complained that the old building was "greatly out of repair and incommodious * * * that as the courts at Northampton are usually held in the winter in cold and inclement weather, your Petitioners & others necessarily attending said courts are subject and exposed to great Danger of Loss of health by reason of said Building being in want of Repairs," and asked "that a new Building be speedily erected for that purpose," or the old house repaired. The court at once ordered that £100 should be raised in the next county tax for the purpose of erecting a new Court-House, and appointed Col. Partridge and Eleazer Porter a committee to confer with the town of Northampton to ascertain whether the town would purchase the old one, or would unite with the county in selling it, or in building anew. At the March term following, the committee reported that the town refused to entertain either of the propositions. Timothy Dwight Jr., Capt. William Lyman, Mr. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton, Col. Partridge of Hatfield, and Eleazer Porter Esq. of Hadley, were constituted a committee to "form a model of a Court House," provide the materials, and proceed to erect the building. The court also ordered the committee to "set the s^d house upon the Rise of Ground before Capt. Lyman's dwelling house." At the adjourned March term, the court ordered that £30 should be paid to each of the Court-House committee, very probably as compensation for their labor in preparing the "model." In August, 1767, the court ordered, "as the Rise of ground in front of Capt. William Lyman's house was not convenient for the purpose," that the committee should "set" the new Court-House "on the southerly side of Daniel Pomeroy's dwelling-house at or near the place known then by the name of the Poplar Tree."¹ This was on the common at the junction of Main, Elm and West Streets, in front of Smith College. The committee at once proceeded with the work; part of the foundation stone was delivered there and the excavation commenced.

1 Daniel Pomeroy lived on the lot now occupied by the Catholic Church, and his house was long known as the "Red Tavern."

Trouble about the
Site of the Build-
ing.

Some difficulty seems to have developed in reference to the location of the new building, the court ordering two changes before it was definitely settled. No one seems to have suggested placing it on the site of the old Court-House, which was the most central and convenient position, and as it proved quite near the point finally adopted. It stood in the highway, at the intersection of Main and King Streets, southeast of the present Court-House. When the decision to place the building in front of Capt. William Lyman's¹ house was made known, the location was deemed so unsatisfactory that certain citizens of Northampton endeavored to procure the Elisha Alvord homestead, on Meeting-House Hill, for that purpose. In March, the town refused to aid in the purchase, but a committee, consisting of Ebenezer Hunt, Joseph Hawley, and Timothy Dwight Jr., proceeded to raise the needed sum of money by subscription. In the meantime the court changed the location. During the summer the committee succeeded in obtaining the funds with which to purchase the Alvord place. One hundred thirty pounds were contributed by fifty-five persons from Northampton, and one from Hatfield, and the land was deeded to the county "for the purpose of a Green or Common and for erecting a Court House, or Court Houses thereon." At the November term the court approved the purchase, accepted the deed, and ordered the committee to construct and finish the Court-House at that place.

Site of the New
Court-House.

The land on which the new Court-House was built, was first granted in 1675 to Samuel Allen, when his house on King Street was burned by the Indians. It afterwards came into the possession of Saul Alvord. He sold it in 1762 or 1763 to Elisha Alvord, and removed to Bolton. The committee of

¹ It is somewhat uncertain where Capt. William Lyman lived at this time, but probably it was on Main Street, on what was afterwards the property of Judge Joseph Lyman, just west of the present Mansion House block (where now are the stores of F. W. Roberts, P. H. Dewey, E. H. Banister, and Bon Marché). Yet nothing now indicates that any special "Rise of Ground" ever existed there, unless it may be that the top of the hill at the head of South Street, was so designated. Col. William Lyman bought the homestead in 1757. Lieut. William Lyman lived on Pleasant Street, in 1743, but the topography of that street would conform still less than the other to the description in the court records.

citizens having the matter in charge bought of the widow of Elisha Pomeroy, the homestead at the corner of Main and South Streets, and exchanged the same with Alvord for his home lot on Meeting-House Hill. In 1768, the new building was finished, and the committee reported that they had expended £353 on the structure. Courts were first held in the new building in February 1769.¹

1 For description and plan of property see Appendix.

CHAPTER XXIII.

POLITICAL MATTERS—CENSUS—JAIL--NEW TOWNS.

Agitation Foreshad-
owing the Revolu-
tion.

BEFORE the close of the seven years' war the agitation which resulted in the Revolution, commenced. England proposed to tax the colonies for revenue, and on that line proceeded to legislate for America. The people denied the right of taxation without representation, and protested vigorously against the arbitrary legislation of the British Parliament. Opposition to the British government did not spring up in a single night. Aware of their dependence upon the mother-country, the colonies were loyal to the King. Independence had at first little or no foundation in the minds of the people of New England. Men who afterwards became leaders in the struggle for liberty, were reared in loyalty, and basked in the sunshine of kingly favor. Even when the laws of his ministers became burdensome and oppressive, they still honored the King as good and loyal subjects. While the hand of England lay lightly upon them they had no thought of independence. But when the usurpation of power led to oppressive legislation, no other method of relief presented itself. The preliminary struggles which led up to open warfare, are so familiar that there is no need even of recapitulation. But occasionally the town records contain an allusion to passing events in this great controversy, and in order to obtain a clear understanding of town action thereon, a more detailed reference to the specific measures that called forth that action is deemed necessary.

Obnoxious Laws.

Writs of assistance, search warrants authorizing revenue officers to enter any man's house, day or night, and break open doors, trunks, boxes and packages in search for goods suspected of having been imported without the payment of duties, were among the first of the obnoxious laws that paved the way to independence. These laws were first issued in 1761, and though not liable to be put in practice to any great extent in the valley towns, the agitation concerning them was not without its effect upon the population, however remote from the seashore. Then followed the sugar tax, by which a duty of sixpence was levied upon every gallon of molasses imported into the colony. But the Stamp Act, coupled with renewed and vigorous enforcement of the navigation Laws against smuggling, was one of the exciting causes that roused the patriotism of the people. The latter, enforced by the naval and military forces, was particularly obnoxious. It violated the sanctity of private life, and gave liberty, under the pretence of searching after contraband goods, for an entry into every man's house, against whom an unscrupulous enemy might have sworn an information. Smarting under the effects of these inquisitory laws, it required but the imposition of the Stamp Act to call out a demonstration on the part of the people that ended in riotous proceedings.

The Stamp Act.

Intelligence of the passage of the Stamp Act reached Boston in May, 1765. The reception it met with may be considered as the opening act of the Revolution, and though the unpopular law was soon repealed, the seeds of liberty were too strongly planted to be afterwards eradicated. In Boston the excitement increased, and in August reached the boiling point. Some of the officers, influential in passing the unsatisfactory enactment, were burned in effigy by the citizens, which fury, augmented by what it fed on, soon burst into rioting. The houses of several prominent men were broken open, and their contents destroyed or carried away. The better disposed of the people met at Faneuil Hall the next day, denounced these unlawful proceedings, and called upon the authorities to take measures to prevent further outbreaks. With the repeal of the Stamp Act came a demand from

Parliament for compensation from the colony for the losses occasioned by the rioters. This proposition was discussed in the House of Deputies at its midsummer session, and a majority voted against raising any money by tax to meet these losses. In this debate, Major Hawley, representative from Northampton, was bold and outspoken in opposition. It was on this occasion that he electrified his hearers by the assertion that "the Parliament of Great Britain has no right to legislate for us," and for which he received then and there the public thanks of his friend and compatriot, James Otis. A bill was presented which proposed a grant to meet these losses, on condition that a free pardon should be given to all persons concerned in the outbreak. In order to feel the pulse of their constituents, this bill was printed and sent to the several towns.

The Town acts upon
the Bill. In Northampton, the matter was brought before the town, November 24th, 1766, by the following article in the warrant :—

"To consider of a Bill now pending in the House of Representatives entitled An Act for granting compensation to the Sufferers & of free & general Pardon, Indemnity & oblivion to the offenders in the late times & to give Instructions to their representative for his conduct about the same."¹

A committee of five persons, consisting of Capt. [Timothy] Dwight, Dea. [Ebenezer] Hunt, Mr. Gad Lyman, Mr. Solomon Stoddard, and Col. Seth Pomeroy, was authorized to consider the subject and report. At the afternoon session the committee presented their conclusions. Then followed the subjoined action by the meeting :—

"The Question was put whether they would instruct their representative to give his vote that the Said Bill Should pass to be enacted, & it passed in the negative. Then the Question was put whether they would accept the report of their Said Committee, on the said bill, & it passed in the negative. Then it was moved that the following Question might be put, to wit :—Whether it was the mind of the Town that upon all matters that are or may be under the Consideration of the Said house of representatives during the present Session, Their representative Should Act according to his best Judgment & discretion² on hearing the debates thereon in that house, whereupon the Said Question was put & it passed in the affirmative."

1 Barry's Mass., vol. 2, p. 328.

2 The views of Mr. Hawley, then representative, had already been made known by him, at the previous session of the legislature.

The Town Undecided. Evidently the town, divided in sentiment on the question, and unwilling to commit itself upon the issue, selected the best way out of the dilemma, by voting to abide by the decision of its representative. What discussion occurred in the town-meeting, or even what may have been the report of the committee, is not known, as that document has not been preserved. It is possible, judging from the political complexion of the committee, as developed later, that they may have reported in favor of the grant, but against the indemnity. It is not probable that they favored the passage of the bill as a whole, nor that they proposed to put the matter unreservedly into the hands of their representative, as both of these suggestions were voted on independently of their report.

The Bill passed by the Legislature. This committee contained in the persons of Timothy Dwight and Solomon Stoddard, two individuals who were afterwards avowed tories, and one at least of the others is believed to have had strong predilections in that direction. The result, however, was decidedly in favor of the bill, for which Major Hawley had already committed himself. During the debate in the legislature, he made strong opposition to any grant unless accompanied by the indemnity clause. A majority of the towns decided, like Northampton, to abide by the decision of their representatives, and the House voted at first to raise no money for such a purpose by taxation. After further discussion, however, an act substantially in accordance with the proposition sent to the towns, was passed by the House of Deputies, by a majority of eighteen votes. It was concurred in by the Council, and with reluctance signed by the Governor. This act was subsequently annulled by the King, but not before the provision granting compensation had been carried out.

Further Strife with Parliamentary Laws. Politics came once more to the front in the year 1768, when the town was called upon to join in a convention to be held in Boston, for the purpose of consulting upon the position of affairs. A brief summary of the events which led up to

this movement will indicate the critical point which the controversy with the home government had reached, as well as the conservative position assumed by the town. Feeling in the maritime towns was much more intense than in the interior of the state, and while the citizens of Northampton were ever patriotic and ready to uphold their rights, they were in no haste to follow blindly the lead of the Boston populace, though guided by such men as Otis, Adams and Warren. The repeal of the Stamp Act did not end the struggle to derive revenue from the colonies. A tax was levied on glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea, a Board of Customs was established, and writs of assistance legalized. These laws alarmed the people to a much greater extent than did the Stamp Act, and resistance to them was at once determined upon. The citizens of Boston voted in town-meeting to refuse to import certain articles of British manufacture, and to economize in the consumption of many others. Resolutions were passed by the Legislature discouraging the use of British manufactured articles, and recommending those of American production. An English war vessel impressed seamen in Boston, and a vessel belonging to John Hancock was seized on charge of defrauding the revenue. Several mass-meetings of the people were held in which Adams and Otis denounced with vigor these acts of their oppressors. The anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act was enthusiastically celebrated, but no overt act was committed. While all was excitement and men's passions were at fever heat, instructions were received ordering the Legislature to rescind its anti-importation resolutions. This was refused, and Gov. Barnard prorogued the General Court. Again the merchants of Boston pledged themselves to import no merchandise from England, except such as was absolutely necessary. All but sixteen of them signed the agreement, and the articles upon which duties had been imposed were especially prohibited. At a mass-meeting held in Faneuil Hall, in September, it was resolved that "the inhabitants of Boston will, at the utmost peril of their lives and fortunes, maintain and defend their rights, liberties, privileges and immunities." It was also decided at this meeting to call a convention of all the towns, within two weeks, and the

selectmen of Boston were requested to correspond with the several towns, asking their co-operation. The circular addressed to the towns suggested as an occasion for the convention, the possibility of a war with France, as well as the fact that no Legislature could be convened. Since dissolving the last one the Governor had refused to authorize another.

The Town considers
the Matter.

A special town-meeting was called to consider this proposition, on the 21st of September. Nothing remains to show whether the question was discussed or not. The only record concerning it is the following extract from the town records signed by "Joseph Hawley, Mod."

"Then the Question was put whether the Town would appoint a Committee to Act for them in convention with Such as may be Sent from the Several Towns in this province to be Assembled at Faneuil Hall, in Boston, on thursday the Twenty-second day of September Instant, to consult and advise Such measures as his Majesty's subjects in this province may require and it passed in the negative uno Solo contradicente. Sixty-five or six voters were present."

Action of the Con-
vention.

Northampton was among the small minority of towns that declined to take part in these proceedings. Ninety-six towns and eight districts were represented. After a session of six days, during which time pending questions were thoroughly discussed, the convention dissolved, having denounced the ungracious legislation of England, and renewed their protest against the unwholesome and unwelcome laws, with so much caution and discretion, withal, that those on the watch for it were unable to detect a single trace of treason in any of their transactions.

Districts and not
Towns Instituted.

For upwards of twenty years succeeding the incorporation of Southampton as a district, Northampton was represented in the General Court by only three different persons. During this time, and down to 1786, a period of thirty-three years, Northampton and Southampton constituted one representative district. Some years before the latter town was set off, a distinctive blow was aimed at popular government in

the colonies by restricting the number of representatives in the lower House. Instructions were issued that no more towns should be constituted with the privilege of representation. Hence for many years all municipal incorporations were erected into districts, but without authority to send deputies to the General Court.¹ Gideon Lyman was representative from the double district in 1754, 1755, 1757; Timothy Dwight for eight years in succession, from 1758 to 1765; and Joseph Hawley in 1754, 1755, and for nine years consecutively from 1766. In 1764, while Timothy Dwight represented Northampton, Joseph Hawley seems to have served in the same capacity for Southampton. A change was made in the law in 1786, and every town was authorized to send a representative.

The Meeting-House too Small. Notwithstanding the hardship and disaster attendant upon the seven years' war, the town continued to increase in wealth and numbers. So large had become the population three years after the war closed, that the meeting-house, only thirty years in existence, was altogether too small, and the people had been for some time planning for its enlargement. All the available space for sittings had been utilized, and still there was not room enough. Several of these suggestions have already been enumerated, some of them had been ordered, but few apparently had been carried out. In 1767, a definite proposition was made to enlarge the structure, but the town was not ready for the undertaking, and it was promptly negatived.

Poorhouse Provided. During the same year it was voted to build a house with two rooms for the use of the poor, but the committee chosen to consider the matter reported that the house of Simeon Root could be hired for that purpose, and the selectmen were directed to secure the property.

Census of the Town. Three years previous to this last attempt to enlarge the meeting-house, a census of the town was taken, as Major Hawley says, "by order of the King of England." The result was as follows:—num-

¹ Holland's History of Western Massachusetts, vol. 1, p. 202.

ber of dwelling-houses, 187 ; number of families, 202 ; number of males over 16, 339 ; number of males under 16, 312 ; number of females over 16, 333 ; number of females under 16, 281 ; total number of males, 651 ; total number of females, 614 ; aggregate of population, 1265. One family of nine persons was omitted, which increases the total to 1274. In addition there were ten negroes, five males and five females. Apparently they were nearly all slaves, and were distributed in the following families :— Mrs. Prudence Stoddard, widow of Col. John, one female ; Lieut. Caleb Strong, one male ; Joseph and Jonathan Clapp, one each ; Joseph Hunt, one of each sex. There was one negro at Moses Kingsley's, not a slave, another at Zadoc Danks, and Bathsheba Hull was then living near South Street bridge. This seems to have been the first numbering of the people on record.

Other Statistics and
"Faculties."

In 1764, the town valuation usually taken in November, amounted to £14,928.9 ; the number of polls was 310. The province tax was £284.8.1 $\frac{1}{4}$; representative's pay, £13.10 ; town tax, £255.13.4 $\frac{3}{4}$; county tax, £33.3.7 ; the entire province, county and town tax amounted to £586.15.2 $\frac{3}{4}$. In making out the tax list the term "facultys" was used to designate any business other than farming. The amounts assessed on faculties varied from year to year. In 1761, they came high. Samuel Clark, saddler, was taxed £25 worth of "faculty ;" J. Hodge, tailor, £25 ; Elisha Lyman, joiner, £15 ; Samuel Mather, physician, £40 ; Joseph Hawley, lawyer, £40 ; Lieut. Caleb Strong, tanner, £40. In this term "faculty" was included tools, stock in trade, profession, etc. To show the depreciation in the value of these faculties, a few of these personal taxes for the year 1768 are given :— Quartus Pomeroy, blacksmith, £15 ; Joseph Hawley, lawyer, £20 ; Dr. Samuel Mather, £10 ; Elisha Lyman, joiner, £4 ; Caleb Strong, tanner, £30 ; Ebenezer Hunt, hatter, £60 ; Seth Pomeroy, blacksmith, £20 ; Daniel Hitchcock, lawyer, £20 ; George Hodge, tailor, £6 ; Joel Bartlett, weaver, £6 ; Robert Breck, trader, £10 ; Ezra Clark, weaver, tanner, ferryman, £10 ; Joseph Hutchins, shoemaker, £8 ; Asa Wright, shoemaker, £10 ; John Lyman,

£3. Houses were valued in 1761, from £2 to £7; barns and shops, at 50s., 40s., and 30s.; home lots on Hawley Street, from £3 to £4; on Main and Pleasant Streets, £4 to £7; on South Street, at £3. The best meadow-land was valued at 65s. per acre, and varied from 45s. to 50s., and on South Street at 40s. per acre. Improved uplands were commonly valued at 20s., and some nearest the home lots, at from 25s. to 30s. Oxen were valued at 40s. each; horses, three years old, 40s.; cows, three years old, 30s.; swine, one year old, 8s.; sheep and goats, at 3s.

A Severe Storm. A terrible storm of rain, accompanied by thunder and lightning, occurred on the 5th of July, 1769. For several hours the rain fell in torrents, and the meadows were covered with water to the depth of three or four feet. Much damage was done to the roads and bridges, and large quantities of hay were carried off by the flood. During the storm the house of Dea. Jonathan Hunt was struck by lightning. The fluid entered at the top of the chimney, and descended to the lower floor, where two of his children, Jonathan, aged 15, and Thankful, aged 7, were standing. Both were instantly killed. The house was but slightly damaged.

An Extensive Flood. January of the following year was made memorable by a great flood. The streams were all raised above their banks, and many bridges were carried away. Dea. Ebenezer Hunt, who occupied the property east of the present City Hall, extending from Main Street to Mill River, has left the following account of it:—

“Jany 7, a great rain with South wind, the Mill river broke up, and the ice carried off Lickingwater bridge. It was one of the highest floods that any person remembers in Mill River, when the Great River did not set up. It was soon over the bank in my home lot.”

Within a few days a town-meeting was held, which voted “almost unanimously,” to rebuild the bridge, as the records read, “in the road to Lickingwater.” The committee was instructed to build it “in the new form and method of constructing bridges lately gone into by the town.” A foot-bridge was constructed for use while the other was in building.

Patrolling the Meeting-House on Sunday.

Tithing-men were instructed in 1769, "to prevent disorders among the young people and children in time of worship in the house of God, tho' they be under the necessity of walking about the house to suppress them." Unruly indeed must have been the young provincials, when it became necessary to order the meeting-house to be patrolled during service in order to keep them within bounds. From the numerous votes passed, and by-laws adopted at different times for their regulation, and noted in these pages, it may be safely inferred that the young in those days had no very great respect for sacred things. Apparently the good people, while they insisted that every one, old and young, should attend public worship, did not impress upon their children the propriety of the outward observance of their cherished ceremonials. All attempts to manage the younger element in the meeting-house seem to have been without result. Three years after, the above vote was renewed, and a committee chosen to draft a by-law touching this matter, but no definite action by it is apparent.

Pascommuck People want Sabbath Services.

For several years the people living at Pascommuck and Bartlett's Mills (Easthampton), had been agitating the question of better accommodations on the Sabbath. They lived at considerable distance from the center of the town, and many times in the year, especially during the winter months, it was difficult for them to get there; the meeting-house was crowded, and they desired that services might be held in their vicinity. Accordingly in 1769, a committee was appointed "to consult and agree upon some measures for the ease and relief of the good people at the farms in their attendance upon the public worship of God which they are desirous of & have motioned it to the town to consider of at this time," and to report at some future meeting. At a meeting held in March of the following year, the committee suggested that the whole matter should be placed in the hands of another committee, who should be instructed

"to view the situation of the Said Farmers Settlements & also the lands in those parts of the Town which are Suitable & likely soon to be settled & upon such general view to pitch upon a spot for a meeting

house to accommodate such Farmers & out Settlements & that when they should have fixed upon the spot the said committee should make the same known to all the Inhabitants living at such farms & as soon as might be learn from the said Inhabitants dwelling at the places above said who & what number of them would consent to assemble at the said place pitched on by the said committee for a meeting house, provided that the town would set up a meeting house at the said place at the expense of the Town & also grant the monies for defraying the charge of winter preaching there."

This report was considered and accepted and a committee of five persons chosen "for the service proposed in said report." Nothing satisfactory seems to have been accomplished at this time, and within three years the settlers in that section petitioned to be set off into a town by themselves.

"Lickingwater"
School. This year a log school-house was built "on the south side of Mill river, in that part of the town called 'Lickingwater.'" Some opposition was manifested and an unsuccessful attempt was made to reconsider the vote by which it was authorized, but a school was established there, and scholars from Bartlett's Mills were allowed to attend. In 1771, an article was inserted in the warrant for the May meeting to consider the question of allowing females to attend this school. When the matter came up in the meeting, it was found that those who "were to be benefitted by it did not desire it and it was dropt." This is the first allusion to the schooling of girls upon the public records. The building must have been poorly constructed, as the next year it seemed to be in need of repairs, but the town refused to make an appropriation for that purpose, though in 1772 it was rough boarded in order to make it more comfortable.

Change in the Ses-
sions of the
County Court. In 1770, Col. Israel Williams of Deerfield presented a petition for the approval of the town concerning a change in the sessions of the court in Northampton and Springfield. The town acted favorably upon it, and instructed its representative, Joseph Hawley, to urge the matter in the Legislature. This petition was granted by the General Court, and an additional term of the Superior Court was ordered to be holden at Northampton.

Right of Southamp-
ton to the interest
of the School
Fund.

An inquiry was ordered into the right of Southampton to a portion of the interest on the school money belonging to the town, which had been regularly paid over to that district. Apparently the town refused to pay any more of it to Southampton, as no more such payments can be found upon the treasurer's books.

Several Matters
Adjusted.

Timothy Dwight and others were granted the privilege, in 1771, of erecting a slaughter-house on the town land, near Aaron Kingsley's tan-yard pasture, and the selectmen were authorized to procure the proper and necessary tools for digging graves and put them into the hands of responsible persons. The town also ordered the prosecution of those persons who had recently brought a squaw into the town, unless they would refund the money paid out on her behalf during her illness. Surveyors were allowed "two coppers per mile," when obliged to go to distant parts of the town in the discharge of their official duties. At the same time it was voted not to build a school-house at Pascommuck.

Westhampton Pe-
titions for a Min-
ister.

In 1772, settlers in the west part of the town followed the example of Pascommuck and sent the annexed Petition to the town :

"Northampton, February y^e 25, A. D. 1772.

"To the Gentleme freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Northampton assembled and meet on their annual March meeting.

"The petition of the inhabitants of the west or Long Division So called in the County of hampshire.

"humbly shews that whereas we have long Laboured under the unhappiness of being So Situate in our Settlements hear in the woods that we cant with any convenience enjoy many of the previlidges of the town for which we have heither to boorn a proportionable part of the charge and cost viz : the Support of the Minister of the gosple and Schooling of children which we cant but Look upon a burden two heavy for us to Bare now in our infant State of begining.

"And as we are now proposeing a meathod for our releaf with respect to haveing the gosple preached among us hear in the neighbour-hood So that our famalyes may take the benefit thereof—in which proceedings we humbly hope and trust that your generossetyes will So fully acquies and be So well pleased to See any thing Done that hath a tendency to promote peace and good order and Espetially the revival of Decaying religion which is or ought to be much Lemented that you will

contribute Sumthing for the incorraigment of the Same Espepecially if no more that you would Grant that we may haue our minister raits allowed us that we Shall be the better able to Support the word preachd among our Selves—and that you would order Sumthing relitive to Schooling as you in your wisdom Shall See fit—the other things we leav at your Discretion nothing Dointing but you will grattify us in this or sum other way as may be thot proper as your petitionors Shew.

“ And as in Duty Bound Shall Ever pray.”

This document was signed by Joshua Claffin and fifteen other persons, residents in that section of the town. The above modest though ill spelled request was granted on condition that the money allowed should be applied to pay for preaching among themselves. At the next annual meeting £8 were appropriated to the “4 miles of Long Division” for preaching. Again in the following year £9 were granted to the inhabitants of “Westhampton,” viz. : “those who live on Long Division, within four miles east of the west line of Division for preaching and schooling.” Though the name Westhampton is upon the records, the new town was not incorporated till four years after. Every year an appropriation was made : in 1776 one of £9, and the next year another of £15.

A Meeting Protracted
by Adjournment.

In 1772, the March meeting was adjourned from the 3^d to the 23^d, then to the 18th of May, and then to the first Monday in July. These meetings were mainly occupied with the laying out of roads and the settlement of damages. While this meeting was thus carried forward by adjournment, another was called in May and that was adjourned till July 6th.

The Pauper Ques-
tion Again.

Every town endeavored to relieve itself of the care of paupers whose legal settlement was elsewhere, and summary methods of removal were often used. The selectmen in 1772 were “desired (as occasion may from time to time require) to use their Discretion in endeavoring a removal of all such persons who have no legal settlement here as they are apprehensive may become chargeable to the town or who are likely to prove bad or troublesome neighbors, altho they may be members of the church here.” Many persons had

been "warned out of town" at different times, but here was a vote severing their connection with the parish, in spite of any claim they might have upon the church. Paupers were given to understand that even though they might be church-members in good and regular standing, they were not to be encouraged. Not less than twenty persons were "warned out of town" in 1741 and 1742, and for several succeeding years the number was scarcely less. With this provision of the law, thoroughly enforced, it is not probable that Northampton was burdened to any great extent with the paupers of other towns.

Town Indicted for
Defective High-
ways.

During this year the town was indicted for defective highways. Joseph Hawley and Timothy Dwight were appointed to defend the suit. One indictment was found by the Grand Jury in August, and another presentment was made at the November term of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace. The cases went against the town, and fines to the amount of £9.9 were paid.

Wolves.

These animals were becoming very numerous and destructive, and a bounty of £3 for all hunted down and 40s. for all caught in traps, was offered, in addition to the bounty paid by the Province, provided the animals were killed before the first of June.

Pascommuck School-
House.

When the town denied the petition of the Pascommuck settlers, in 1771, to build them a school-house, they erected one at their own expense the following year, and the next year petitioned the town for an appropriation towards its payment. This request was granted, and the town paid one half the cost amounting to £7.1.9, in 1775.

The Village Sets up
for Itself.

Pascommuck, tired of being longer dependent upon the parent town, and disgusted with the treatment its requests for school and ministerial privileges had received, sought permission in 1773, to set up for itself. After a favorable report from a special committee, the town voted to make no opposition to the petitioners, and granted them £300

towards building a meeting-house and settling a minister. The boundary lines of the proposed new district, which also included Bartlett's Mills, were designated by the committee and accepted by the town. This line as reported extended on the south to Connecticut River, and included Mt. Tom and the land east of it to the river. The town, however, voted that the settlers living on that tract, might remain in Northampton "if they continued desirous of it." They did continue desirous of it, and the easterly boundary of the new town was run west of the mountain, and that is the reason why the villages of Smiths Ferry and Mt. Tom still remain a part of this town. In June the petitioners again came before the town asking for a larger appropriation and increase of territory. The request for more money was negatived, but the northern boundary was changed so as to include much more land. In December, the representative in the General Court was instructed to "use his best endeavor" to procure the incorporation of the new town. In January of the following year, about a dozen of the inhabitants in the northeasterly part of Southampton, petitioned the Legislature to be set off with the Pascommuck settlers. They argued that they lived at a great distance from the meeting-house in Southampton, and that they were very "near these brethren" who desired to be incorporated into a new town. They disclaimed any dislike to their minister or any disagreement with the other inhabitants of the district. Southampton, very naturally, resisted this projected dismemberment, and a remonstrance to the above petition was forwarded to the Legislature. In this document it was contended

"that the westerly part of Southampton is mountainance and barren, that most of the lands in the town are poor, and in their natural state generally sold at 4s. an acre. The inhabitants were much kept back by the last two wars, and the town was but just able to pay public charges. Some who dwelt at the south west part will probably soon be joined to Norwich or Westfield, and have already concerted measures for that purpose. The meeting house is old, and a new one must be built. If the petitioners are set off, there will be great difficulty about a spot for a new one. The petitioners do not any of them live over four miles from the meeting house, and the roads are good, and they have some of the best land in the district. They also intend to draw away others from said district, who will be nearer to their proposed new meeting house."

These arguments of the remonstrants prevailed for the time being, and not till after the Revolution was the new district established. Considerable feeling was manifested in Southampton, and several spicy town-meetings were held. Jonathan Judd Jr., of that town, son of the minister, has the following entry in his journal on the 22^d and 23^d of June : —

“A meeting in order to see about seting off the North Part of the District * * After the matter was proposed and a vote had like to have been taken, but with much ado it was put by. Capt. Clapp designed to have catched us, but his son could not keep it to himself.” In another entry of January 3^d. 1774. he writes :— “Town meeting about the Designed parish to the N. E. Instructions to Major Hawley to hinder those People from going off were voted for. N-n had voted for him to forward their going off.¹ those People much engaged to go.”

Again in 1781, the subject was in agitation. Mr. Judd says, August 13th :— “Meeting did not vote off the North part of the town.” The next year Northampton once more voted in favor of establishing the new town, and decided to give one eighth of all the public property in the town, estimating that to be about the proportion of its inhabitants that would be included within the boundary lines of the new settlement. Three years however elapsed before Easthampton was incorporated.

Jail Ordered to be Built. No place existed in Northampton for the proper detention of criminals, the old house of correction, erected in 1707, having been sold by the town in 1760. In 1772, the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, appointed Major Joseph Hawley, Major Timothy Dwight, Capt. Solomon Stoddard, Lieut. Gideon Clark, and Mr. Jonathan Allen, a committee to buy land and build a Jail in Northampton. Work was commenced on the structure during the following year. They purchased of Asahel Danks and wife the homestead which had belonged to Benjamin Bartlett (father of Danks' wife), for £110, which together with the interest brought the amount of the purchase money to £119.18. This was a por-

¹ Major Hawley was at this time representative for the towns of Northampton and Southampton. One year he received instructions from Northampton to favor the project for a new town, and the next year he was requested by Southampton to oppose the movement. That is, Northampton desired him to favor the Pascommuck petition, and Southampton instructed him to oppose the division of that town. This latter territory was known as “Clapp's Farms.”

tion of the homestead of Robert Bartlett, one of the first settlers, and was situated at the lower end of Pleasant Street. The old dwelling-house was moved back and fitted up for the use of the jailer. It was called the "Mansion House," and was demolished in 1833. The new jail was built of squared logs which were cut on the commons in the west part of the town. The entire cost of the building, including interest, was £672, equal to \$2,240.

Description of the
New Jail.

This building, like all of its class then in use, was very insecure, and from it many prisoners escaped. It was badly constructed, although in all probability one of the best of its kind in this part of the Province. "The cells were scarce four feet high, and filled with the noxious gases of the privy vaults through which they were supposed to be ventilated. Light came in from two chinks in the walls."¹ The notorious Stephen Burroughs, convicted of passing counterfeit money, was removed from the jail in Springfield to this one, in 1796. No sooner were the prisoners placed within the building than they began the work of breaking out of it. On the night that Burroughs had been placed in the gaol at Springfield, several prisoners made their escape, consequently he was removed. Though he was not concerned in the Springfield jail delivery, he had hardly reached his new quarters before he commenced the same game himself. His first attempt was by undermining the chimney, but he was caught before his labors were completed. A short time after, while chained to the floor, he set the jail on fire; on still another occasion in company with a companion, he succeeded in digging under the foundation of the building, breaking ground outside of it only to fall into the hands of the officers, who had discovered the attempt and were waiting to greet him.²

A New Jail Built.

This structure answered its purpose for about twenty-seven years, holding securely all prisoners who were willing to remain within its walls. In the year 1800 a new one of stone was built on its site,

1 McMaster's History of the American People, vol. 1, p. 99.

2 Life of Stephen Burroughs.

forty feet long, twenty-eight feet wide, and sixteen feet high. The committee charged with its erection were Ebenezer Mattoon of Amherst, Charles Phelps of Hadley, and Josiah Dickinson of Northampton. It cost \$5,183.85. Persons now living who remember the building, state that it was two stories in height, the debtor's room being on the second floor. For more than half a century this building was in use. In 1853, the present Jail and House of Correction was erected, at a cost of \$49,000.

Horse-Blocks. These conveniences are first noticed upon the records in 1773, when a suitable number were ordered to be set up near the meeting-house "for those who ride to meeting." They afterwards became fixtures everywhere, and many other votes are recorded concerning them.¹

Subscription for Bounty on Wolves. In March, the town voted the usual premium of £3 for every wolf killed, in addition to the same amount established by law. But certain of the citizens "being apprehensive that the raising of the premium about five or six pounds more * * * would be vastly beneficial to the town & particularly to the owners of the sheep therein, as it would tend greatly & might be the means of their preservation * * * by encouraging persons skilled that way & others to employ a much greater portion of their time than they have been able heretofore to do in hunting, killing & driving them away out of town," circulated a subscription paper and raised £3.7.6 to be added to the premiums already offered. Twenty-seven names are appended to this paper. No one gave more than 4s., and none less than 1s. These twenty-seven names represent, undoubtedly, the owners of the largest flocks of sheep in town.

Manufacture of Pottery. One of the earliest attempts at manufacturing in Northampton, of which any record has been found, was pottery. It was established by Capt. Jonathan Hale, who came here from Had-

¹ In the latter part of the 18th century, horse-blocks were very common throughout the town. In South Street one could be found at nearly every house on both sides of the street. Some were made of boards and plank and slit work, or of large timbers; others were simply a log squared, with steps cut at one side.

ley in 1773. He lived on Bridge Street, and his factory was at the rear of his home lot. Clay was obtained on the bank of the Connecticut River above and below the location of the present bridges. He died in 1776, and Ebenezer Gibbs succeeded to the business. Gibbs came from Chatham, and obtained a portion of the clay he used from "Clay hill" beyond West Street bridge. The business passed into the hands of Dea. Ebenezer Hunt, in 1779, and he carried it on for several years.

Articles Manufac-
tured.

Coarse red pottery, partially glazed, seems to have been the output of this small establishment. It consisted of pots, pans, pitchers, platters, pudding dishes, jugs, bowls, etc., which were sold by peddlers throughout the county. Considerable business was done in this line by Dea. Hunt, who purchased the tools of Samuel Parsons. It is not known what became of the industry, though in all probability, during the unsettled times that preceded and followed the Revolution, the demand for the product ceased, and the business died out. It is not certainly known where Dea. Hunt manufactured the goods, whether at the old stand on Bridge Street, or elsewhere. Everything was shaped by hand and little machinery used.

Orders to the Se-
lectmen.

The next year the selectmen were ordered to provide a place where the bier could be housed, to repair the wall about the burying yard, and to procure and set out trees at convenient distances around the same. These trees were set out at a cost of 10s., and in a year or two all that had died were replaced. The selectmen were also ordered "as often as once a quarter to visit the Several Schools in the body of the Town, & examine into the State of them & make Such orders & give Such directions respecting their Instruction & management of them as Shall appear proper."

CHAPTER XXIV.

REVOLUTION—PRELIMINARY EVENTS.

Irritating Move-
ments by the
Home Govern-
ment.

FROM this time onward events which forced the outbreak of the Revolution rapidly culminated. To some of the measures submitted to the people and their action thereon, reference has previously been made. It remains, therefore, but to relate such other facts as will lead at least to a partial understanding of the few local votes which bear upon the political situation. For years there was constant friction between the Province and the home government. During the incumbency of Gov. Hutchinson, the breach became wider and wider. The colony in its determination to uphold its rights and privileges fearlessly resisted the oppressive acts of the British Parliament, while the latter, insisting upon its paramount authority over the settlements in North America, drew closer and tighter the bonds of government. The command of the King in 1770, removing the sessions of the General Court from Boston to Cambridge, in order to "separate the country representatives from the Boston faction," was the source of constant irritation. Many petitions from the Legislature, demanding as a right the privilege of holding its sessions in Boston, were refused by the Governor, and very little legislation except such as was absolutely necessary to carry on the government, or strengthen the people in their determination to resist parliamentary aggression, was accomplished.

Mr. Hawley offers
Resolutions of Pro-
test.

Another grievance manifested itself when the King established and paid the salary of the Governor. A series of resolutions, offered by Major Hawley, stigmatizing this act as an "in-

fraction upon the rights granted the inhabitants by the royal charter," was adopted by the Legislature by a vote of eighty-five to nineteen. This was soon followed by a provision fixing and paying the salaries of the Judges of the courts from the royal coffers. When this last measure was promulgated the Legislature was not in session. The patriots of Boston called a town-meeting and petitioned the Governor to refer the whole matter of salaries to the General Court. Gov. Hutchinson not only refused to grant this request, but declined to convene the Legislature in December, to which time it had been prorogued. From this action was evolved the first of those movements which resulted in the American Revolution. Boston immediately appointed a committee of correspondence, consisting of twenty-one persons. Among other measures adopted by this committee to acquaint the people with the facts, was a letter sent to each town in the Province, in which the position of affairs was clearly stated, and a request made that each should give an expression of opinion upon the situation. A response to this stirring appeal was made by nearly all the towns during the fall and winter of 1772. Northampton, however, seems to have been among those towns which failed to notice the letter. "On Monday, the twenty-eighth day of December," says Bancroft, "towns were in session from the Kennebec to Buzzard's Bay." The people of Northampton were convened in town-meeting on that day, but no words of response to the suggestions of their compatriots were pronounced therein. From all parts of the Province came patriotic responses to the earnest appeal of the people of Boston, but the home of Hawley was silent. Throughout the year town-meetings were held here, but never a word emanated from any of them to stir the hearts of the patriots or to encourage or uphold the union against British tyranny and oppression. If any action was had it must have been at a special gathering called for the purpose without a warrant: a meeting of which no record has been preserved. This appeal to the towns and the almost absolute unanimity of their replies is a noteworthy fact. Historians quote and dwell with satisfaction upon their ringing utterances, but alas! nowhere is the name of Northampton mentioned. The conclusion cannot be avoided that she, though one of her sons was

foremost among the leaders of the movement, made no sign. Not only were the towns very nearly of one mind in their decision to resist the unsatisfactory laws of Parliament, but before spring, in most of them committees of correspondence had been established. In this as well as in committing herself to the cause of freedom, Northampton was again dilatory, and for more than a twelvemonth nothing of the kind was accomplished here.

No more Tea Allowed. During the following year came the attempt to force upon the colonies the Tea of the East India Tea Company, which the American merchants had already refused to import. But the people would have none of it, and successfully resisted the attempt to pour it down their throats. From some ports the tea ships were compelled to return with their cargoes undisturbed. In Boston after the "tea party" in the harbor, in December, 1773, no cargo remained for them to carry away.

British Troops Sent to Support Gage. Gen. Thomas Gage, who had for twelve years commanded the British forces in America, was appointed Governor of the Province in 1774, and four regiments were sent over to enforce the orders of Parliament. He arrived in May, and was received with the usual civil and military demonstrations. Convening at its usual time, the General Court assembled the same month, and the new Governor ordered that its sessions should be held at Salem. A series of resolutions were adopted recommending a "congress of deputies from the several houses of assembly on the continent," urging the inhabitants of the Province to dispense with India Teas, and to discountenance altogether the use of goods and manufactures imported from Great Britain. Immediately the Governor dissolved the court, and that was the last Legislature convened in Massachusetts under the authority of the King of England.

The "Boston Port Bill" and other Acts. Early in 1774, in order to punish that rebellious city for the destruction of so much good tea, the "Boston Port Bill" was enacted. It went into effect on the first of June. Before mid-

summer all business in the city was completely paralyzed, and great suffering ensued. The Legislature in session on the 17th of June, resolved that the towns of Boston and Charlestown, "suffering under the hand of power by the shutting up of the harbor by an armed force," ought to be relieved, and recommended "to all more especially the inhabitants of the Province to afford them speedy and constant relief in such a way and manner as shall be suitable to their circumstances." Afterwards the Provincial Congress passed resolutions soliciting aid from all sections of the country. The response was speedy and gratifying and substantial. From the eastern part of the Province much was donated, but in Western Massachusetts the amount was not large. Hatfield and one or two other towns answered the appeal, but Northampton was unresponsive. It was not till December that the subject came before the town at all. At that time a committee of twelve persons was appointed "to receive, preserve & convey Such articles as Shall be contributed by the Inhabitants of this Town for the relief of their Suffering brethren in the Towns of Boston and Charlestown." Another committee was also chosen "to consider the proper method to effect said contribution." With this elaborate preparation a liberal gift was to be anticipated. But it proved to be only a shadow of generosity. To the lasting discredit of our beautiful town, it must be said that not a penny was collected. Lists of all the contributions have been published, as well as the correspondence between the Boston committee and the town authorities, but the name of Northampton nowhere appears.

Commercial Non-intercourse with England. A meeting was held in Northampton June 15th, called probably without a warrant, to consider the "covenant sent out by the committee of correspondence of Boston," regarding the proposition "to suspend all commercial intercourse with England and forgoe the use of all British merchandise." After appointing a committee to consider and report upon the question, the meeting adjourned for two weeks. The response of Northampton can only be conjectured, as no record of the meeting has come to light. This covenant

was sent to all the towns in the Province, and the names of those who refused to sign it were to be published. Opposition to this measure developed in some of the towns, and it is possible that Northampton did not respond favorably. Mr. Judd of Southampton in his diary, quotes Major Hawley as "not for signing these covenants." A similar meeting was held in Southampton, and Mr. Judd thus comments upon the affair: "The People are raised in Temper not a little here and all around us. This Covenant a bad thing." Southampton, however, voted in favor of it, and it may be possible that Northampton did also, but no diary remains in which its decision is embalmed.

Other Obnoxious Laws. Almost simultaneously with the Boston Port Bill were enacted other equally obnoxious laws for the "better regulation of the government of Massachusetts Bay." As an act of retaliation against the General Court, Parliament took from it the power to assist in the choice of Councillors. Henceforth they were to be appointed by the King, and were known as the "Mandamus Councillors." To bring the people more directly under the control of the executive, all town-meetings were abolished, except for the purpose of choosing municipal officers, though some might be licensed by the Governor for a stated purpose. In order to concentrate all judicial authority in the hands of the government, on the Governor was conferred the power of appointing Judges, as well as that of appointing and removing Sheriffs; and to the latter was entrusted the authority of returning jurors, who had heretofore been chosen by the towns. For the enforcement of these laws, acts were passed providing for the quartering of troops upon the inhabitants in any part of the country. Provision was also made for the transportation of criminals charged with capital offences, committed in support of the royal authority, to Nova Scotia or England for trial. Another act, previously passed, which the General Court protested against in vain, provided that the salaries of the Governor and Judges of the courts should be paid from the royal treasury. Colonial revenue went into the hands of the King's officers to be disbursed in accordance with the royal will. Thus was

the charter abrogated without the semblance of legal authority. One by one the cherished privileges of the people were rent away and all power was lodged in the hands of their oppressors. In resisting these acts of despotism the colonies believed themselves abundantly justified. Especially they resented those acts that concentrated the judicial machinery of the colony in the control of an executive appointed by the power that forced upon them these unsatisfactory laws.

The County Courts
to be Stopped.

Believing that a judiciary, appointed and held in power "by any other tenure than that which the charter and the laws of the Province direct, must be considered as under undue influence, and therefore unconstitutional,"¹ the people took council together in reference to a further continuance of the County Courts, and resolved to stop them. A convention was held at Hadley, on the 26th of August, to "consult about the courts going on."² This was the first convention held in Hampshire County, but no report of its proceedings has been preserved. Mr. Judd has several allusions to this gathering and its object. On the 25th, he writes: "Western towns which are made up principally of emigrants from Connecticut are zealous for stopping the courts." Again on the 27th, the day after the convention, he says: "the Congress are all except 3 of the western towns for not stopping the court." and on the 28th he adds:—"probably the court will be stopt, great zeal in the west." Through the influence of this convention the first attempt to interfere with the courts in this county was made. The convention was divided in sentiment and a committee was appointed to interview the court and prevent its session if it proposed to act under the new establishment. But the more excitable among the people decided that there should be no judicial proceedings under either establishment. The regular session of the County Court of General Sessions of the Peace, occurred at Springfield, August 30th. Determined to prevent its sitting, the people gathered there in crowds. Mr. Judd thus alludes to this affair:—"Vast numbers gone from the West by way of Westfield," and

1 Journal Provincial Congress.

2 Judd's Diary.

on the next day he has the following entry :— “hear this Morning that 3 or 4000 People were collected that they would not let the court sit. Afterwards they trimmed some of the court all opposition was in vain every Body submitted to our Sovereign Lord the Mob—Now we are reduced to a State of Anarchy, have neither Law nor any other Rule except the Law of Nature which [is] much vitiated and Darkened to go by.” Other authorities represent that not over one thousand persons were present. At a signal from the West Springfield bell, a body of men marched into the town and took possession of the court-house steps, prominent among them being the committee from the Hadley convention.

Proceedings of the
Mob described by
an Eye-witness.

The after proceedings of the mob are graphically sketched in the annexed letter from Joseph Clarke of Northampton, law partner of Major Joseph Hawley, who was an eye-witness of the affair :—

“Springfield, Aug. 30th, 1774.

* * * “We arrived in town about noon this day and found all the people gathered before us. A committee from the body of the county had just waited upon the court to demand a satisfactory answer, that is, whether they meant to hold their commissions and exercise their authority according to the new act of parliament for altering the constitution of the province, which being answered in the negative, it was put to vote after the S^t message & answer were read to the people assembled before the meeting house, whether they were willing the Court should sit; it passed in the negative.

“Then the people paraded before Mr. Parsons’s¹ from thence marched back again to the meeting-house and demanded the appearance of the judges. The judges came according to desire, and amidst the Crowd in a sandy, sultry place, exposed to the sun as far as they were able in such circumstances, gave a reasonable, &, to the major part, a satisfactory answer to such questions as were asked.

“It was also demanded of them that they should make a declaration in writing, signed by all the justices and lawyers in the County, renouncing in the most express terms any commission which should be given out to them or either of them under the new arrangement, which was immediately complied with and executed accordingly.

1 Mr. Parsons was Landlord Parsons, famous throughout the valley, who kept the tavern which stood at the southeast corner of the present Court-House square, in Springfield. The large elm still standing there was so near the veranda that there was barely room for the passage of the stage-coach. Mr. Parsons was licensed as an innholder in 1773, and was still at his post in 1786.

“The People then reassembled before Mr. Parsons's house. Your uncle Catlin¹ falling into a personal quarrel, at length gained the attention of the people. They considered him as an object worthy of their malice, as he was an officer of the court. He was treated with candor and too mildly to make any complaint. His boasted heroism failed him in the day of trial, and vanished like a puff of smoke. He and O. Warner, who came to his assistance in the quarrel, made such declarations as were requested of them, and then were dismissed, unhurt, and in peace. Your uncle may say what he pleases with regard to their abuse of him, but I was an eye witness to the whole, and you I believe will be satisfied that no abuse was intended when I tell you what easy terms they requested & were satisfied with, namely, only a declaration that he would not hold any office under the new act of parliament.

“Col. Worthington² was next brought upon the board. The sight of him flashed lightning from their eyes. Their spirits were already raised and the sight of this object gave them additional force. He had not refused his new office of counsellor. For that reason especially he was very obnoxious. But the people kept their tempers. He attempted to harangue them in mitigation of his conduct, but he was soon obliged to desist. The people were not to be dallied with. Nothing would satisfy them but a renunciation in writing of his office as Counsellor and a recantation of his address to Gov. Gage, which last was likewise signed by Jona. Bliss & Caleb Strong, Jun.

“Jonathan Bliss next came upon the floor, he was very humble and the people were very credulous. He asked their pardon for all he had said or done which was contrary to their opinions; and as he depended for his support upon the people, he begged to stand well in their favor.

“Mr. Moses Bliss³ was brought into the ring, but the accusation against him was not well supported, and he passed off in silence. The Sheriff was the next who was demanded; he accordingly appeared. He was charged with saying some imprudent things, but none of them were proved, & he departed. But he was humbled. Col. Williams⁴ took the next turn. He went round the ring and vindicated himself from some accusations thrown upon him and denied some things that were laid to his charge.

“He declared in my hearing that ‘altho’ he had heretofore differed from the people in opinion with regard to the mode of obtaining redress, he would, hereafter, heartily acquiesce in any measures, that they should take for that purpose, and join with them in the common cause. He considered his interest as embarked in the same bottom with theirs, and hoped to leave it in peace to his Children.’

1 Col. Catlin was Major Catlin of Deerfield, a noted tory, who had likewise suffered for his adherence to royalty.

2 Col. Worthington was Hon. John Worthington of Springfield, a celebrated lawyer and an ardent loyalist. He had been appointed one of the Mandamus Counsellors by Gov. Gage, but never took the oath of office. He was a man of great influence, and an able lawyer, but retired to private life after the Revolution.

3 Jonathan and Moses Bliss were eminent lawyers of Springfield.

4 Col. Williams, was undoubtedly Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield, who had already been dealt with for toryism.

“Capt. Merrick of Munson was next treated with for uttering imprudent expressions. I thought they would have tarred & feathered him, and I thought he almost deserved it. He was very stubborn, as long as he dare be, but at length he made some concessions. But not till after they had carted him. No man received the least injury, but the strictest order of justice were observed. The people to their honor behaved with the greatest order & regularity, a few individuals excepted, and avoided, as much as possible, confusion.

“The people of each town being drawn into separate companies marched with staves & musick. The trumpets sounding, drums beating, fifes playing and Colours flying, struck the passions of the soul into a proper tone, and inspired martial courage into each.

“I kept all the time amongst the people, and observed their temper and dispositions, which I shall be better able to inform by word of mouth than otherwise.

“Another incident I will relate and then I have done. Mr. Stearns, by imprudent expressions, raised their indignation. They marched in a body to Col. Worthington’s and demanded him. Mrs. Worthington assured them he was not in the house. But they were by no means satisfied. They entered the house. She was fright, delivered up all her keys, begged of them to accept of their property, but spare their lives, and took her two youngest daughters in her arms and fled out into the fields. The people searched the house, but not finding Stearns they returned peaceably.

“The people will probably be condemned for preventing the sitting of the court but their conduct yet is comendable. I wait till morning, hope nothing will be transacted rashly tonight, for it is given out by the fearful that there is a number looking —”¹

No Court in North-
ampton.

No session of the Supreme Court was held at Northampton, in April, 1774. Judge Cushing was sick and “Judge Oliver may not sit. The Grand Jury had prepared something against him if he had appeared in the county.”² The Supreme Court under the old regime sat for the last time in Northampton in the Spring of that year. Apparently no open demonstration against holding a court was made here, but circumstances rendered its session inexpedient.

Committee of Corre-
spondence Chosen.

On the 13th of September, the first Committee of Correspondence was chosen. It was not appointed at a regularly called town-meeting, or if so, no record was made of the transac-

¹ This portion of Clark’s letter is quoted in a letter by C. L. Shaw of Astoria, N. Y., in Hampshire Gazette, Jan. 19, 1894.

² Diary of Jonathan Judd Jr.

tion. This committee was composed of the following named persons:—Joseph Hawley, Seth Pomeroy, Josiah Clark Jr., Benjamin Sheldon Jr., Elias Lyman, Elijah Hunt, Caleb Strong Jr., Ebenezer Hunt Jr., Ephraim Wright, Levi Shepherd, Robert Breck, Martin Phelps, Elijah Clark, Samuel Clarke, Abner Barnard, Joseph Lyman. In May following, Quartus Pomeroy, John Lyman and Jacob Parsons, were added.

Conventions to Stir
up the People.

Efforts were made during the year to concentrate public opinion by means of conventions or Congresses, as they were termed, in the several counties. The first of these gatherings was at Stockbridge in the County of Berkshire, in July. In the months of August and September, seven other similar meetings were held in as many different counties. In all of them a bold and decided stand was taken upon the questions at issue, and their vigorous language indicated in no uncertain tones the state of public opinion. About the middle of September, a call was issued by the leading citizens of Northampton and Springfield for a convention to assemble here on the 22^d of the month. Letters of invitation were sent to the several towns by special messengers. Asahel Pomeroy carried the summons to Sunderland, Montague, Northfield, and other river and adjacent towns, while Seth Clapp notified those in the hill regions. Every town in the county was represented except Charlemont and Southwick. On the 21st, Northampton made choice of the following delegates:—Joseph Hawley, Ezra Clark, Josiah Clark Jr., Ebenezer Hunt Jr., and Ephraim Wright.

A Convention in
Northampton.

The convention met in Northampton at the time indicated: Timothy Danielson of Brimfield was chosen chairman and Ebenezer Hunt Jr. of Northampton, clerk. After a full and free discussion of the late acts of the British Parliament for taxing the American Colonies, and for subverting the constitution of this Province, a committee of nine persons was appointed to consider the whole subject and report. The convention then adjourned till the next day, when the committee reported as follows:—

“As they are not able to make any resolves respecting the rights and liberties of the people of this province, more agreeable to their own

sentiments than such as have been made by their brethren in the other counties, [they] do, on mature deliberation, make the following, for the most part similar to theirs, viz:—

“1. That as true and loyal subjects of George the third, King of Great Britain, &c., we by no means intend to withdraw our allegiance from him, so long as he will defend and protect us in the free and full exercise and enjoyment of our charter rights and liberties.

“2. That the charter of this province is a most solemn stipulation and compact between the King and the inhabitants thereof; and that it ought to be kept sacred and inviolate by each party, and that it cannot, in any respect, be varied or altered by one party only, without a most criminal breach of faith, and that they know of no instance, wherein the inhabitants of this province, on their part, have violated the said compact.

“3. That the several acts of the British parliament, which infringe the just rights of the colonies, and of this province in particular, being subjects of deliberation before the Continental Congress now sitting, render it expedient for the county to suspend their determination respecting them, except so far as their immediate operation requires our immediate resolutions thereon.

“4. That whereas, his excellency Thomas Gage, Esq., lately appointed by his majesty, governor of this province, did, at the last session of the great and general court, wholly decline and refuse to accept the grant for his support, then made him by both houses of assembly; and has since, by his proclamation, bearing date 23^d of August last, and otherwise, manifested and declared his full resolution and determination to execute a late act of the British parliament, entitled an act for the better regulating the government of the province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, whereby they have attempted to sap the foundation of the constitution of this province, and annihilate the most important rights of the inhabitants thereof; and has also, actually, at Salem, by an armed force, endeavored to execute the said acts; we are obliged therefore, to declare, that our minds are so deeply impressed with the above said conduct of his excellency Thomas Gage, Esq., as to excite in us very great doubts whether he can any longer be considered as the constitutional governor of this province; and consequently, whether any writs issued by him for convening a general assembly, or any other acts whereby he shall attempt to exercise the office of a governor of this province, have any force or validity, and whether any obedience or respect thereto can be paid, without a degree of submission to and acknowledgement of the force and validity of said acts; but in case any towns within the province should judge it safe and expedient so far to regard the writs lately issued by his excellency Thomas Gage, Esq., for the convening a general court or assembly of this province, to be held at Salem, on the 5th day of October next, as to elect and depute any persons as their representatives to repair to Salem, at the time aforesaid, we cannot but declare it as our clear opinion, that they ought, and our full expectation is that they will, most ma-

turely and deliberately consider, whether any such representatives can do any one act in concert with his excellency, Thomas Gage, Esq., and his mandamus council, without an implied acknowledgment of the authority and force of the abovesaid acts of parliament.

“5. That it is the opinion of this Congress, that a provincial congress is absolutely necessary in our present unhappy situation, and that we approve of the proposal made by a late Middlesex congress, that the said provincial congress should be holden at Concord, on the second Tuesday in October next, and we accordingly recommend to the several towns and districts within this county, that each appoint one or more delegates to attend the same.

“6. That the collectors, constables, and all other officers, who have or shall have by them moneys collected upon the province assessments, delay making payment of the same to the Hon. Harrison Gray, Esq., until the civil government of this province is placed upon a constitutional foundation, but that they deposit the same in the treasuries of their respective towns and districts.

“7. Whereas, the universal uneasiness which prevails among all orders of men in this county, arising from the urgent and oppressive measures of the present administration, may influence some persons inconsiderately to commit outrages upon particular persons and their property, we would heartily recommend to all the inhabitants of this county, not to engage in any riots, or licentious attacks upon the person or property of any one, as being subversive of all order and government; but, by a steady, manly, uniform, and persevering opposition to the said measures, to convince our enemies, that in a contest so important and solemn, our conduct shall be such as to merit the approbation of all sober and wise men.

“8. That in the opinion of this Congress, all town meetings ought to be called agreeably to the laws and ancient usage of the province.

“9. That the inhabitants of the several towns and districts within this county, be advised, for their own honor, and for the defence of their country, that they use the utmost diligence, forthwith, to acquaint themselves with the military art, under the command and direction of such persons as they shall choose, and that they furnish themselves with the full lawful quantity of ammunition, and good effective arms, as soon as may be, for that purpose.

“Attest. EBENEZER HUNT Jr., Clerk.”

On the 29th, the town met and approved the resolutions of the congress.

An order for the Election of Representatives issued, and the Summons to meet Countermanded.

Gov. Gage, on the first of September, issued his precepts for the election of Representatives to meet at Salem, on the 5th of October. But in a short time the temper of the people, which was manifested in the county conventions, as well as in their action in compelling the

mandamus councillors to resign,¹ so acted upon the mind of the Governor, that on the 28th of the month he issued a proclamation countermanding the summons.

The First Provin-
cial Congress
Formed.

Most of the towns, accepting the advice of the conventions, refused to elect representatives under these precepts, and only about ninety members presented themselves at the time appointed. But neither the Governor nor any constitutional officer appeared to administer the oath, and they resolved themselves into a Provincial Congress, assuming all the duties of the defunct General Court. Organizing at Salem, they adjourned to Concord. Before the close of the session their numbers had increased to two hundred eighty-eight. They denounced such of the mandamus councillors as had not resigned, or who should fail to do so in ten days, as "rebels against the State." They resolved that all public moneys in the hands of collecting officers, should not be paid to the Treasurer of the Province, and that the assessors should apportion the tax levied by the last General Court, and pay it over to the receivers authorized by the several towns and districts. In November, the Congress adjourned for three weeks, and was dissolved in December. Munitions of war to the amount of £20,000 were ordered to be purchased, provision was made for reorganizing the militia, and a body of minute-men, consisting of one fourth part of the forces of the colony, were provided. A permanent Committee of Safety was appointed, and the chief command of the military was given to Jedediah Preble, Artemas Ward and Seth Pomeroy. The arming and frequent drilling of minute-men were recommended, and the clergy were exhorted to labor among the people in favor of the resolutions of the Continental Congress.

Northampton Rep-
resented in the
Provincial Con-
gress.

Joseph Hawley and Seth Pomeroy were chosen to represent Northampton in the first Provincial Congress, and both were present at the two sessions of that body. Probably they were not chosen under the precepts issued by Gov. Gage, as neither of them appeared at Salem. Sev-

1 Only ten of the thirty-six councillors appointed, took the oath of office.

eral of the county conventions suggested that the Congress should assemble at Concord on the second Tuesday in October, and the delegates, assembled at Salem, adjourned to meet at that place on the 11th of the month. Evidently Mr. Hawley was present at the opening of the session at Concord, and remained there and at Cambridge, one day over three weeks during the first session. He started for the second session, November 14th, about nine days before it commenced, and charged for two weeks and five days board at Cambridge. He went on horseback, and the town paid for keeping the animal. His total charge for both sessions was £7.6.2. Col. Pomeroy set out for Concord, Monday, October 10th, and reached that place at 9 o'clock, A. M. on the third day. On Friday he went to Boston as a member of a committee to wait on Gov. Gage, and then went to Cambridge. The following Thursday, October 21st, at night, he started for home. On Monday, November 21st, he left town again for the second session at Cambridge, and remained till December 13th. For both sessions he received from the town £8.5.2.

The Town makes no Response to the Action of the Provincial Congress.

An article was inserted in the warrant for a town-meeting in November, "To consider & act as they Shall judge proper upon the recommendations contained in two Several resolutions made & passed in & by the late Congress of Delegates from the several Towns & Districts in this province respecting Province Taxes, that is to say one resolution made Oct. 14, 1774, at Concord, & another made on the 28th of the same month at Cambridge." No vote was taken upon this article. Apparently it was not considered, but was suffered quietly to subside.

Committee of Inspection Appointed.

On the 27th of December a Committee of Inspection, consisting of the following persons, was appointed:—Elias Lyman, Jonathan Clapp, Ebenezer Strong, Jonathan Janes, Asahel Clapp, Ezra Clark, Joseph Lyman, Jacob Parsons, Aaron Wright, Oliver Lyman, Elihu Clark, Quartus Pomeroy, Ephraim Wright, Jonathan Allen, Simeon Parsons, Martin Clark, Solomon Allen.

A Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety.

The two committees of "Correspondence" and "Inspection," the first chosen in September and the other in December, continued to act till the latter part of the following year, when it was determined to consolidate them. Accordingly on the 27th of November, 1775, a committee of "Correspondence, Inspection and Safety" was chosen by "Ballad." It consisted of "Joseph Hawley, Esq., M^r Robert Breck, M^r Ezra Clark, Deaⁿ Josiah Clark, M^r Jacob Parsons, Co^{ll} Seth Pomeroy, Elijah Hunt, M^r Ephraim Wright, M^r Elias Lyman, M^r Elijah Clark, Cap^t Joseph Lyman, M^r Quartus Pomeroy, M^r Martin Phelps, M^r Caleb Strong Jr., Doct^r Levi Shephard." Any five of the committee were to constitute a quorum. The next year the same committee was re-elected with the exception of Col. Seth Pomeroy and Elijah Hunt. In their places were chosen Mr. John Lyman and Mr. Abner Barnard. From that time forward the Committee of Safety was annually chosen till the end of the war.

Militia Disorganized.
Attempted Reorganization.

For ten years or more after the close of the last French and Indian War, the militia became completely disorganized. Companies ceased to exist and training-day was forgotten. In order to increase the influence of the British government among the people, Gov. Hutchinson, in 1773, attempted to revive the militia throughout the province. Officers were appointed in the several counties, but the rank and file were not enthusiastic. In Northampton (Easthampton and Westhampton were not then incorporated) four companies were formed, and another in Southampton. These officers received their commissions from Col. Israel Williams, at Hatfield, in April, 1773. There was a large gathering on that occasion, and plenty of flip and rum. One of the officers, from indulging too much, "got rid of his commission."¹ The officers of the Northampton companies were: Co. No. 1—William Lyman, of Northampton, Capt.; Gideon Clark, Lieut.; Elijah Hunt, Ens.; Co. No. 2—Aaron Wright, Capt.; Enoch Clark, Lieut.; Benjamin Sheldon, Ens.; Co. No. 3, in which were the Westhampton men—

¹ Judd's Diary.

John Baker, Capt. ; Selah Wright, Lieut. ; Joseph Lyman, Ens. ; Co. No. 4—Jonathan Clapp, Capt. ; Asahel Clapp, Lieut. ; Joseph Cook, Ens. Of the Southampton company, Jonathan Judd Jr. was Capt. ; Lemuel Pomeroy, Lieut. ; Douglas King, Ens. The commanding officers of the regiments were Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield, and Col. John Worthington of Springfield. Though these officers were commissioned in the spring, there was no company formed and no attempt at drill till fall. Apparently some difficulty occurred in filling the ranks, and eventually the men refused to serve under the officers appointed by Gov. Hutchinson. Only a single training is recorded of any of the companies, and that took place late in the year. In November, the Northampton companies held one day's parade, and the Southampton company had a training-day in December. But on the last named occasion, the men insulted their officers, and nothing was accomplished. Most of these officers were compelled to resign their commissions the following spring, but Capt. Baker, Capt. Wright, and Lieut. Gideon Clark refused to give them up.

The First Hampshire Regiment. Under authority granted by the Provincial Congress, allowing militia officers to divide regiments and otherwise reorganize them, the officers of the first Hampshire Regiment met at Northampton, November 10th and 11th, 1774. Capt. Jonathan Clapp of "Clapp's Farms," Northampton, was chosen chairman, and Lieut. John Chester Williams of Hadley, clerk. They divided the regiment into three, and drew up a paper "renouncing and disdaining all authority they might have by virtue of any commission from Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., late Governor." It received the signatures of thirty-two men from different towns in the county and included the names of Elijah Hunt Jr., Joseph Lyman and Asahel Clapp of Northampton. The first regiment covered the towns of Northampton, Southampton, Hatfield, Williamsburg, Chesterfield, Worthington, Murrayfield, Norwich, Whately, Ashfield, and No. 5, afterwards Cummington. Seth Pomeroy was chosen Colonel, and Dea. Ezra May of Goshen, Major.

Old Officers Resign. Previous to this meeting, on the 26th of August, the officers of Col. Murray's regiment met at Brookfield, and resigned the commissions they had received from Gov. Hutchinson.

Companies of Minute-Men Formed. The First Provincial Congress recommended the formation of companies of Minute-Men to consist of not less than fifty privates, the officers to be elected by the men, and in every town such organizations were formed. After the reorganization of the first Hampshire Regiment, there were three companies of militia in Northampton, officered as follows:—The first company by Elijah Hunt, Captain, afterwards Jonathan Allen; Elijah Clark, Lieut.; John King, Ens. The second by Samuel Clark, Captain, afterwards Joseph Lyman; Quartus Pomeroy, Lieut.; Elijah Lyman, Ens. The third by Jonathan Clapp, Capt.; Joseph Cook, Lieut.; Jonathan Stearns, Ens. Apparently neither of these companies went into active service under the officers named above. Their muster-rolls have not been preserved, but from them the minute-men were organized. It was provided that one fourth of the militia should be enlisted and drilled as minute-men, ready to march at the shortest notice. In 1774, such a company, to the number of about 100 men, was formed here. It was commanded by Jonathan Allen, Capt.; Oliver Lyman, Lieut.; Jonathan Stearns, Ens.; and when news of hostilities arrived, it set out for the seat of war as will be narrated hereafter. This company was often in training; the Provincial Congress recommended that they should "be disciplined three times a week, and oftener as opportunity may offer." The town allowed them 9d. each for every training, and their pay was 40s. per month in Continental bills. This company was organized under a vote of the town in November, 1774.

Second Provincial Congress. On the first of February, 1775, the Second Provincial Congress met at Cambridge. It remained in session till the 16th. On the 22^d of the following March, it reconvened at Concord, and adjourned April 15th, two days before the battle of Lexington. The day after that battle, however, the committee

appointed to call it together when circumstances demanded, issued a summons for its immediate assembling. This extraordinary session was opened at Concord on the 22^d, and at once adjourned to Watertown. Col. Seth Pomeroy and Major Joseph Hawley were again members from Northampton. The most vigorous and comprehensive measures were adopted for defence and protection. An army of 30,000 men was voted to be raised by the colony, and 13,600 by this Province.

Third Session of the Provincial Congress. The Third Provincial Congress assembled at Watertown, Wednesday, May 31, and dissolved July 19, 1775. Northampton was represented by Major Hawley and Mr. Elias Lyman. About the middle of May, the Second Provincial Congress applied to the Continental Congress for advice concerning some method of civil government, inasmuch as the colony was denied the exercise of that right, "according to our charter, or the fundamental principles of the English constitution." In June the resolve of the Continental Congress was adopted by the Third Provincial Congress, and in accordance therewith letters were sent to the several towns requesting them to hold meetings of all the inhabitants "that have an estate or freehold in land within this province or territory, of forty shillings per annum, at least, or other estate to the value of forty pounds sterling" and elect one or more deputies to represent them "in a great and general court or assembly, to serve till the day next preceding the last Wednesday of the next May to be held at Watertown on the 19 of the July next ensuing." The resolve of Congress specified that the assembly "should elect councillors, which assembly and council should exercise the powers of government, until a government of his Majesty's appointment will consent to govern the colony according to its charter." Even at this time when the war was in vigorous prosecution, there were hopes of a reconciliation with the mother country.

The General Court again Convenes. Most of the towns responded to this resolve. The Great and General Court which had been supplanted for a brief period by the Provincial Congress, was again established, and the old

system of government with the office of Governor vacant, was once more put in operation. Northampton, apparently, was not represented at the session held in the summer and fall of 1775, but the next year three members were chosen: Joseph Hawley, Ephraim Wright and Caleb Strong.

Ammunition Provided. In accordance with the recommendations of the authorities, that each town should provide a supply of the munitions of war, the selectmen in 1775, made a contract with Breck & Hunt, in consideration of £47 paid to them by the town, "to keep and maintain for the use of the s^d inhabitants of Northampton, the full quantity of 345^{lbs} of good merchantable gun powder, 720^{lbs} of merchantable Lead, and 1000 of good gun flints in good condition at all times," to be delivered for use when wanted. In 1779, the quantity on hand was delivered to Joseph Clark.

Teacher of the Grammar School Cautioned. During the same year the grammar schoolmaster was again reminded that he must not be partial to his Latin and Greek scholars, by an order not to spend more time on them than on other students.

CHAPTER XXV.

REVOLUTION—PRISONERS OF WAR—TORIES.

Gov. Gage Precipitates the Contest.

WHILE the people were thus boldly asserting themselves, and preparing for the struggle which the most sanguine of them could but believe was inevitable, Gen. Gage not only proceeded to carry out his instructions for enforcing the newly promulgated laws, but he attempted to seize military stores wherever they had been collected in the vicinity of Boston. A detachment of troops was sent to Salem, but through the determined action of the citizens, it failed of its object, and came away empty-handed. Another party, ordered to destroy the military stores at Concord, met with open resistance, and the fearful struggle of the Revolution was commenced at Lexington, on the 19th of April. It is not necessary to describe the well-known events of that memorable day. Then was the first blood shed in the War for Independence, and the inhabitants everywhere roused themselves for the fight.

Northampton Minute-Men Start for the Scene of Hostilities.

News of the battle of Lexington reached this town on the morning of April 21st, and the first company of minute-men, under the command of Capt. Jonathan Allen, to the number of sixty,¹ set out within a few hours for the seat of war. The following narrative of the march of this company was related to the late Sylvester Judd, by Noah Cook, afterwards Captain, who lived at the lower end of Pleasant Street. He was the son of Joseph Cook, who was in 1777

¹ For Muster-roll see Appendix.

and 1778, keeper of the jail. At the time of this narration, Capt. Cook was at least 75 years of age. He enlisted when eighteen years old. In 1782 he married Paulina Baker and settled in Westhampton.

The News Received. Information of the battle reached Northampton by special messenger, at about 11 o'clock, a. m., the messenger continuing up the valley in order to notify other towns. He met the same patriotic reception everywhere. It was for this that the people had been making preparations, and his intelligence warned them that the crisis had arrived.

The Company Gather at the Church. Before the courier had fairly resumed his onward way, the meeting-house bell gave forth its warning, and the whole town was speedily alarmed. Cook, with many others, was at work in the meadows, himself engaged in harrowing in oats. At the sound of the bell every man left his work and hastened homewards; the minute-men seized their equipments, and in a short time the company paraded before the meeting-house. Rev. Mr. Hooker offered prayer, and Col. Seth Pomeroy addressed them, giving them words of patriotic encouragement, and sensible advice about the manner of marching, and about other military duties. Each man took provisions for three or four days, and all were soon ready to begin the march. The whole town was in a state of great excitement, and the women shed many tears.

March of the Northampton Company. In the middle of the afternoon the company started, arrived at Belchertown in the evening, and spent the night at Graves' tavern. Cook and a number of others slept in the barn. On the 22^d the company marched to Brookfield. At Ware one soldier's courage failed, and he returned home. Of course this act, attributed to cowardice, was vigorously commented upon by his companions. On the 23^d, they were at Shrewsbury, and on the 24th, arrived at Concord.

Officers and soldiers were on foot, and had no wagons¹ with them. At Concord they drew provisions, musty pork, pease and a little rice. Here he saw English prisoners, and was impressed with the visible effects of the war. Eleazar Root was Chaplain, and prayed fervently night and morning. He was an ardent christian and a zealous whig, but a plain man of common education. Once during prayer when Root was disconcerted by the appearance of some superior officers, he remarked "the fear of man bringeth a snare." He remained with the company during the campaign.

The Company at the
Seat of War.

From Concord the Northampton company went to Cambridge, where they remained a few days quartered at the house of one Versaill, a tory, who had joined the British. Cook described it as a large and elegant house. Soon after their arrival at Cambridge, about the first of May, most of the Northampton company volunteered to serve eight months. Some of them returned home and others took their places. In a short time the company was ordered to Roxbury, where they remained till after the battle of Bunker Hill. They heard the firing and saw the flames of Charlestown, but could not see the battle-field. In Roxbury they encamped at the cross-roads below the meeting-house. The British had a fortification across the Neck, the sentinels of the two armies were at some points not more than fifteen rods apart, and would sometimes speak to one another. During the battle of Bunker Hill the company was below George's tavern. A shell fell in the camp, cut off George

1 Capt. Cook states that the company had no wagons with them. The baggage, however, could not have been far behind, for on the 21st of April, the day on which they set out, three wagon-loads of baggage were dispatched. Asa Wright, Elijah Hunt, and Jonathan Hall, were paid for the use of their wagons to carry baggage to the camp. Jonathan Hall, for the "service of his waggon from Northampton to Concord & from thence to Cambridge to carry the baggage of Capt. Allen's Minute Company upon the alarm at the battle of Lexington 100 miles at 2^d per mile £0.16.S." Wright and Hunt were each paid 18s. for the use of "his horse to the camp in a waggin." On the 24th, John Riley went with baggage to the camp; he was gone ten days and received 13s. 4d. On the 10th of May, Jonathan Hall's wagon was again in use to carry baggage for recruits of said company 96 miles, 16s. Hall had been employed as an express, when the Provincial Congress was in session, but in this case it is probable that one of the company drove the horse "in a waggin."

Langford's gun,¹ and wounded Luther Pomeroy. In the evening many shells and stink pots were fired, but the flames were speedily extinguished. One ball lodged in the plate of the Roxbury meeting-house. After the battle, the regiment removed to the other side of the meeting-house, and pitched their tents in an orchard. Gen. Washington's headquarters were not far off. In a few weeks the regiment marched to Dorchester, and were billeted in the houses of the settlers. Parades were held near the burying-ground.

Officers of the Regiment. This regiment was under the command of Col. Fellows of Great Barrington, Lieut.-Col. Eager of Worthington, and Major Tupper of Chesterfield. Bemis of Great Barrington was Adjutant. The companies were commanded by Capt. King of Great Barrington, Capt. Moses Soule of New Marlboro (Berkshire), Capt. Allen of Northampton, Capt. Abner Pomeroy of Southampton, Capt. Webber of Worthington, Capt. Webster of Chesterfield, Capt. Israel Chapin of Hatfield, and others. The soldiers from the east side of Connecticut River were in another regiment. A guard was sent to Dorchester Point every night. Capt. Abner Pomeroy's company was stationed at what is now Commercial Point.

The Company Return. Most of the company of minute-men whose proceedings have thus been detailed, came home about the first of January, 1776. Some of them enlisted for another year. Capt. Jonathan Allen returned sixty-five men in his company at Dorchester, Sept. 5, 1775. Noah Cook came home from Dorchester about the middle of January, having remained two weeks over eight months, as did many others.

Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The next important event was the capture of Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point. This did much to kindle the enthusiasm of the people throughout the country, furnished greatly

¹ Langford petitioned the General Court for 15s. which he paid for mending his gun, in 1776, which he said "was cut off by a cannon ball while he was at the breast-work in Roxbury, June 17, 1775." It was allowed.

needed military supplies, and immortalized the commander of the expedition. This enterprise was conducted by men, none of whom were residents of this valley, yet the name of one of Northampton's honored sons is connected to some extent with its inception and organization.

Inception of the
Enterprise. Attention was directed towards Canada in the hope that it might be either neutralized in the event of a war with England, or enlisted as an ally, during the December session of the First Provincial Congress. A committee was appointed to ascertain the state of public opinion there, as well as to report whatever movements were in progress in that section. Of this committee, Major Hawley and Col. Pomeroy were members. One of their number, John Brown of Pittsfield, was commissioned to proceed to Canada, and ascertain the facts. It was in one of his letters, written in March, 1775, to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety and Correspondence, that the first suggestion of the capture of Ticonderoga is to be found.¹ The next step in this matter is variously accounted for. Biographers of Col. Pomeroy assert that he laid the plans for the capture of the place before several members of the Provincial Congress, that in accordance with his recommendation, Benedict Arnold was sent to the New Hampshire Grants (Vermont), to enlist men and reduce the place. But having some doubt about the success of Arnold, he wrote to members of the Connecticut Legislature, then in session, urging them to engage in the enterprise.² Though nothing has been found in the correspondence of Col. Pomeroy, sustaining this statement, it is undoubtedly in a measure true. As a member of the committee under whose authority Mr. Brown undertook the mission to Canada, as well as one of the military commanders of the Province, Gen. Pomeroy undoubtedly had early intelligence of the purport of the letter of Brown, in which the scheme was proposed. The Committee of Safety, to whom this letter was addressed, would naturally turn to the military commanders for advice, and as a result Pomeroy may have sketched the plan of campaign. It was not,

¹ Smith's History of Pittsfield, vol. 1, p. 212.

² American Whig Review.

however, on account of any uncertainty about the success of Arnold, that he addressed the Connecticut men, for their expedition had been inaugurated before Arnold received his commission. If Gen. Pomeroy wrote to the neighboring colony at all, it was because of the delay on the part of the Massachusetts authorities. As week after week elapsed, and nothing was done, he became impatient. Well aware that in military affairs promptitude was the forerunner of success, he implored their assistance. While there is no certain knowledge that Gen. Pomeroy laid his plans before the Connecticut men, yet there is a plausibility at least in the theory that they derived their first intimation of the affair from him.

Benedict Arnold Acts. After Lexington, when the excitement of expected warfare with England pervaded the country, and Connecticut declined to send reinforcements to Massachusetts, Benedict Arnold raised a company of volunteers in New Haven for that purpose. Unable to obtain arms and ammunition from the proper authorities, he broke open the arsenal, secured what he needed, and arrived at Cambridge in the latter part of April. On the 30th of that month he reported, at the request of the Committee of Safety, the size of the armament at Fort Ticonderoga, and the condition of the fort. Three days later he received a commission as Colonel, with instructions to raise four hundred men in the northern part of the Province, and reduce the fortification. He started immediately to carry out his orders, reached the town of Deerfield on the 6th, and was at Rupert, Vt., on the 8th.

Connecticut Scheme for Capturing Ticonderoga. In the meantime, as early as the 28th of April, several members of the Connecticut Assembly concocted a scheme to capture the fort, in order to supply cannon to the army. They procured £300 from the treasury of Connecticut, and at once pushed forward their enterprise to a triumphant consummation. Col. Samuel H. Parsons, Capt. Edward Mott, Noah Phelps, and Bernard Romans were the instigators and promoters of the undertaking. Capt. Mott, who had charge of the expedition, hurried forward to Pittsfield

with sixteen men. Here recruits were obtained from Col. Easton's regiment, and the command assigned to Ethan Allen, who reinforced the little army with a detachment of Green Mountain Boys. Col. Benedict Arnold presented himself on the 19th of May and demanded the chief command. The Connecticut men declined to yield and the soldiers refused to serve under him. Arnold finally waived his right to the supreme command and stood by the side of Allen when he demanded the surrender in the name of the "Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress."¹

Minute-Men Rush to the Front. The affair of the 19th of April so aroused the patriotism of the people, that from every quarter minute-men, like those of Northampton, rushed to the front. In a few days an army of 15,000 patriots had assembled, and the siege of Boston began. At the same time Gen. Gage had been reinforced, till he had an army of 8,000 British Regulars and a fleet of war-ships in the harbor.

Bunker Hill. On the 17th of June occurred the memorable battle of Bunker Hill. With one exception, it is not known that any Northampton man participated in the fight. The position of the Northampton company of minute-men has been previously described.

Gen. Pomeroy at Bunker Hill. Gen. Seth Pomeroy, having been appointed one of the commanders of the Massachusetts troops by the first Provincial Congress, was busily engaged in organizing the forces levied for the protection of the liberties of the people. Jonathan Judd, in his diary, notes the election of Gen. Pomeroy to the Provincial Congress, and remarks: "He is very high in Liberty." He was present at the first session of the Second Provincial Congress, but his military duties soon absorbed all his attention. Worn with toil in the discharge of his accumulated labors—he was then 69 years of age—about the middle of June he sought to recruit his failing energies by an interval of rest at his own fireside. Only twenty-four hours elapsed after reaching home, when the messenger arrived from Gen. Putnam, announcing the contempla-

¹ For full particulars of this expedition, consult Smith's History of Pittsfield, vol. 1, pp. 211, 221.

ted movement upon Charlestown heights. Aware that this would be but a signal for further hostilities, he took his horse from the team, and before the afternoon shadows began to lengthen, he was on his way to the scene of conflict. Twice changing horses on the route, all through the hours of the night he urged his onward way, and at noon on the day of the battle of Bunker Hill he reached Cambridge. The enemy were just landing preparatory to storming the entrenchments. Charlestown Neck was swept by the British fire, and alighting from his horse, which was a borrowed one, with the remark that the animal was much too valuable to risk, he crossed the narrow pass on foot, and went directly to the front. He was received with shouts of welcome from both officers and privates, but refused the chief command, and went into the fight a volunteer,¹ though before night he accepted the command of a battalion.² He ordered his men not to fire till they could see the buttons on their enemies' coats. His gun having become hot from continued firing, and at last rendered useless by a grape-shot, he clubbed the weapon and still faced the foe. When it became necessary to retreat, he went backward down the hill and over the neck, still facing the foe. It has been stated that he killed Gen. Pitcairn, but like the story that he fired upon the wounded Dieskau, it lacks confirmation. Possibly he may have directed the fire of the squadron before which Pitcairn fell. It is probable, however, that he was not on the part of the field where that brave officer lost his life, in the last charge of that fatal day.

After his musket became useless, he passed up and down the barricade, encouraging the men, loading their guns, and removing the wounded. When the entrenchments above him had been carried by the British, and his men were commencing a hurried retreat, he is said to have exclaimed, "Don't run boys! Don't run! Fight them with the breech of your muskets, as I do. It shan't be said of Seth Pomeroy that he was shot in the back."³

1 It is reported of him that he carried on this occasion a gun of his own manufacture which he had used thirty years before at the siege of Louisburg.

2 It was on this occasion that Gen. Putnam, on meeting Gen. Pomeroy, exclaimed, "You here, Pomeroy! God, I believe a cannon ball would wake you up if you slept in your grave."

3 American Whig Review.

Gen. Washington of- Soon after this battle, Gen. Washington
fers him a Brigade. assumed the command of the American
army, and offered the position of Brigadier
General to Gen. Pomeroy. The state of his health com-
pelled him to decline the appointment, and he returned
home. Within two years, however, at the personal solici-
tation of Washington, he re-entered the service, but he
was unable to endure the fatigues of the campaign, and
died in a few weeks at Peekskill.

Treatment of Pris- The matter of the treatment of prisoners
oners. created considerable interest throughout the
country. Gen. Gage considered all prison-
ers rebels, whether taken in arms or not. Prominent busi-
ness men of Boston had been arrested and thrown into
prison, among thieves and felons, while officers and soldiers
were kept in close confinement, and it was believed were
treated with great cruelty. Gen. Washington remonstrated
against such brutality, and threatened to retaliate.
Gen. Gage refused to modify his methods, and Washington
notified him that if he was compelled to treat "our prison-
ers with harshness, they and you will remember the occa-
sion for it." But Washington, although wholly justified
by the laws of war, could not reconcile himself to an act
which should "inflict punishment on innocent men for the
folly and obstinacy of a commander."¹

Prisoners sent to Many prisoners captured from the British,
Northampton Jail. were sent to towns in the interior for safe-
keeping, till they could be properly ex-
changed. In August, a squad of twelve officers and twenty-
six privates, were sent to Northampton to be thus held in
custody. A new jail had just been erected here, and it was
doubtless considered a place of safety. The following doc-
ument, signed by a majority of the council, is an interest-
ing contribution to the history of the times. It is the origi-
nal paper, issued to Lieut. Parker, signed by fifteen mem-
bers of the council, containing the autographs of some of
the leading men in the "times that tried men's souls":—

"Council Chamber in Watertown, Aug^t 19, 1775.

"Ordered, that Mr. Ichabod Jones, Capt. Arnold, Mr. Budd Gunner,

¹ Sparks' Life of Washington, p. 142.

Mr. Broughton a minor, Midshipman & Mr. Dummitt, a minor Midshipman, be sent to Northampton Goal, & there confined till further orders.—And whereas the above named Mr. Budd, the Gunner, has been taken Prisoner before & broke his parole of Honor, the Keeper of said Goal is ordered to take particular Care, that he be kept in close confinement.—And that Capt. Jn^o. Knight, Tho^s. Spry, Dan^l McFadyen, Rob^t. Hanning Hitchins Midshipmen, William Bogie Clerk, Thomas Prowle Midshipman, Rich^d Stilton-fleet Midshipman, have the Liberty of walking about each of them giving his Parole of Honor, for himself, not to exceed the Limits within the Town of Northampton, that may be prescribed by the Selectmen & Committee of Correspondence of said Town. And that such other Indulgence & Civility be shewn them, as shall be consistent with the public Safety, so long as they shall demean themselves with Decency & good manners; as it doth not appear that they, or either of them have committed Hostilities against this Country.

“ And that Thomas Browning, Edward Burgess, James May, John Horril, Martin Chace, James Collins, Joseph Clarke, Jn^o Lanesborough, W^m Moore, Tho^s. Peck, Thomas Donaldson, Rob^t. Light, Tho^s Coffin, Tho^s. Naich, Giles Jones, Tho^s. Tayler, W^m. Allen, W^m Bicketts, Jn^o Ellis, Jn^o Machirn, W^m Mackey, Uriah Jones, Mike Lave, Hugh Hughes, Jn^o McCredge, Arthur Bemett, Jn^o Baxter, & Abraham Allett Privates—be sent to the Town of Northampton, & put under the Care of the Selectmen of said Town, and the said Selectmen are directed & ordered to confine the above named Prisoners (or either of them) in the Goal in Northampton, or otherwise dispose of them, & see that they are provided for, in such way & manner, having regard to the Security & Interest of the Colony, as to them shall seem meet.—And that Lieut. Jonas Parker be ordered to convey the above named Prisoners, to Northampton, & be ordered to deliver the Officers first named to the Keeper of the said Goal, and the Officers last named to the Selectmen or Committee of Correspondence, And the Privates to the Selectmen of said Town. And the Keeper of the said Goal is hereby directed & ordered to take said Prisoners into his Custody, & confine them in Goal And see that they are provided for, at the charge of this Colony, untill further Order.

“ And the Innholders upon the Road from Watertown to Northampton Goal are hereby directed & ordered to supply the aforesaid Lieut. Parker, with suitable provisions for his Company, & the Prisoners under his Care, at the charge of this Colony.—And that Rich^d Downey, James Hickey, Peter Lime & Joseph Clegg a Minor, all belonging to Nova Scotia be sent to the Town of Marlborough by the Same Officer, & put under the Care of the Selectmen of said Town.

“ And it is further ordered, that the Said Lieut. Jonas Parker, also convey Andrew Hamilton to Springfield Goal, and the Keeper of the said Goal is ordered to receive the said And^w Hamilton into his Custody, & to grant him the Liberty of the Yard during his good Behaviour, upon the failure of which to put him under close confinement, there to remain 'till further Order.—And the said Lieut. Jonas Parker is further

ordered, to convey Mr. Edward Parry to the Town of Sturbridge in this Colony, and deliver him into the Safe keeping of the Selectmen of Said Town of Sturbridge, to be by them detained & provided for 'till further Order; And if on any pretence whatever he Shall presume to leave the Said Town of Sturbridge, the Said Selectmen of said Town of Sturbridge, are hereby ordered to apprehend the Said Parry, & put him under close confinement, and safely keep him 'till further Orders.

“ And the said Lieut. Jonas Parker is hereby further ordered to procure two pack-Horses for the convenience of conveying the Baggages & Cloaths of the said Capt. Knight, & his Company, to the place of their destination.

“ By order of the major part of the Council.”

James Otis

Samuel Adams Secy

Caleb Cushing
Winthrop
Sam Adams
John Adams
Joseph Gurnish
John Wheelcomb
Enoch Freeman
Jed. Foster
James Prepont
Chas. Chauncy
W. Starkey
C. Hollen
Jabez Tupper
Moses Gill

Harsh Treatment
 Countermanded.

The first prisoners sent into the country were the officers and crew of the British ship Falcon, named in the above document, who were placed in Northampton and elsewhere. Sparks

says that the order for harsh treatment was countermanded while the prisoners were on their way hither, through a dispatch forwarded by Col. Reed to the Committee of Safety. But the above quoted order shows conclusively that the design of retaliation had been abandoned before Lieut. Parker started on his journey. Almost the identical language quoted by Sparks as contained in the letter of Reed, is to be found in the order of instructions to Parker. The communication to the Committee of Safety was only an official notification to that body of the change of sentiment.

Only one Ordered to Close Confinement. It will be noted that only one man among the prisoners—Budd, the gunner—was ordered to close confinement, ample reasons being given for his sentence, and that only four others were refused their parole. Three of them, Robert Arnold, Wm. Broughton and Philobert Dummitt, petitioned the General Court to be released on parole, and their prayer was granted.

Expenses of the Prisoners. Congress granted to the midshipmen, confined in the jail here, the sum of \$2 per week for the time they severally resided in Northampton, after the 21st of May, 1776. The order on the town treasurer dated Nov. 26, 1776, and signed by the selectmen, is on file. The amount was paid by the town. Seven persons are named in the order, and the entire amount was £26.19. It was distributed as follows:—Dr. McFaggen £4.4; Mr. Sprowle £6.9; Capt. Hitch £8.2; Mr. Carthew £2.10; Billy Broughton £2.1; Mr. Dunsin £2.1; Mr. Bogie £2.1. Two of the first consignment of prisoners died here:—Arthur Bennett, in Oct. 1775, and Richard Stilton fleet, in Oct. of the following year.

Other British Prisoners. Other prisoners were sent here as the war progressed, and the jail was never without its quota of British captives. In 1776, the number was sixty-eight. Some of them were condemned to close confinement, and they were constantly petitioning for the liberty of the town, which was usually granted.

They undoubtedly endeavored to get all the enjoyment possible out of their unsatisfactory position. That they became something of a nuisance to the citizens of the place, may well be believed. It is but natural to conclude that they did not always conduct themselves properly, for in December, 1775, the matter was brought before the town. An article was inserted in the warrant relative to allowing the officers and midshipmen confined in the jail to be absent from their lodgings in the evening. No other action was taken than to allow the article to "subside."

Whigs and Tories. It is difficult in the light of the civilization of the present day fully to comprehend the bitter hostility that existed between whigs and tories before and during the struggle with Great Britain. The feeling manifested during the late rebellion between federalist and "copperhead," between northern born and southern born, was never so intense as that which prevailed during the decade that included the Revolution. On the broad ground of liberty as established by chartered rights, the whigs resisted the oppressions of the mother-country. Ready to sacrifice property and life itself if need be, in vindication of these rights, they had little patience with those who through lukewarmness or policy, hoped by delay and acquiescence, to bring about reconciliation. On the other hand the tories, while many of them were to an extent patriotic, claimed that submission to a power so greatly superior, was the only way to overcome existing difficulties, and secure the prosperity of the colonies.

Much Unpleasantness between the Factions. This diversity of sentiment, maintained with equal earnestness on both sides, led to much unpleasantness. Everywhere the whigs were numerically the stronger, and in many instances took summary methods to reclaim their misguided brethren. West of Connecticut River the lines were strongly marked, and the people were energetic in their movements. Throughout this entire section the sentiment against tories was bitter, and many of them were sent to jail, or forced to fly to more congenial climes. But in Northampton, at least, greater conservatism prevailed, and less disposition

seems to have been manifested to molest friends and neighbors. Several of the more pronounced tories in town suffered certain indignities, but in most cases it was through the lead of persons from other places, aided and abetted, of course, by men residing here.

The Lines Tightly Drawn. As prominent men were ranged on both sides of this important question, and were equally strenuous in upholding their opinions, there were doubtless many wordy battles and forensic fusillades. Up to 1764, when the line of demarcation became marked, this town had been represented for many years by one who was afterwards a leading tory. The next year, when the excitement over the passage of the Stamp Act was at its height, the whig party came to the front, and never did a tory again occupy that important position. Apparently there was less party movement in the town than in most others in this vicinity. It is not on record that any unlawful act was committed against these misguided men by citizens of the town, acting in a body, though some of the leading tories, as will shortly appear, were legally chastised for their heresies. As might be expected, personal pique and a desire to gratify private spite was in many cases the motive that dictated these movements.

Tories Mobbed. As the excitement increased, the populace took matters into their own hands, and mobs to punish tories, or make them recant, were gathered in many towns in Western Massachusetts. Obnoxious persons were sent to the Northampton jail from Pittsfield and other towns.

Northampton Tories sent to Jail. During the first year of the war some of the builders of the new jail had an opportunity to test the quality of their work. Timothy Dwight, Solomon Stoddard, Gideon Clark, and Haines Kingsley, were tories, and for that reason were sent to the jail they had just erected. It is said that they were the first to occupy the new structure. Eleazar Alvord had lived for several years with Haines Kingsley, but left

him when fifteen years of age. When these men were incarcerated, Alvord, at the request of Mr. Kingsley, remained with them in the prison as their waiter during the night. He obtained liquor for them, and they had a merry time. In the morning they were released. They were undoubtedly confined by process of law, as constable Abner Lyman brought them to the jail.

Some of the Leading Tories.-

Dwight and Stoddard of Northampton, the Williamses of Hatfield, and Seth Catlin of Deerfield, were among the leading Tories of this section, and several of them had pressing invitations from the people to recant. Mobs from the surrounding towns called upon them, committees were sent in to labor with them, and they were generally persuaded by arguments tempered with flip, to accede to whatever demands were made.

A Mob from Pelham.

A miscellaneous party of ardent whigs from Pelham, came over the river on the 2^d of February, 1775, on a tour of education. Their action is best described in the diary of Jonathan Judd, already quoted, who was present in Northampton during a part of the proceedings. Under date of February 2^d, he writes:—

“Went in the afternoon to Northampton, hear that there is a mob ripe from the eastward and have taken Col^o. Williams & his son Israel. They are carried in the Evening to Hadley. * * * Fryday 3, hear early that Col^o. Williams is under Keepers who insult him very highly & that they are coming over for Mr. Stoddard the Committee of Correspondence meet and know not what to Do, are irresolute, non-plussed & Divided. About 10¹/₂ they came, Chester Williams as their Head, March up to Mr. Stoddard's, form before his Door and their Committee goes in to him with whom the Committee of Correspondence was before, he agrees at last to go with them tho' he is low in Health. They act like mad people, tho well for a Mob both at his house and afterwards. * * * The Mob tried Col^o Williams after their committee had prepared the Charge & Evidence and he got off in the Evening with signing a Confession of What they proved, which were the smaller parts. But by reason of some Menaces the Col^o and Israel were guarded home. This we heard in the Evening. Dr. Hunt and others were engaged this Evening to endeavor to stop the Mob from any further abuse to those they have if they do not disperse to Night and there seems to be some spirit in the Town tho there was none in the Morning, but were affraid to be known to endeavour to enforce Obe-

dience to the Resolves of the Congress. Lodge at Dr. Hunts. Saturday 4, hear that Mr. Stoddard was dismissed last Night pretty late after a Trial similar to Col^o Williams. Those of the Northampton Committee that were at Hadley helped him what they could. People condemn the Mob very freely to-Day and I fancy that something will be done by the Committees about it. * * * Thursday 9. Last Evening received a Letter from the Committee of Correspondence & Inspection at Northampton Declaring their Resolution against Mobs and Desire every Town will join in the same Sent round to both our committees to meet to-morrow afternoon. Fryday 10. * * * The Committees meet, adopt Measures recommended, answer Northampton Letter and order their opinion to be posted up in the Taverns. We are well agreed."

It is stated that the Pelham people owed money to Mr. Stoddard, and that a part of their whigism, at least, originated in a disposition not to pay their debts.

Mr. Stoddard Unre- This treatment of Mr. Stoddard by the mob
claimed. did not wholly convert him. On the last
day of the month Mr. Judd again refers to
him :—

"Major Stoddard was very imprudent and yesterday they were after him in Northampton. * * * They took Major Stoddard but not as a mobb and the Committee met but proved nothing against him."

Tories put on the In July of the following year, Stoddard,
Town Limits. Clark, and Kingsley were required to give
their affidavit, engaging themselves to re-
port all conspiracies or other movements inimical to the
cause of liberty, and to promise not to go outside the
bounds of Northampton without permission from the Com-
mittee of Safety. The following month Erastus Dwight
was ordered to give up his arms and remain within the
limits of the town. Three years later all the above named
persons, including Erastus Dwight, had apparently been
converted from their heresies, and were permitted by the
Committee of Safety to bear arms in defense of their
country. The names of Haines Kingsley and Solomon
Stoddard are found upon the list of military averages, but
it is not probable that either of them ever engaged in active
service. It is quite certain that they did not enlist, and if
drafted they probably procured substitutes.

Military Matters in
Northampton.

During this year much was undertaken by the patriotic citizens of this town to perfect themselves in military exercises. Several companies were formed and much time spent in drilling. The most favorable ground for this purpose seems to have been upon the plain, near the Bridge Street cemetery. Among certain papers, undoubtedly in the handwriting of Major Hawley, has been found an agreement,¹ drawn up May 20, 1775, for the formation of a military company, as well as a MSS. address, which was apparently the speech made by the major to the volunteers. This agreement stipulated that the company should continue in force for three months from the first of June ensuing, and the men were to "appear upon every Monday and Thursday, in every week, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, upon the plain near the burying ground," "every one well accoutered with firelock clean and in good order." It contained the following signatures:—Enos Kingsley, William Pomeroy, Hollister Baker, Stephen Hubbard, Joseph Clarke, Amasa Clap, Thomas Stearns, Luke Lyman, Samuel Wright, Elisha Lyman, Samuel Hunt, Asahel Pomeroy, Thomas Craige, Joseph Lyman, Moses Kingsley, Seth Clap, Medad Clarke, Simeon Guilford, and John Strong.

Of the above named men, nineteen in number, the names of one half will be found upon the muster-rolls of companies that saw active service. The company, if one was formed at that time, evidently did not enter the army as a whole, but its members joined different organizations as the war progressed, and calls were made for soldiers.

Mr. Hawley's Address.

In the address by Major Hawley appears the following paragraph:—

"We have seen within the compass of a year two companies formed in this town for the sole purpose of learning the military art. The first evaporated or came to nothing by reason of a defect in its first institution and the second is gone to defend their country. A third I hope will be formed which will not labor under the difficulties and defects of the first, without countenance or patronage; nor fall short of the second in point of dexterity, good order and discipline."

¹ Thanks are due to Mr. Chas. L. Shaw, of New York, for copies of the above documents.

CHAPTER XXVI.

REVOLUTION—INVASION OF CANADA.

An Expedition against
Canada.

THE attempt to capture Canada quickly followed the reduction of the forts that barred the gate-way thither. . The commanders most conspicuous in accomplishing these glorious results were the first to suggest the desirability of using the road they had laid open. To Col. Ethan Allen and Col. James Easton, belongs the credit of the first proposition for the conquest of Canada. Almost simultaneously these two men recommended the movement, the former to the Provincial Congress of New York, and the latter to that of Massachusetts. Heretofore the colonies had suffered much from the hostile raids emanating from Canada. They considered it a matter of self-protection to conquer or neutralize that Province. While they hoped for assistance from the people living there, when once an army of invasion appeared, they also understood the advantage of a speedy movement in that direction before British troops arrived. The proposition was favorably received by both governments. New York and Connecticut furnished an army of 2,000 men, under command of Gen. Philip Schuyler, who had been appointed by the Continental Congress, commander of the northern division of the army, and of Gen. Richard Montgomery. During the last days of August this little army marched into the enemies' country. St. Johns and Fort Chamble were captured, and the efforts to enlist soldiers in Canada were reasonably successful. On the 13th of November, Gen. Montgomery marched into the city of Montreal, Gen. Schuyler having been compelled by sickness to retire. No regiments from this section participated in this expedition, and no further detail of its movements seems necessary.

Benedict Arnold's
Movement against
Quebec.

To co-operate with this army, General Washington ordered another detachment against Quebec by way of the Kennebeck River through the trackless wilderness. The command of this force, which consisted of eleven hundred men, was given to Col. Benedict Arnold. Two months were consumed in this perilous march, and the little army after enduring almost incredible hardships, appeared about seven hundred strong, on the 9th of November, at Point Levi on the St. Lawrence opposite Quebec. Four days elapsed before the river could be crossed, and by that time Gen. Carleton, who had escaped from Montreal, was prepared for Arnold's reception. Unable to surprise the city, and with his force so greatly reduced, Arnold declined the hazard of an assault, and retreated twenty miles down the river to await the arrival of Gen. Montgomery. That union was not effected till the first of December, and by it the army was increased to an aggregate of less than 1,000 men. A siege of three weeks followed, when an assault was made on the last day of December. Both sides of the city were attacked, and both detachments succeeded in passing the outer batteries. Gen. Montgomery was killed while forcing a battery at Cape Diamond, and his men retreated. Arnold's detachment penetrated to the second barrier, when its commander was so severely wounded that he had to be borne from the field. His soldiers fought bravely, but the enemy coming upon their rear, between three and four hundred were made prisoners. Arnold retreated about three miles, and there forming ramparts of frozen snow and blocks of ice, he kept Quebec in a state of blockade throughout the winter.

Northampton Men in
this Expedition.

Nine men from Northampton participated in this expedition. All but two of them were members of Capt. Allen's company of minute-men, and most of them enlisted at Dorchester in the fall of 1775, under Capt. Jonas Hubbard. Their names were Abner Lyman, Jonathan Pomeroy (son of Josiah), Seth Lyman Jr., Elias Thayer, Russell Clark, Paul Clapp, Oliver Edwards, Lemuel Bates, Joseph Parsons Jr. They went with Arnold through the wilderness, endured the

hardships of that terrible march, and participated in the attack upon the city on the last day of the year. Six of them were made prisoners and confined in the jail at Quebec till the following July.

Narrative of one of the Survivors. Lemuel Bates, afterwards a resident of Southampton, gives the following account of his experiences in that expedition.¹

While in Dorchester about the first of September, he enlisted for the enterprise against Quebec under Arnold, Jonas Hubbard, Capt. He left Cambridge on the 12th of September, marched to Newburyport where all embarked on transports, and sailed for the Kennebec River. In a few days they reached Fort Western, opposite the present town of Augusta, the head of ship navigation on that river. Here they were transferred to batteaux, and on the 20th of October reached Dead River, a branch of the Kennebec. The sufferings of the army were intense. In forcing the batteaux through the rapids the men were compelled to wade many times in icy water waist deep. Around falls, rapids and other obstructions, boats, provisions and ammunition had to be carried. Eight men were required to transport a single boat. From Dead River, Col. Enos and the rear division returned.² Bates thought that Enos' party might have kept on as well as the rest of them. They arrived at the river Caudiare after much suffering early in November. Reaching Point Levi on the 9th, they crossed the St. Lawrence on the 13th, and encamped on the plains of Abraham. Three days afterwards the army retreated to Point au Trembles to await the appearance of Gen. Montgomery. Upon his arrival they moved forward and invested the city. Bates participated in the attack upon Quebec, and was made prisoner. Capt. Hubbard was

1 Mr. Bates was born in Durham, Ct., Aug. 30, 1755, removed with his father to Southampton, in 1768. He resided in Northampton in 1775, and in Blandford from 1789 to 1801.

2 Heavy rains raised the river much above the average, and in consequence of the turbulence of the waters, seven of the batteaux and their contents were lost. Orders were then sent back to Col. Enos, in command of the rear division at Dead River junction, to send forward as many of the strongest men as he could supply with fifteen days' provision, and return with the rest. This order was misconstrued, or purposely misunderstood, and Enos marched back to Cambridge with the entire rear guard. He was afterwards tried by Court Martial and acquitted.—Sparks' Life of Arnold, p. 37.

mortally wounded and eleven of his company killed. The soldiers were put into the common jail, where they suffered much from want of provisions and fuel. Rations were scant throughout the city, and wood was very scarce. The smallpox was quite prevalent, and Bates had it in the natural way. On the 10th of August, 1776, the prisoners were liberated, engaging not to serve against England till they had been regularly exchanged. Four hundred men embarked in transports, and arrived in New York harbor under convoy, about the middle of September. Soon after they reached the city, New York was captured by the British, and the prisoners were landed at Elizabethtown, N. J. They managed to reach Washington's army at Valentine's Hill, and there Bates found his old commander, Capt. Allen, enlisted for a year's service. Here he received a portion of his pay, and soon after set out for home. His father met him at Southwick, and he reached Northampton about the first of October. Paul Clapp, Joseph Parsons Jr., Russell Clark, and Oliver Edwards of Northampton, were taken prisoners with Bates, and most of them reached home within a few days of his return.

The Other North-
ampton Soldiers
Return.

None of the other soldiers from this town volunteered to enter the city with Arnold.

The time for which they had enlisted expired on the day of the battle, and they started for home. They sold the packs of those who had been taken prisoners, containing clothing, etc., and used the proceeds to pay their way, much to the discomfort of their companions in prison. The prisoners were all captured within the limits of the city. While in the Quebec jail they heard no news from the army or from home, till Humphrey Richardson (an apprentice of Abner Barnard) was captured and confined with them.

A Westhampton
Soldier.

Ebenezer Gee of Westhampton enlisted at Dorchester in the Arnold expedition, under Capt. Scott of Londonderry, N. H. He

went with the rest to Dead River and returned with Col. Enos. He rejoined his old company at Dorchester, in the latter part of December, and was discharged in the month of January following.

Results of the First
Year of the War.

The first year of the war closed to the advantage of the patriots. Lexington and Bunker Hill had shown the British troops the fighting qualities of the undisciplined soldiers of the colonies. In Massachusetts, while the English were nominally victorious, they were closely confined to the city of Boston, and the little hill they had won at so great a cost. Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been captured, and the invasion of Canada had proved in a measure successful. Montreal had been taken, Quebec invested and the sterling qualities of the colonial commanders and their soldiers had been abundantly proved. On the whole the outlook was encouraging; the patriots had learned that the fight for independence had commenced, and that there would be no backward step.

Soldiers to Reinforce
Arnold Raised in
Hampshire.

Early in 1776, efforts were made to enlist soldiers to reinforce Gen. Arnold in Canada. Major Hawley and five others were appointed a committee to raise a regiment for that purpose in Hampshire County. Under this authority companies were organized in different sections, and the regiment placed under the command of Col. Elisha Porter of Hadley. These companies were ordered to proceed to their destination as fast as they were ready to march. Capt. Israel Chapin of Hatfield commanded a company in which a number of Northampton men were enlisted. Capt. Thomas Alexander of Northfield had another company. Records of the marching of these two companies, though they traversed practically the same route to Canada, show that they started on different dates. The itinerary of Capt. Chapin's company, as given by one of the Northampton soldiers, follows. Capt. Alexander's journal shows that he left Northfield March 6th, went to Hadley, and did not start on the direct march till the 13th, when Capt. Chapin had been ten days on the way. Other recruits followed at intervals and some were met by the retreating army, after the complete failure of the enterprise. As the soldiers had no tents, and were obliged to depend for shelter on such places as could be found along the line of march, stopping at taverns and bivouacking in barns and outhouses, it was

the policy to send small detachments at frequent intervals of time.

Noah Cook's Account
of the March to
Canada.

Noah Cook, whose account of the march of the Northampton minute-men has been previously quoted, re-enlisted for the Canada expedition within a few weeks after his return from Boston. From him Sylvester Judd obtained the following statement :—

“ In February, 1776, Cook enlisted with others for one year, to re-inforce the army in Canada. The officers of the company were Capt. Israel Chapin of Hatfield, Lieuts. Seth Hunt of Northampton and David White of Hadley, Ens. Nathaniel Sylvester of Chesterfield. The company, about one hundred in number, was enlisted from several of the Hampshire towns. They were all young, stout, and brave men. On the 3^d of March they paraded before the meeting house in Northampton, where Mr. Hooker made a prayer. That afternoon they marched to Williamsburg and stopped at Capt. Fairfield's tavern, but found no snow. The next night they were at Worthington, where snow was plenty. On the third night they encamped between Worthington and Williamstown, and the fourth night was spent at Williamstown. They were all on foot. Perez Bardwell of Hatfield (or Whately), accompanied them with a sleigh, and carried their baggage. Each man had a little silver money in his pocket, and all had snow shoes, but did not need to use them. They were at Bennington on the fifth night, but the snow had disappeared. Here was a meeting house with several dwellings about it, and among them two taverns. They passed through Shaftsbury and Arlington, crossed Wells' pond on the ice, and passed the sixth night at Wells. Here they found more snow, and some of the men put on snow shoes. They crossed the lake on the ice above Mt. Independence, and arrived at Ticonderoga on the seventh day after leaving Northampton. Here provisions were distributed. The weather had grown much milder, but the company went up to Crown Point on the ice, which was in some places covered with water. They continued the march on the ice, but it soon became too frail. So weak was it that they were compelled to lead the horses, and draw by hand the sleigh and a hay sled, made by the soldiers by hand. One horse broke through the ice and was drawn out of the water nine times. The other one was placed on the sled and drawn to the shore. They succeeded in reaching the eastern shore of the lake in safety, just at the narrows, but found no inhabitants. They proceeded to Onion river, now Burlington by land, where they found a family of high Dutch. No house was seen between Crown Point and Burlington. At Colchester, the next stopping place, temporary barracks were found, but no inhabitants. Here Bardwell left his sleigh and returned home with his horses. At Crown Point nothing remained but the old fort with a scanty guard. From Ticonderoga they had a Frenchman for a

guide. The weather turning cold, they were able to cross the lake on the ice, landing just below Grand Isle, then uninhabited. In crossing the lake from Colchester Point they put up a pole with a blanket, and the wind being favorable they went swiftly across the lake to the White House, nearly opposite the lower part of Grand Isle. Only one house was seen there, and that appeared to be tenantless.

“Cook and eight or ten others were detailed as an advanced guard, and went forward about five miles, to Dutchman’s Point. The lake was open, and they embarked in batteaux, and went to St. Johns and Chamblee. At St. Johns were a few huts and a large stone house, below St. Johns were a few French settlers. Between the latter place and Chamblee he stayed at a Frenchman’s house. At Chamblee was a fort and quite a village. Here at the foot of the falls they came upon a company of Americans: Lucius Knight was among them. They remained at this place till the rest of the company came up. French horses and trains (sleighs), were hired and the party went down the Sorel and St. Lawrence rivers, on the ice. French trains would carry but five or six men each, and were but little better than a stone boat. The drivers wore red caps, and were full of gabble, and the horses heads were decorated with tassels. They traveled about sixty miles a day, and reached Three Rivers on the second day, making but one stop on the way. A halt was made at this place: it was Palm Sunday, and there was a procession of good Catholics with priests bearing branches of trees instead of palms. The march was continued, sometimes by land, and sometimes on the river, to the Plains of Abraham, where they arrived on the 3^d of April. The snow was very deep. About a mile from Quebec, they crossed the St. Charles river to the village of Shelibo, five miles from the city on the west. Here they found under the command of Capt. Stoddard, a company, among which the small pox was raging. The entire company, on their arrival, was inoculated. Having no surgeon, they inoculated themselves. No medicine was to be had except boiled butternut bark and Swede syrup and pills.

“About the 10th of April, after the soldiers had been inoculated and before they were sick, the company was ordered to the Plains of Abraham in the night, to clear away the snow which was about six feet deep. They marched on the crust, cleared a small spot, and returned to their former camp in the morning. The soldiers now began to be sick, and with no conveniences or comforts, were compelled to care for each other. William Dada of Southampton, not having been inoculated, died there.

“During the last days of April, several companies of soldiers arrived in the vicinity of Quebec, Col. Porter commanding the regiment. In it was a company under Capt. Josiah Lyman of Belchertown, another under Capt. Alexander of Northfield, and a third under Capt. Chapin of Springfield. Capt. Wheeler of Vermont also commanded a company.

“On the 5th of May, a British fleet appeared in the harbor of Quebec, and orders were issued for an immediate retreat. Some of the soldiers had not recovered, and many were yet weak. Four men were left be-

hind, William Clark and a mulato named Prut, both from Hadley, Isaac Walker of Hatfield, and a man from Chesterfield. Clark refused to be inoculated and died. Solomon Clapp, son of Asahel, of Northampton, was taken sick at Chamblee. Eliab Alvord of Hatfield, remained and took care of him. Both afterwards came back.

“As they were retreating, large bodies of men marched out of Quebec, and their glistening arms were distinctly seen. The St. Lawrence river was open. About two-thirds of the company crossed the river St. Charles, while Cook, with the rest went down the river five miles before crossing. They came upon an Indian village, where a Scotchman who had a saw mill was sawing for the Americans. Here was a bridge upon which they crossed the river, and then passed through the woods in a deep snow, on account of which they were compelled to lighten their packs. In five or six miles they came upon the road in the rear of the main army, along which were strewn guns and packs, that the sick and feeble had thrown away. The next day in crossing a stream they were assailed by a frigate, but no one was injured. Having joined the rest of the company the same day, they took boats and went up the St. Lawrence. In crossing Lake St. Peters, they were roughly handled by a gale of wind, but landed in safety at Sorel, and went on towards Chamblee. Silas Warner of Northampton, son of Mark Warner ³l, died near Sorel river, he had not recovered from the small pox. After leaving Chamblee, they began to meet recruits, coming to reinforce the army. The company was sent down to a village called Manchican, on a river of the same name, which empties into Lake St. Peters. In a few days they reached Sorel. The army had gone, and British vessels were at the mouth of the river. Cook's old gun, which had come down from his ancestors, was out of order and he exchanged it for a better one. They continued the march up the Sorel, finally overtook the regiment and reached Chamblee, where they remained some time. An attempt was made to draw cannon up the falls, but the boats upset, and the guns went to the bottom of the river. Provisions were very scarce, and the troops were almost starved. Some went back to Sorel. Richard Clark and James Taylor of Northampton, a man named Johnson, Abiathar French, afterwards of Westhampton, Selah Clark and David Wood of South Hadley, deserted from Sorel, and started for home. They nearly perished in the woods, but finally arrived at Northampton.

“They kept on to Isle au Noix where they met reinforcements. These caught the small pox, and many of them died there. The only building there was a barn, which had been used as a hospital. The place was naturally unhealthy, the weather was hot, and the situation was very uncomfortable. To aggravate their misfortunes, Indians appeared, and attacked a detached party. There was a battle near Three Rivers, between Gen. Thompson and the British, after the company arrived at Chamblee, in which the Americans were defeated. From Isle au Noix they retreated to Crown Point by water, where they remained three days, and then went to Ticonderoga. Cook's regiment was stationed at Mt. Independence. They cleared away the trees, built

huts, and made beds of cedar bark. A breastwork was built near the water, and mounted with cannon. Rattlesnakes were plenty, and owing to the scarcity of other food, many were killed and eaten. They remained in camp at Mt. Independence till November, and Capt. Joseph Lyman arrived at Ticonderoga, while they were there. Richard Clark, one of the deserters, came back here, and soon after died. Salmon Morton and Moses Allis of Hatfield, active and vigorous young men, also died here of small pox. So many were sick at one time, that only three or four men were returned fit for duty.

“In November the company crossed the lake to Ticonderoga, and went up Lake George to Fort Edward, and kept on to Albany. Many fell out by the way from weariness and sickness. Moses Clark of Sunderland, returned to Northampton, sick, where he died soon after. At Albany the soldiers went on board sloops, were landed at King’s Ferry, and marched to Morristown. Not more than one half the original company answered the roll call at that place. At Morristown they went into camp, where they remained till their term of enlistment expired. Then Chaplain Smith gathered the men in the Morristown meeting house, and urged them to remain fifteen days longer. Cook and several others agreed to stay. They went first to Springfield, N. J., and after Gen. How passed to New York, pushed on to Elizabeth town. Here they came upon a sloop with seventy Highlanders and two women, left stranded by the ebbing tide, and they captured the entire party. In coming up with the prisoners, they found that a company of Waldeckers had been taken. The Highlanders heard the firing, expected to be rescued, and were much chagrined when they learned the truth, while the women scolded because they had been captured by rebels. Cook reached home about the last of January, and found the seventy Highlanders in the Northampton jail, where his father was jailer.”¹

An Incident. When the soldiers were retreating from Canada, and were crossing the boundary line, as they supposed, while on the lake, some of them swung their hats and shouted. Mr. Spring, the chaplain, rebuked them, and told them there was more cause for mourning than rejoicing. “We are retreating before the enemy,” said he, “and our liberties are in danger.”²

¹ The following anecdote is related concerning one of these prisoners. His name was Ferguson, and as they were on parole, all were allowed the liberty of the town. He was at William Clark’s at work. At family prayers, Clark prayed that “our enemies might be sent back whence they came, abashed and ashamed.” This so provoked the Scotchman that he then and there knocked Clark down, and was put in jail. Elihu Wright, for some reason had a quarrel with this man, and shot a musket ball at him through the grate in his room at the jail, but did not hit him. Wright soon after enlisted, and so escaped punishment.—Judd MSS.

² For list of soldiers engaged in this expedition, see Appendix.

CHAPTER XXVII.

REVOLUTION—DEATH OF GEN. POMEROY.

Short Enlistments. FREQUENT requisitions for men were made in 1776. Most of them were required for short terms, and generally for a specified purpose. None seem to have been enlisted for more than one year, and most of them for two, three and six months. On the 9th of April, eight companies were ordered to secure the town and harbor of Boston, of which one company was enlisted in Hampshire County. It is believed that no one from Northampton was enrolled in that company. On the 25th of June, another call was made, and five thousand men were wanted from six counties, including Hampshire, to reinforce the army in Canada. Northampton's quota was forty-seven. Again in July another order was issued for enlisting every twenty-fifth man to reinforce the northern armies; that is, one man in twenty-five of the numbers composing the training and alarm lists. They were to serve till December 1st, and were to receive 18s. each for blankets and use of arms, one month's advanced pay, 1d. per mile instead of rations on the march, and one day's pay for every twenty miles traveled between home and the place of general rendezvous. A forfeit or fine of £10, to be paid within twenty-four hours, was levied for every man drawn, who refused to serve.

Soldiers for Canada. Under these calls the Committee of Safety for Hampshire County, consisting of Joseph Hawley of Northampton, Noah Goodman of Hadley, Major William Pyncheon of Springfield, David Moseley of Westfield, and Capt. Israel Hubbard of Hatfield, raised a regiment in this county. The soldiers for Canada were to

receive £7 each. A company was enlisted for five months' service from Northampton, Southampton and adjacent towns. On the 7th of July, a muster to enlist soldiers was held in Northampton, at which a part of the quota was secured, and another in Southampton on the 9th, when eight or nine men were enlisted. They were mustered in July 19th, and the term of service ended December 19th. Joseph Lyman of Northampton was Captain; Elisha Bascom of Southampton, Lieut.; John Dickinson of Hatfield, Ens.; Benjamin Reed of Chesterfield, Abner Lyman and Solomon Allen of Northampton, Serjts. They marched to Ticonderoga, remained all the time in tents near the fort, were engaged in building redoubts, etc., but were not called into action. Seven men died, viz. :—Lieut Elisha Bascom of Southampton, Asahel Judd, son of Samuel, Barzillai Brewer, and John Riley of Northampton, Eli Danks and John Pomeroy of Southampton, and Levi Ludden of Williamsburg. The company received at starting 20s. each in Continental money, at the Court-House. They were paid 40s. per month in Continental bills, which had not depreciated very much at that time. This company is the one alluded to in Cook's narrative, as arriving at Ticonderoga. Ruggles Woodbridge of South Hadley commanded the regiment, and it was discharged in December.

A Company for Boston. About the first of August, a company was raised for service at Boston. The men were from Northampton, Southampton, Hadley, Hatfield, Worthington, South Hadley, and other towns. Oliver Lyman of Northampton was Captain; Moses Kellogg of South Hadley, 1st Lieut.; Joshua Lamb Woodbridge of Hatfield, 2^d Lieut.; Shubael Warner of Southampton, Ens. They were in the service four months, and were stationed at Dorchester. During this time they removed the barracks from Cambridge to Dorchester. About the 1st of December they returned home, not having been called into action. Thomas Lyman, one of the minutemen, was a member of this company, and Capt. Oliver Lyman was a Lieut.

Another Draft. In September, another requisition of one fifth of the militia not in service, except in the eastern counties and exposed seaports, was ordered to march to the aid of Gen. Washington at New York. Those absent from muster were fined £10, and those who refused to serve fined the same amount. In December one eighth of the above drafted men were ordered to march forthwith to Albany.

More Soldiers Needed. Under this order Brig.-Gen. Timothy Danielson of Brimfield commanded Gen. Seth Pomeroy to draft every fifth man in his regiment, under fifty years of age. They were to be formed into companies, and march to Horse Neck in Connecticut. This regiment was under the command of Col. John Moseley of Westfield, and the company in which the Northampton men were enlisted, was officered by Seth Murray of Hatfield, Capt. ; John Kirkland of Norwich, and Jonathan Warner of Williamsburg, Lieuts. The regiment marched through Connecticut to the army under Washington near New York. It was at Westchester and Valentine's Hill, within hearing of the guns at the battle of White Plains. The regiment was discharged in November, having served about three months. In this expedition were Lieut. Simeon Clapp, Daniel Edwards, Seth Clark, Ethan Marshall, Solomon Clark, and Thomas Craig.

Capt. Wales' Com-pany. In the latter part of December, a company under Jonathan Wales, Capt. ; Noah Strong, Lieut. ; Silas Brown, Ens., went to Peekskill, where they remained several weeks. About the 9th of February, 1777, they went to Morristown, N. J., Washington's headquarters. They enlisted for three months, and returned in the latter part of March. The following are the names of the men from this town, who were in this service :— Simeon Clapp, Oliver Parsons, Isaac Clark, Israel Barnard, Ezekiel Porter, Bela Strong, Thaddeus King, Seth Burk, Jonathan Fisher (died there), Levi Post, Timothy Phelps, Asa Thayer, James Wales, Samuel Wales.

The Second Year of the War. Defeat and disaster everywhere followed the patriot armies during the second year of the war. It is true Boston had been evacuated, and New England freed from the enemy, but the summing up of the year's operations was decidedly to the advantage of the mother-country. The American troops had been driven from Canada, and the gateway from the north was again open to the invaders. Independence, approved by twelve colonies, had been declared and published by the Continental Congress, and the first step towards liberty taken. The complete success of the North Carolina minute-men at Moore's Creek, followed by the repulse of the British fleet at Fort Moultrie, flashed like a meteor across the darkened sky, irradiating and illuminating the immortal declaration that established a new nation under the sun. But darkness settled again deeper than before. The disastrous battle of Long Island placed New York City in the hands of the enemy, Forts Washington and Lee had fallen, and Newport had been captured by the enemy, Washington was apparently being driven in hot haste out of New Jersey, and altogether the outlook was gloomy and dispiriting. About this time, however, Washington, by a series of brilliant manœuvres drove Cornwallis from the Jerseys, and the year closed with a gleam of sunshine that brightened the horizon, encouraged the sons of liberty, and taught the enemy that the subjugation of the colonies was no holiday affair.

Sinews of War Promptly Provided. During this time the colonies had responded generously and promptly to all demands made upon them. Requisition followed requisition for men, clothing and provisions. The struggle, whose end no man could foresee, was taxing heavily the resources of the country, but the people were determined, and they settled down to the work before them with energy and courage that nowhere admitted the possibility of defeat. So inadequate were the financial arrangements that the soldiers were greatly in arrears for their pay, and Washington and other generals pledged their private fortunes for the liquidation of these obligations.

Important Meeting
in Hampshire
County.

A meeting of the Committees of Correspondence of the several towns in Hampshire County was held at the Court-House in Northampton, March 11th, 1776. It was called by the committee of Northampton, “by the particular desire of the Committee of Correspondence for the Town of Chesterfield for the purposes hereafter mentioned, viz. :— Whether or not it is proper and expedient for the Court of Gen^l Sessions of the Peace for the County aforesaid, should be dissolve or Adjourn’d to some future season and whether the Justices afores^d shall in any case Act by Ver- tue of their present commissions.” Twenty-eight towns were represented by eighty-two delegates. Major Hawley was chosen moderator, and Levi Shephard, clerk. Northampton was represented by its entire committee of fifteen, whose names have heretofore been given. All questions were to be decided by a majority of each town committee, a tie vote in any committee was to be “considered as nothing,” and no question was to be determined by the individuals of said congress. The moderator was “desired to explain why it is that the Justices Commissions in this Colony are in the Name of George the Third of Great Britain, and under what authority the said Justices do act.” The annexed letter from Rev. Thomas Allen was read :—

“Pittsfield, 7th March, 1776.

“Gentlemen, I hope you will not fail of raising the Men in Worthington and going down to No Hampton on Monday next to stop the Court, as this is a most necessary step for the Salvation of our Country. Be so good as to send word to No. 5, Murrayfield and Chesterfield, and not wait for the people here but go forward early.”

“I am your Humble Servant

THOS. ALLEN.

To the Committee of Correspondence }
In Worthington. }

Each delegate was to “manifest to this congress what he supposes is the sense of the Town he represents in regard to the seting of the Court of general Sessions of the Peace.” Separate action was had on the two propositions in the call, and on the first, the following resolution was adopted by a vote of 39 to 43 :—

“Voted that it is inexpedient and improper that the Court of gen^l Sessions of the Peace for the County of Hampshire should set at the Time of their Adjournment on the second Tuesday of March instant.

“And that the reason why this Congress are of opinion that the Court aforesaid should not sit at the time & place aforementioned^d Is on account of their holding their commissions in the name of George the Third King of Britain, &c., and by the authority of the same.”

The towns, representation and votes on the above were as follows :—

In favor of continuing the sessions of the Court, Springfield, 3; Wilbraham, 1; Belchertown, 4; Hadley, 2; South Hadley, 2; Sunderland, 2; Montague, 2; Hatfield, 3; Northampton, 15; Westfield, 1; Southampton, 2; Greenville, 1; Southwick, 1.—39.

Against further sessions, Amherst, 3; Pelham, 1; Barnardston, 2; Shelbourn, 4; Greenfield, 3; Deerfield, 2; Conway, 3; Ashfield, 3; No. 5 [Cummington], 2; Worthington, 4; Chesterfield, 9; Whately, 2; Murrayfield, 1; Williamsburg, 2; Greenwich, 2.—43.

The vote of the town of Norwich, in favor of continuing the sessions of the court, through the failure of its delegate to arrive in time, was not recorded, as the committee delegated to its chairman the power to cast the vote. The result would have been unchanged, had he been present.

Upon the second question, the vote in favor of its “subsiding” was unanimous; one delegate was absent when the vote was taken, and one delegation was tied.

A committee was appointed to “wait on Mr. Justice Mather, President of the Court of Sessions with the above resolve.” and the congress adjourned till the next morning, at 8 o'clock.

When it again convened, the convention voted “That it be recommended to the Court of gen^l Sessions of the Peace to adjourn without day.” “Accordingly the Justices of s^d Court met at the usual place and Adjourned without day.”

A transcript of the proceedings of the Congress was ordered to be forwarded to the General Court, and presented by Major Hawley, Major Bliss and Moses Dickinson Esq. It was also “voted, That this Congress recommend to the People of this County that they obey the Militia officers who have lately been or shall be appointed in this County and commissioned by the General Assembly of the colony.”¹

Result of this Convention.

The result of the action by this and other conventions was an immediate alteration in the tenure of the commissions of the Justices of the several courts. The March term stopped by the above congress, was convened by the authority of King George the Third, but the May session which followed, was by the authority of the people of Massachusetts.

¹ The original record of this convention or congress, in the handwriting of the clerk, Levi Shephard, and signed by him, is still extant.

Requisitions for
Supplies.

As the war progressed, supplies of all kinds became more and more difficult to obtain. Clothing and blankets, of which there was always much waste, soon became very scarce. No manufactories of such goods were then in existence in the colonies, and the only source of supply was among the people. These articles were all made at home for home consumption, and it was only in the private stores of families that they could be found. The army had no uniforms, and the troops presented a motley appearance, dressed in their every-day homespun clothing, of as many different styles, fashions and qualities, as there were different states whence they came. The first requisition by the Third Provincial Congress for such supplies was made in July, 1775. The people were "earnestly desired as soon as possible to procure such a number of the articles of shirts, breeches & stockings as are affixed to their said towns," "and as many good shoes as they can obtain." These articles were to be paid for in notes or bills of credit of the colony. This requisition did not apply to Hampshire, but to eight of the more eastern counties of Massachusetts. The next year a requisition was made for four thousand blankets, and £2,600 were appropriated to pay for them. Northampton was required to furnish seventeen blankets. The work of collection was assigned to the selectmen or the Committee of Correspondence. Every house was visited, and one or more blankets demanded in proportion to the ability of the party, paid for and taken away. These articles were usually given up with cheerfulness, occasionally blankets were taken from beds in daily use,¹ and were surrendered without a murmur. The following year, in a requisition for five thousand blankets, Northampton was required to furnish twenty-seven. Later requisitions were made for shirts, shoes, and stockings, and in 1779, this town was ordered to provide sixty-four pairs of each of these articles. During the next year Elijah Hunt was appointed receiver for Hampshire County, and Northampton was drawn upon for forty-five shirts and an equal number of pairs of shoes.

1 Holland's History of Western Mass., vol. 1, p. 216.

No Town Action. Very little appears upon the town records during the first years of the war, having special reference to that event. The contract with Hunt & Breck for military supplies has already been noted.

The People Rule. On the 13th of March, 1775, the warrant for town-meeting was drawn in "his Majesty's name;" on the 27th of November the above quotation was omitted, and in May of the following year, it was made out in the "Name of the Government & People of Massachusetts Bay in New England."

A Permanent Form of Government Voted for. The necessity for a more substantial form of government soon became apparent. The existing system of government was at best but temporary, depending upon a contingency not likely to occur, that of a royal governor "consenting to govern according to the charter." While Massachusetts experienced no great inconvenience from the method adopted, yet there was a desire that some more permanent means should be established with the least possible delay. In June, 1776, this matter was brought before the Legislature, and a recommendation to the towns adopted, suggesting that deputies should be chosen to the next General Court, clothed with power to adopt a constitution and form of government. In accordance with this proposition, the town, October 3^d, voted affirmatively on the following article in a warrant for a meeting called to consider this subject:—

"To consider & determine whether they will give their Consent, that the present House of Representatives of this State of the Massachusetts Bay, together with the Council (if they consent) in one body with the House and by equal voice, Should Consult agree on and enact Such a Constitution and Form of Government for this State as the s'd House of Representatives and Council in manner afores'd on the fullest and most mature Deliberation Shall Judge will most Conduce to the Safety, peace & happiness of this State in all after Successions & generations. And if they will direct that the Same be made publick for the Inspection & perusal of the Inhabitants before the ratification thereof by the Assembly."

A Constitution Formed. Objections were made to this method of procedure by the citizens of Boston, and a number of other towns, as well as by a convention held in the County of Worcester. They were in

favor of calling a convention of delegates. The Legislature, however, proceeded with the work. A joint committee of the House and Council, framed a constitution, which was reported to the Legislature and submitted to the people. But it was not satisfactory, and was rejected. In May, 1778, the question of accepting the constitution thus framed, came before the town. The document was read section by section, and thoroughly debated. When the vote was declared it stood thirty-six in favor of the constitution to seventeen in opposition.

Declaration of Independence. On the fourth of July, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was passed by the Continental Congress. Since the outbreak of hostilities this question had been prominent in all sections, and the people were well aware of the significance of the act. Before definitely deciding upon the proposition, measures had been taken to ascertain the sentiment of the country at large in reference to the matter. In Massachusetts the Legislature suggested that the several towns should instruct their representatives, chosen in 1776, in relation to the advisability of declaring the country free and independent. A great majority of the towns voted in favor of independence, but there is nothing on record intimating that the town of Northampton ever took action on this question. It can hardly be believed that Major Hawley and other patriots of the town would permit a matter of such vital importance to pass unnoticed. Possibly it was the clerk who neglected to make the record, and not the people who forgot to vote.

Gen. Seth Pomeroy again in Active Service. After the battle of Bunker Hill, Gen. Seth Pomeroy, who had retired to his home in Northampton, was much employed in military affairs in the county. At the earnest solicitation of Gen. Washington, in the latter part of 1776, he decided once more to enter the service, and early in the following year, started to take a command in the continental army. He evidently had charge of the regiment raised in this county, and was ordered in the fall of that year to report at once to Gen. Washington. His short and meagre journal of that march is appended :—

“Wednesday Jan. 15, 1777.

“Then I set out from Northampton to follow my regiment that was gone forward on their way to Danbury, in company with the Rev^d Mr. Porter, Chaplain for my regiment. Came to my sons at Whiteloaf [Southampton] and dined there. After dinner Deacon Lyman and his son Noah who was my waiter and Mr. Porter went off. Came that day to Mr. Barbank's, lodged there, the next day set off. Came to Simsbury there dined, after set off and came to the west part of Simsbury, lodged near the edge of New Hartford, the men's names I have forgotten. Set off next day, went through Litchfield, came at night to a tavern, the place and the man's name I have forgotten, but the next day we came to Danbury. Saturday night the 18th Noah Lyman my waiter was taken sick, we stayed there over the Sabbath heard Mr. Bradford preach from these words “I will have mercy on those I will have mercy.” A better preacher I don't know that I ever heard. Mr. Porter and I left Danbury Monday morning, that day came to a place Cram Pond, lodged there (I had paid before I left Dea. Lyman at Danbury, six shillings more than my part with him).

“Tuesday came to Peekskill, the same day rode for King's Bridge, Col. Williams with me to settle a difficulty that had taken place in the regiment before I left, got that settled, came to Peekskill.

“Saturday, 25th, dined with Gen. McDougal.

“Monday 27th Daniel Strong was hanged for taking orders to raise a company of volunteers under that infamous Rogers to join Gen. Howe's army in New York, the Rev. Mr. Sackett of Cram Pond stood on the cart and prayed and preached an excellent sermon from these words “Prepare to meet thy God, Oh Israel.” The whole army paraded in a circle. Gen. McDougal on horseback, the colonel on horseback, the whole army in a circle round the gallows to hear the sermon, and behold the melancholy spectacle.

“The first three nights after I got to Peekskill I lodged at one Man-deville's, paid him by the meal. The 28th of January I took lodgings at Capt. Johnson's, agreed with Miss Johnson (the Capt. not at home) for two dollars and a half per week for my board, stayed there till”

The above is the last entry Gen. Pomeroy made in his journal. One of his last letters, written but a week before his death, closes with these words:—

“I go on cheerfully for I am sure the cause we are engaged in is just, and the call I have to it is clear, and the call of God. With that assurance, who could not go on cheerfully, and confront every danger.”

His Death.

Within four weeks after leaving home he was taken violently ill with pleurisy and died on the 19th of February in his seventy-first year. He was greatly esteemed by the officers under the command of Gen. McDougal, and was buried by them with military

honors in the burying-ground at Peekskill. Thus ended the career of one of Northampton's strongest patriots and ablest soldiers. He fought in three different wars, earning a wide reputation for skill and courage, and at last gave up his life for his country cheerfully and with honor.

The Journals of his campaigns, and the private letters written while in active service, contain a fund of invaluable historical material, and also embody a mine of local information

not elsewhere to be found. While the former have been copied entire in these volumes, the latter have been freely drawn upon in the course of the narrative. Prominent among the characteristics of this remarkable man was his strict adherence to principle. This great governing motive, and not a reckless indifference to danger was the source of that undaunted courage, so remarkably displayed whenever occasion demanded. Ample confirmation of this assertion may be found in his journals and letters which often indicate that he so sensitively appreciated the approach of danger, that he was often led to exaggerate its importance. Yet when the anticipated peril came, it was always met with resolution and intrepidity. It is related of him, that on one occasion he said to his son Lemuel, who served with honor throughout the Revolution, when he showed some reluctance to go through woods which were supposed to be infested with Indians, after strayed cattle, "Lem, never fear to do your duty no matter where it calls you, no matter how great the danger, never be afraid to do your duty. But if ever you are tempted to do a mean thing or a wrong thing, be the greatest coward in the world."

Hampshire Committees of Safety
Meet again.

Early in the year 1777, about the last of January, a meeting of the Committees of Safety in Hampshire County was held in Northampton. Nathaniel Dwight of Northampton was chairman, and Robert Breck of the same place, clerk.

Delegates from thirty-three towns were present. The convention was called for the special purpose of considering the suffering condition of the northern army. But there were various other matters of importance to be considered. It approved the course of the General Court in establishing Courts of General Sessions of the Peace; denied the petition of Jonathan Moseley, a tory, who asked that his son, put in jail for refusing to do military duty, might be liberated; on account of the desecration of the Sabbath by travelers, it recommended that innholders should refuse entertainment to persons traveling on that day; recommended a plan for uniformity of prices in the county; and advised the committee on supplies to forward at once such as were especially needed for the welfare of the army. Another subject of paramount importance was the open and defiant position of the tories. Encouraged by the disasters that had befallen the armies of the Republic, the royalists had become overbearing and obstructive. An appeal was made to the General Court to devise such means of relief as might be deemed expedient.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

REVOLUTION—SMALLPOX—DEATH OF REV. MR. HOOKER.

Composition of the Army. DURING the first two years of the war, so strong was the aversion to a standing army, that the forces in the field were composed of the militia of the several states, enlisted for short terms, and commanded by officers from their own localities. To all intents and purposes, the colonial army was but a gathering of militia squadrons, owing allegiance to the state which paid their wages and supplied their equipments. Patriotism, the governing motive in the earlier enlistments, was the principal bond of cohesion, and that was greatly weakened by a senseless spirit of state jealousy, which everywhere prevailed. Hampered by this unsatisfactory system, Washington urged upon Congress the advisability of forming an army, enlisted from all the states, under the control of that body.¹ Consequently, in 1777, Congress provided for the organization of the Continental army, whose term of service should not be less than one nor more than three years. In January of that year, the General Court of Massachusetts passed a resolve for raising Continental troops, voluntarily if possible, by draft if necessary, and assigned the quotas to the several towns. The number required was equal to one seventh of all the male inhabitants over sixteen years of age, at home and abroad. They were to serve either till the 10th of January, 1778, for three years, or during the war, as they might choose at the time of enlistment. Those engaging for less than three years were not entitled to a bounty, and all who refused to serve were fined £10.

¹ Fiske's American Revolution, vol. 1, pp. 243, 248.

Enlisting Continental Soldiers. Northampton was required to furnish twenty-nine men, and in April the work of enlisting them began. The town offered a bounty of £30, equal to \$100 for each soldier, and instructed the militia officers to classify their companies into as many divisions as there were men wanted. Each class was to procure a man, receiving from the town £30 to pay the bounty. This first application of the bounty system caused some trouble to the enlisted men, as the amount was deducted from their wages at the end of their term of service. The men applied to the town for relief. They had been deprived of fifteen months' pay by order of the General Court, on account of the bounty. A committee appointed to consider the matter reported that the town should make application to the Legislature for compensation, and if it could not be obtained before 1784, the town should pay each man a sum equivalent to £30 and interest. This only applied to those who served three years.

Bounty Money Increased. At first the town voted a bounty of £15, payable in installments of £5 each. One payment was to be made when the soldiers marched, and the rest at the commencement of each succeeding year of service. This was not satisfactory, and the men could not be obtained. One object in making such an arrangement undoubtedly was to make sure if possible, that the men should serve their full time or forfeit a portion of their bounty. In a short time it was voted to pay the whole bounty before marching. But that did not get the men, and it was soon found necessary to double the amount. A proposition was made to the soldiers to take town notes for one year for the whole or part of the bounty, and money was borrowed of any individuals willing to lend it, to make up any deficiency. It appears that many persons had failed to pay their "proportion in promoting the public cause," and a committee of five persons, one from each of the five militia companies, was appointed to collect the same. Seventy pounds in the treasury collected as fines from such persons as had "refused to march in the last Draught of the militia," was applied to the payment of bounties, and the remainder was to be assessed upon the

polls and estates. All who belonged to Capt. Allen's and Capt. Chapin's companies the last year, who should enlist in the Continental service, were to have "full compensation for all loss by them sustained in cloathes and other articles, where such losses were unavoidable, and not through the Negligence of those who sustained them."

British Prisoners Enlisting. Several of the British marines, prisoners here, enlisted in the Continental army. To them the town voted a bounty of £10 per year for three years. Robert Keeling and Giles Jones, and probably John Meacham, were among the prisoners who enlisted.

Soldiers Return Home without Leave. A number of this company of Continental soldiers came home without leave in 1779. There was a misunderstanding in reference to the time for which they had enlisted. Major Hawley and other influential citizens persuaded them to return, and sent a letter in their behalf to the authorities. Seth Lyman Jr. and John Welch refused to return to camp, and led, it was supposed, a vagabond and plundering life. Seth Lyman justified his son in coming home, and this led to hard feelings between him and Major Allen. The officers of the first company of Continentals were Major Jonathan Allen, of Northampton, who commanded the first company of minute-men; Capt., Nathau Goodale of Brookfield; Lieut., Elihu Root of Northampton; and Ens., John Blake of Wrentham.

Pay Voted to the Soldiers. In March, a committee was appointed to report delinquents in the service, and assess their proportion. At the same time it was voted that the pay of all who served with Arnold at Quebec, and those who went to Canada under Capt. Chapin, should be estimated at 30s. per month; those who did garrison duty at Dorchester, under Capt. Oliver Lyman, should be allowed 5s. per month; and that the remainder should be computed at 24s. per month. These sums were in addition to the amount received from the government. The account was made up in this manner:—Every man in

town on the assessors' list was assessed 1s. 8d. in every pound in the valuation of his estate. Many had paid in money, others had served in the army, all of which was deducted and the person charged with the balance if the account was against him, or credited with it if in his favor. The service was computed at 30s., 24s. and 5s. Calculating in this way, the delinquencies amounted to £697.12. In other words, after assessing the town 1s. 8d. per pound, on the valuation list, and deducting money and service, the above amount remained to pay those who had done more than their part.

Committee of Correspondence.

For this year the Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety, was composed of the following persons:—Mr. Robert Breck, Mr. Ephraim Wright, Mr. Jacob Parsons, Deaⁿ Josiah Clark, Mr. Benjamin Clark, Lieut. Joseph Cook, and Elijah Hunt.

Troops Employed in 1777.

The conflict in Canada carried on during the preceding year, had resulted in the withdrawal of the American forces from that country, and late in the fall, Gen. Carleton occupied Crown Point, which had been abandoned, and threatened Ticonderoga. Owing to the approach of cold weather, he relinquished his purpose of penetrating to Albany, and retired to winter quarters in Canada. Consequently most of the troops at Ticonderoga had been ordered to reinforce Gen. Washington. It became necessary therefore, early in 1777, to reinforce that place and put it in a posture of defence. In February, the General Court ordered Hampshire and Berkshire to raise men to march to Ticonderoga, and subsequently they were ordered to be paid as Continentals. Eight men were enlisted from Southampton, but none seem to have gone from this town. On the last day of April, fifteen hundred men were ordered from Hampshire for service at Ticonderoga, to be enlisted for two months. They were to form two battalions. Under this call a company, composed of men from Northampton and other towns, went to that place. Simeon Clapp was captain, but no other officers were chosen, as the men could

not agree upon them. It contained about forty men who left Northampton in May, and remained at Fort Ticonderoga till July, when Gen. St. Clair retreated before the advance of Burgoyne. They were stationed on Mt. Independence, and when they left the camp, the British were in sight. They came home through Castleton and Williamstown. Fifteen men from Northampton and two from Westhampton were in this expedition.¹ Another requisition for men was made in July, and a company of between forty and fifty men volunteered from this town. At Worthington they met the company under Capt. Clapp, at Eager's barn. News of the evacuation of Ticonderoga was received before they marched, but they pressed forward, and made choice of officers at Worthington. Jonathan Stearns was chosen Capt., Asa Wright, Lieut., and Asahel Pomeroy, Ens. The names of this company have not been found. It was in the service five weeks, leaving Northampton July 12, and returning Aug. 16. Another company from Southampton went about this time, commanded by Capt. Lemuel Pomeroy. They fell back with the army as Burgoyne advanced, leaving him at Stillwater, but did not remain till a decisive battle was fought.

Gen. Burgoyne Commences his March.

June 16, Gen. Burgoyne with an army of ten thousand men, British, Germans, Canadians and Indians, marched on his expedition down the lakes to the Hudson, and so to New York. After the capture of Ticonderoga, he went forward unchecked till he reached Saratoga. Troops were moved forward to reinforce Gen. Gates, and full one half the effective militia of Massachusetts was in active service.

The Bennington Alarm in Northampton.

The battle of Bennington was fought on the 13th of August. When intelligence was received in Northampton that the British were in the vicinity of that place, an alarm was sounded. On such occasions it was customary to fire three guns, beat the drums, and ring the bell. This time the news came in the night, and the alarm was sounded at

1 For list of soldiers, see Appendix.

once. Nathaniel Day, who lived near the site of the Academy of Music, started out with his large drum, beating it on his way to the meeting-house, where everybody gathered. It is reported that he had a "big drum, and in the stillness of the night it made a terrific noise." John Strong, another drummer, lived on South Street, and when these two men beat an alarm, the whole town was soon thoroughly aroused. In the Bennington alarm almost everybody, old and young, assembled at the meeting-house. Among the town papers is "an Acct. of Powder & lead deliver'd out of Town Stock by the selectmen to the following Persons who went towards Bennington in the Time of the Alarm Aug^t 1777." The list contains the names of one hundred four men, and the quantity of powder and lead distributed to them amounted to £20.2.1. They did not wait for a requisition, but volunteered, and marched at once. It is believed that Oliver Lyman was captain of this company.¹ While on the march they heard of the battle and victory, and did not go beyond Lanesboro. Here numbers of Hessian prisoners were delivered to them, whom they guarded to Northampton. The return march was through Pittsfield, where they passed the night in the meeting-house. Another night they lodged at Col. Eager's barn in Worthington. At Northampton the prisoners slept in the Court-house, a guard being kept at all times in the porch of the meeting-house. They remained here some days, and their cooking was done in great iron kettles, near where the present town hall stands. The main body of the prisoners was removed to Rutland, but some of them remained here and in other towns. Many of them were employed among the farmers. Able-bodied men, especially mechanics, were not plenty, and it was customary to engage such of the prisoners as were willing to work. Gen. Pomeroy, a few weeks before, had written from Peekskill to his son relative to other prisoners:—"If there should be a smith among them I should be glad to have you try him at the Smith's business, or you may find one who will suit for the husbandry business." It is not known whether the Pomeroy's employed any of the prisoners or not, but Jonathan Judd relates his experience with one, which may

1 Their names will be found in the table of revolutionary soldiers in the Appendix.

have been and probably was the result with a majority of them. He writes in his diary :—

“ Fryday [Sept.] 5 near 1 set out with a Brunswicker, got home at 2.” He went to Northampton the day before and “ lodged at Mr. Lymans.” In a few weeks he makes the following entry : “ Monday [Oct.] 20, was at Northampton, left the Brunswicker we have had there, he is uneasy and very cross.”

Another Regiment from Hampshire County. A regiment from this county was sent to reinforce Gen. Gates in July. It was commanded by Col. Moseley of Westfield, and Jonathan Clapp of Northampton was Major. In it was a company commanded by Capt. Jonathan Stearns of Northampton, and another under Capt. Lemuel Pomeroy of Southampton. Capts. Murray of Hatfield and Webber of Worthington, also had companies in the regiment. It went by way of Greenbush to Saratoga, then to Moses Creek, near Fort Edward. As Burgoyne approached it fell back to Stillwater, and during the retreat Obadiah Frary of Southampton was killed. This regiment was discharged the last of August, having been in the service about six weeks.

Other Alarms. In September, there were other alarms caused by reports from the seat of war on the Hudson. On the 15th the selectmen were called upon to distribute a pound of powder “ to fire two Alarms,” and on the 18th three quarters of a pound more for another, the whole costing 14s. A company was enlisted from Northampton and vicinity, consisting of about one hundred men. Oliver Lyman was Capt. ; Seth Hunt, Lieut. ; and Asahel Pomeroy, third officer, acting as adjutant part of the time. Pomeroy was in the service in July and August, under Capt. Stearns, and had been at home about a month, when he enlisted again. Col. May of Goshen commanded the regiment, and Capt. Lemuel Pomeroy was at the head of the Southampton company. They were in the service about six weeks, remaining till after Burgoyne’s surrender. In the battle of Bemis Heights this regiment was stationed on the left near the Hudson, but was not engaged in the

fight. Probably it was of this regiment that the following story was told :—

As the Hampshire regiment “wheeled one morning into line, Gen. Gates, who was surveying the army from a little eminence on the right, remarked that they must be old soldiers. ‘Those,’ asked Wilkinson, ‘why they are the raw recruits from Northampton.’ ‘What, Pomeroy’s men, eh! I ought to know them,’ and putting spurs to his horse, he rode over to that part of the field where they stood, and complimented the commanding colonel upon the appearance of the men.”¹

David Strong’s
Account.

David Strong of Northampton was a member of this company. He stated that after the battle of Bemis Heights, fought October 7th, the regiment while marching to take position, was suddenly attacked by a party of the enemy, and compelled to fall back. They took shelter behind trees and fought after the Indian fashion. Gen. Lincoln was riding in advance, locating the regiments, when he was wounded, his leg being broken by a ball. Strong and others placed him on a blanket, fastened poles to its sides and carried him, four men at a time, till they met an ambulance coming for him. When Burgoyne retreated beyond Schuyler’s Creek, the troops followed close. The road presented a most distressing spectacle. Dead horses, broken vehicles, abandoned camp equipage, were strewn in every direction. Col. May’s regiment was among those that crossed the creek in a fog and suddenly found themselves under the British guns. They crouched beneath the bank, recrossed the creek, and fell back “All in a huddle.” The water was up to the waist and in some places higher. After the cessation of hostilities, and before the actual surrender, the Northampton soldiers were dismissed. In coming home they met troops in great numbers from Massachusetts and Maine, told them all was over, and Burgoyne and his army prisoners, but they all kept on, anxious to see and know from personal observation. Strong said that he never saw men so full of fight, as all were on the day of the last battle with Burgoyne. When they marched from the line they went with a quick and lively step, eager for action. His company was stationed in the woods, and he could not

1 American Whig Review.

see the fighting, but could tell from the firing which party had the advantage.¹

The Killed and Wounded. Aaron Strong of Southampton was killed a little before the surrender by a random shot, on the south side of Schuyler's Creek. Just before this, Jonathan Warner was wounded on the back side of his shoulder. He exclaimed, "The rascals have shot me in the back." Eight men from Northampton enlisted in this company. They were absent about six weeks.

A Company Enlisted for Three Months. About the first of September, the town was alarmed by the usual drum beating and gun firing, and a number of men enlisted. A company was formed from this and other towns, and went forward to the seat of war. It was enlisted for ninety days. Elihu King, who was a member, states in his narrative, that John Kirkland was chosen Captain, but becoming insane on the march, Abner Pomeroy of Southampton was put in his place, and Samuel Parsons of Northampton was chosen Lieutenant. Pomeroy started as Lieutenant, and Parsons as Ensign, but were promoted when Capt. Kirkland was discharged. The company marched through Williamstown to Bennington, and thence to Pawlet, though part of them went to Ticonderoga, where they captured a few British soldiers. They remained at Pawlet a few days and then went down the Hudson and crossed to Gates' army, after the first battle of Bemis Heights, Sept. 19th. Col. Woodbridge of South Hadley commanded the regiment, which was composed mainly of Hampshire County companies. After joining the army, they were attached to the Massachusetts brigade, commanded by Gen. Warner of Hardwick. In the battle of October 7th, Gen. Warner's brigade was in the line about half-way from the river to the top of the hill in the woods. They expected to be called into action every minute, but were not. King could not see the battle-ground. After the surrender of Burgoyne they marched to Albany, where they embarked in sloops and were landed at Tarrytown. Thence they marched to White Plains, thence to Westchester, returning

1 Judd MSS.

afterwards to White Plains. They came home in the latter part of November. Thirteen men from Northampton were members of this company.¹

Losses by North-
ampton Men. Thomas Clark, Solomon Wright, Thomas Smith, Silas Bartlett, Isaac Clark, Solomon Dewey, and Eleazar Root lost their knapsacks, blankets and clothing at Saratoga. The company was obliged to retreat hurriedly, when almost surrounded by the enemy. Each man made a claim upon the town or state for his loss, amounting in the aggregate to between £30 and £40, but the claim seems not to have been allowed.

Transporting Stores
to the Army. Ephraim Wright of Northampton was engaged as a teamster, or as he was called in the documents of that date, "waggon master," throughout the Revolution, and transported large quantities of stores to the army. One of his earliest accounts is dated June, 1777. He received at that time from Robert Breck Esq., a member of the State Committee on Supplies, who was also commissary for Hampshire County, "12 hogsd & 9 Tier. Rum, 2 hogds Mollasses, three hgds Sugar, 2 hgds & one Tier. Coffee, 7 barrels of Ginger, one Tier. Pepper, 31 boxes Chocolate of 50 lbs. each, & one box chocolate of 250 lbs., Two Tierces of Oatmeal, four tierces of Indian Meal," which the department conveyed to Fort George. These stores were intended for the army at Ticonderoga, but for want of boats, only a portion went to the army, the rest remaining at the Continental storehouse at Fort George. Mr. Wright was evidently at the head of the transportation department in Western Massachusetts, and the teamsters received their pay of him. In another document may be found a description of several loads carried in July, 1777, "from New Providence towards the northern army, being 69 miles & four shillings per Tun per mile." Among the articles transported by them were ten tierces, casks and barrels of rum, brandy, and wine; seven tierces, casks and boxes of chocolate; two tierces of rice; one hhd. and one box of "cloathing;" six tierces of salt; a cask of mustard; a hhd. or two of molasses, etc. From

1 For names see Appendix.

this it appears that liquids predominated, and that "Dutch courage" was deemed of great importance.

Reinforcements Or-
dered to the North-
ern Army.

On the 2^d of July, Hampshire and Berkshire Counties were ordered to march "all they can" to Fort Ann or Fort Edward to reinforce the northern army, every seventh man being called for, and in August, every sixth man was ordered out from Hampshire. This second call following the other so quickly, was needed because the first one ordering out every seventh man, had been but partially filled. These men were to be in the service till November 30th, and were to be paid 50s. per month in addition to their Continental wages. By the 22^d of September, at least one half the militia in Hampshire and some other counties was required to reinforce Gen. Gates.

Third Year of the
War.

Though irradiated by the capture of Burgoyne, the third year of the conflict brought no relief to the harassed and hard pressed colonists. The defeat at Brandywine was followed by the capture of Philadelphia, while the repulse at Germantown drove the dispirited and dejected army of Washington into the miseries, hardships and sufferings of Valley Forge. Little had been gained by either side, though the Americans had much about which to congratulate themselves. Their gallant struggle was attracting attention across the ocean, bringing to their aid such men as Lafayette and Pulaski, reinforcements of untold value to the budding republic.

Smallpox Invades
the Town.

During this year of constant warfare and continued privation, when Northampton was sending one half of its able-bodied men into the army, the town was visited by that dreaded scourge, smallpox. This disease had not previous to this time extended inland very generally. Seventeen years before, a few straggling cases had found their way into the Connecticut Valley, and a hospital for their treatment had been established at Springfield. This year it appeared suddenly, and though vigorous measures were adopted to pre-

vent its spread, several persons died. One of its earlier victims was Rev. John Hooker, pastor of the First Church. His death occurred on the 6th of February, and it was a severe blow to the community. The people were sincerely attached to him, and the sudden and peculiar cause of his death spread an added gloom throughout the town.

Sickness and Death of Rev. Mr. Hooker. This loathsome disease was brought here by Col. Hoisington, in December, 1776. He was taken sick at Daniel Pomeroy's tavern—known for many years as the “Red Tavern”—which stood on or near the present site of the Catholic Church. He was removed to a place hastily provided for his reception, where he died in a short time. Rev. Mr. Hooker caught the disease, it is supposed, while passing the tavern, soon after Col. Hoisington was attacked. He was returning, so the tradition reads, from a wedding at “Welch End” (probably that of Samuel Porter of Chesterfield, to Lucy, daughter of Ebenezer Edwards, which occurred on the 12th of December). Mr. Hooker was immediately taken to the house of widow Bartlett, which seems to have been used as a temporary hospital, where he died after an illness of about seven weeks. He was buried on the 7th of February, not in the night, as has been stated, but in the daytime. So great was the dread of this disease, that his remains were carried to the cemetery through the meadows without attendance. The bell was tolled as usual, people assembled at the meeting-house and Dr. Lyman of Hatfield preached a sermon. Madame Dwight draped the pulpit in black broadcloth. His loss was severely felt, and many tears were shed while the service was in progress. The town paid all the expenses of his sickness, as well as those of other members of his family, who had been exposed.

Several People Die of the Disease and others are Inoculated. Great consternation prevailed when the disease appeared. A number of persons were attacked by it, and several died. People from Northampton and other towns, who had been exposed, went to Chesterfield and were inoculated. A house was provided for the proper accommodation of these invalids, where most of them remained till

they recovered. Among them were several members of Daniel Pomeroy's family, and a number of persons from Southampton. In March the town voted to build a pest-house in the old field of Elisha Alvord, above Coomb's Mill Place. The building was sixteen by thirty-four feet, with a chimney in the center, and a cellar eight feet square.

Terms of Inoculation. All who enlisted in the Continental army were to have the liberty of inoculation before marching. At the same time it was voted that no person "should be suffered to take the small pox in this Town by inoculation but what shall Previously Deposit £5 in the Hands of the Selectmen to be Kept by them as a Pledge of their abiding the order of Such Committee as Shall be appointed by the Town to take care of the conduct of such persons as shall take the Small Pox." The deposit was to be forfeited if the parties failed to comply with the orders of the above committee.

"Monopoly and Oppression." A committee was appointed to take the most effectual means to discover any violation of the act to "prevent monopoly and oppression," and to "prosecute according to law all violations of the act until Grand Jurors shall be appointed to take cognizance of the same."

Committee to Procure Preaching. In May a committee was appointed to procure preaching and to "look out for and procure a candidate for Settling in the work of the Gospel Ministry among us as opportunity shall present." No record has been found of the names of the ministers who supplied the pulpit after the death of Mr. Hooker. Much of the preaching came apparently through the influence and exertions of Mrs. Hooker, who was afterwards liberally compensated for her labors in this respect.

Soldiers Aid and Reimbursing Taxes. A committee was also appointed to provide for the families of soldiers in the Continental army, in accordance with the act of the General Court. It was also voted to pay a bounty of £10 to all those marines who had served in the Conti-

mental army. In December, the town voted to reimburse "their last year's poll tax to those who were prisoners in Quebec, viz :—Joseph Parsons Jr., Paul Clap, Russell Clark, Oliver Edwards, Lemuel Bates."

Rev. John Hooker. The fourth minister of Northampton was born at Kensington, Ct., now the Parish of Berlin, in 1729. He was the great grandson of Rev. Thomas Hooker, one of the founders of the Colony of Connecticut, and the first minister of Hartford. Graduating at Yale College in the class of 1751, two years later he was installed as pastor over the church here, where he remained till death sundered the connection twenty-three years afterward. On the 5th of December, 1753, he was married to Sarah Worthington of Springfield, sister of Col. John Worthington, one of the most eminent lawyers in this section of the state. The circumstances attending his call have already been fully narrated, as well as the sad details of his last sickness and death. Accepting the pastorate of this church at the age of twenty-five, he entered without previous experience upon a duty rendered all the more exacting on account of the stormy and tempestuous close of the labors of his eminent predecessor. But he seemed peculiarly well fitted to meet the special condition of affairs existing, and the asperity and bitterness of both parties speedily merged into a mutual and common attachment between pastor and people. "The gentleness of his deportment, his sound discretion, and his instructive discourses in the pulpit, secured to him, to such an extent, the love and respect of his people, that they were always satisfied to hear him, and did not care to hear anybody else."¹ While he was looked upon with respect, and treated with courtesy by the clergy of the valley, he never assumed the commanding position then held by his predecessors. He was eminently fitted for the pastoral office, and absorbed in these duties, he sought not distinction elsewhere. Particularly he endeared himself to the youth of the congregation, and is represented as a man of most condescending, familiar and winning manners. As a preacher he was earnest and attractive, stating the truth with simplicity

1 Sprague's Annals.

and directness, free from everything that had a semblance of affectation. He was modest and retiring, and did not put himself forward for the sake of popularity or notoriety. Mr. Hooker was an ardent patriot¹ and sympathized with and aided to the extent of his ability the cause of liberty. During the early years of the war he was frequently called upon to hold services as the soldiers were about to march to the front. Usually the company was assembled at the meeting-house, where prayer would be offered by the minister, and sometimes addresses made by others. On one such occasion he preached a sermon from the text, "and the soldiers said what shall we do?" His death from smallpox occurred February 6, 1777, at the age of forty-eight. During his pastorate of twenty-three years, four hundred nine members were added to the church.

A Monument Erected
to his Memory.

Ten years after his decease, the town voted to "procure a decent monument to be erected to the memory of the late John Hooker, at the cost of the town." It was soon after placed in the Bridge Street cemetery, where it is still to be seen. It bears the following inscription:—

"Here lies the Rev. John Hooker, who died of y^e Small Pox Feb^r 6th, 1777, in the 49th Year of his Age: & 23^d of his Ministry. In him an excellent & highly cultivated Genius, a graceful Elocution, engaging manners, & the Temper of the Gospel, united to form an able and faithful minister, & to render him exemplary and beloved in all the Relations of life.

"The affectionate People of his charge in remembrance of his many Amiable and Christian Virtues, erected this Monument to his Memory."

1. It is related of him that he was at first very moderate in his whigism, and some suspected him of being on the fence. Nathaniel Day, who lived where the Academy of Music now stands, apprised him of the growing impression concerning his political principles, and urged him "by all that was sacred to come on the right side, or he would be blown up." Mr. Hooker made no reply, "but ever afterwards was willing to preach and pray like a true whig." Nathaniel Day was a fiery whig, and with his monstrous drum, when an alarm was given, "he made the town ring, his head was up, the muscles of his meagre face were all in motion, and his eyes beamed with animation and fire."—Judd MSS.

CHAPTER XXIX.

REVOLUTION—WESTHAMPTON—REV. SOLOMON WILLIAMS.

A Contribution for the Soldiers. In January, 1778, a large committee was appointed to "go from one house to another through the town, and see what they could collect (by donation) of such things as they judged would be serviceable to the soldiers," and forward all such contributions to Albany, as soon as convenient, to be distributed to the soldiers from Northampton. What may have been the result of that canvas is not stated. During the same month the sum of £108.8.2 was allowed a number of persons for bread furnished the British prisoners, who marched through the town on their way to Boston. The amount was paid to four constables, who were to deduct the same from the tax bills of those who provided the bread. This must have been for provisions delivered to the Hessian soldiers, captured at the battle of Bennington.

Nine Month's Men. Two thousand soldiers were called for in April to serve nine months, to fill up the Continental battalions. The previous requisition of one seventh of all the male inhabitants over sixteen years of age, was not sufficient to keep the quota of Massachusetts up to the desired number. Northampton was required to furnish thirteen men.

Bounty Money and Requisitions for Soldiers. In May the town voted to raise by tax thirteen hundred dollars to pay the bounties. At the same time an order was issued to enlist thirteen hundred men for the North River, and two hundred for Rhode Island. They were to serve eight months after arriving at the place of rendezvous. On the

12th of June another requisition was made for eighteen hundred men for service in Rhode Island. But their destination was changed and of the one hundred ninety-nine men required of Hampshire, one hundred from the southern part of the county were to go to Providence, and ninety-nine from the northern portion were to march to Albany. It was probably in answer to this requisition that a company from Northampton and vicinity under Capt. Daniel Pomeroy went to Albany. Their names have not been discovered, but they joined the division under Gen. Stark. In May the selectmen paid the town treasurer £153, part of the bounty money raised under the tax of \$1300. Of this sum, £90 was paid to Daniel Pomeroy.

Requisitions for
Clothing. Accompanying these calls for soldiers were similar orders for clothing. In March, an order was issued for collecting shirts, shoes, and stockings, equal in number to one seventh of all males above sixteen years of age. If they were not contributed, the selectmen were to purchase them. This was followed by another requisition in June for the same quantity, the proportion for this town being sixty-four of each article already named. Returns were to be made to the office of the Secretary of State before September 20th. In the general list of town debts, rendered at the March meeting in 1779, the sum of £303.15 was charged to the clothing account.

Companies under
this Call. The names of but two men enlisted by Capt. Cook, under the resolve of April, have been found:—Ithamar Strong and Oliver Sprague. In November, 1778, a company from this section under command of Capt. Fairfield of Williamsburg went to Dorchester, where they were employed in fortifying the heights. During the service, which ended in January, 1779, the company went to New London and back. In it were several men from Southampton. Another company, commanded by Capt. Montague of South Hadley, was stationed at Albany. The regiment was commanded by Capt. Chapin of Hatfield, and the term of service was six weeks. Still another company was recruited

mainly in the southern part of the county, under command of Enoch Chapin of West Springfield. It was stationed at Springfield to guard the public stores, as well as the British prisoners. Their term of service was six months. Probably no man from this town was in either of these companies.

The Expedition to Rhode Island. In December, 1776, the British had landed a force of six thousand men under Lord Percy at Newport, which was at that time one of the most thriving seaport towns of New England. The alliance with France brought a powerful fleet and an army of four thousand men to aid the cause of liberty. In connection with this fleet it was determined to attempt to drive the enemy from Rhode Island. Gen. Sullivan held the command, and in a short time he had a force of nine thousand men ready to co-operate with the French. Stress of weather prevented Count D'Estang from making a demonstration from the sea, and the expedition failed of its purpose. It was to reinforce this army that the requisition for eighteen hundred men, made in June, was required, though the destination of a part of the troops was afterwards changed. It is supposed that no men from Northampton were in this army.

Northampton Recruits. The above statement includes all the men Northampton was called upon to furnish during this year, so far as can be ascertained from the records. Aside from those who enlisted for the war in the Continental army the year previous, but few names appear.

The Town Militia. The Northampton militia was divided into five companies in 1777 and 1778, numbering about two hundred thirty-one officers and men. One company, commanded by Capt. Joseph Cook, covered territory embracing the southeast side of Main Street, West and South Streets, and a part of Lower Farms, and contained fifty-eight names. Another, commanded by Capt. Oliver Lyman, comprised Bridge Street, or the Plain, Hawley, Pleasant and Market Streets, including Caleb Strong's

homestead, and in it were enrolled fifty-six men. Capt. Daniel Pomeroy's company embraced the northwest side of Main Street to Ephraim Wright's, and up the hill to Enos Cook's, Elm Street and Prospect Street through to King Street, and in it were one hundred seventy-four men. The company of Capt. Joseph Clapp was in what is now Easthampton and a part of Lower Farms, comprising forty-three men. When a requisition was made for soldiers, the required number was assigned in proper proportion to each section or company, which furnished the men either by enlistment or by providing substitutes.

The Progress in 1778.

The great feature of encouragement during the fourth year of the war was the treaty of alliance with France, and the arrival of the French fleet and army. Philadelphia had been evacuated by the enemy, the British fleet blockaded in the harbor of New York, and its annihilation anticipated. But the French admiral, unable to take his heavy ships over the bar, and anticipating the arrival of the British squadron, sailed away to the abortive attempt upon Newport. In the autumn the latter place and New York City were the only points north of Virginia held by the British. Many successful raids had been made by the enemy upon the coasts of New England and New Jersey, the tragedy of Wyoming had been enacted, and added to the warfare against England, were the Indian outrages, the memory of which still causes a shudder. Washington having outmanœvered his antagonists, went into winter quarters at Middlebrook. The seat of war had been transferred to the southern colonies, and Savannah had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The odds were still against the patriots, though the relative position of affairs in a military point of view was very nearly that of the previous year. Notwithstanding the straightened circumstances of the country, the depreciation of the currency, the difficulty in obtaining soldiers, and the absolute impossibility of raising the armies to the required standard, the general outlook was encouraging.

Necessity of Confederation.

One of the most pressing needs of the country after the Declaration of Independence, was a general bond of union, a system of confederation, that should unite all the colonies so that their energies should not be ill applied, nor frittered away in individual and ineffectual efforts. To this end Congress, in the midst of the absorbing struggle, prepared and presented to the colonies for their consideration a system by which all should be brought together under one general government. It was not deemed sufficient that these articles should be ratified by the Legislatures of the different states, but they were submitted to the scrutiny, criticism, and approval of each town.

Articles of Confederation Approved by the Town.

In January "the articles of confederation and Perpetual Union proposed by the Hon'ble Continental Congress," were brought before the town. How far they were discussed or whether any opposition to them was manifested cannot now be known. The verdict as recorded by the clerk was that "they [the town] approve of the same and direct their Representatives in the General Court to act accordingly."

Cider-Mill Privilege Granted.

Ithamar Strong was given liberty in March to build a "Cyder Mill" on the town's land near the former home of Bathsheba Hull, who had been dispossessed of the property by the town a short time before. He was to pay to the town annually "the full value of half of the cyder which he shall make from the apple trees that are upon the town's land at that place so long as he shall enjoy the same." Some one of the occupants of this land, while the town's right of ownership was in abeyance, set out and cared for the orchard, and now the town was profiting by his labors.

Generous to Mrs. Hooker.

To Mrs. Hooker, after the death of her husband, the town was generous and sympathetic. For a number of years she was permitted to use about one quarter of the sequestered land, wood was provided for her, and she was paid for supplying the pulpit, "at three times the nominal sum that was settled upon Mr. Hooker, as his salary according to the time the Pulpit was supplied by her."

Westhampton Seeks
Municipal privileges.

The outlying districts were filling up with inhabitants, and each and all of them were desirous of assuming municipal responsibilities as soon as possible. Unlike the practice of the present day which is towards annexation and the absorption of the smaller by the larger places, the tendency then was towards the dismemberment of the older towns and the erection of new ones at the earliest possible moment. Already a large slice of territory had been cut off and the town of Southampton formed. Another project for the formation of the district of Easthampton had failed because of the opposition of the former town. Now the people living in the westerly section of the town pressed for civic honors, and proposed to set up for themselves. But eleven years had elapsed since the first settlers established themselves in the wilderness there, and their numbers had increased during that period only to about sixty families. Six years before they had petitioned the town to be allowed their “ministers raits,” and “Sumthing relitive to Schooling,” and since that time they had been supplied with their share of the town funds for the support of preaching and schools and the care of highways. Now deeming themselves capable of sustaining these institutions, they petitioned the General Court to be set off into a separate town. The parent settlement never discouraged the formation of these offshoots, and not only voted in favor of their establishment, but divided the paternal resources with them in a liberal manner. It was ever ready to encourage the young folks to set up for themselves. No opposition was made to the petition of Southampton; that of Easthampton was treated with equal favor, and when the proposition for the formation of still another town came up for consideration at a meeting held in September, the following vote was passed with apparent unanimity:—

“voted, That they did Consent that four miles in length at the West end of the Town & the full breadth thereof, with the Inhabitants on sd Land should be set off from Northampton & Incorporated into a separate Town or District.”

The New Town Incorporated. On the 29th day of September, in accordance with the prayer of the petitioners, the General Court incorporated that section of Northampton into a town by the name of Westhampton. In connection with the above vote another was passed allowing the new town "their proportion of the Land and Money which now belongs to the Town (being 90 pounds) they taking the sequestered lot containing about 107 acres in lieu of £80.5 and the other sum of £9.15 to be paid out of the Town Treasury in consideration of their whole right to the Real and Personal estate in the hands of the town."

A New Minister. Not only was the town called upon during the distress, difficulties, and hardships of the war of the Revolution to vote away a considerable portion of its territory, but it was at the same time under the necessity of engaging and settling a new minister. This was always a matter of special expense, and doubly so when the currency had so greatly depreciated and money was so hard to be obtained.

Rev. Solomon Williams Invited to Settle. Soon after the appointment of a committee to obtain a new minister, £200 was appropriated to sustain Sabbath services, and a year had barely elapsed when a vote was passed looking towards the settlement of Mr. Hooker's successor. In March, at the annual town-meeting, the committee appointed to provide preaching, was directed to "apply to Mr. Williams in order to know whether he is Willing to have a Church meeting called that the minds of the church may be known relative to his settlement." He was to preach a lecture here during the next week. How long he officiated previous to this action is not known. It is not to be supposed, however, that the proposed service during the coming week was his first appearance here, though the above vote contains the first mention of his name to be found. On the 18th of March the church voted, one hundred thirty-six to two, to invite him to settle, and twelve days after, the town by an equally unanimous vote—one hundred eighty-eight in favor to two in opposition—decided to concur with the church in the choice of Mr. Solomon Williams as their

minister. Mr. Williams was the son of Rev. Eliphalet Williams of East Hartford, and was at this time but twenty-six years of age. He was graduated at Yale College in 1770, and had been, during the five preceding years a tutor in that institution.

Terms of Settlement and Salary. The question of a settlement and salary for the new minister was referred to a committee consisting of Ephraim Wright, Elijah Hunt, Dr. Ebenezer Hunt, Mr. Elias Lyman, Dr. Jonathan Hunt, Abner Barnard, Ezra Clark, Jacob Parsons, and Dea. Aaron Cook. After conference with Mr. Williams they reported an agreement with him by which he was to receive £300 for a settlement, payable, one third when he should be ordained, and the remainder within the two succeeding years. His salary was to be £100 the first year with a yearly increase of £5 till it reached the sum of £120, which was to be the permanent limit. On account of the fluctuations in the paper currency, the standard value of the salary was based, as in the case of Rev. Jonathan Edwards, upon the price of the staple products of the land. "Wheat, Rye and Indian Corn." The price of wheat was to be 4s., rye 3s., and Indian corn 2s., per bushel. It was also provided that these prices should bear the same proportion to those fixed upon by the committee, whatever might be their variations. For instance, when wheat was worth 12s., rye 9s., and Indian corn 6s. per bushel, then the sum paid Mr. Williams should be three times as great as the sum fixed upon in the above vote." Nothing in these votes was to prevent the salary from being paid in gold or silver. A sufficient amount of fire-wood was also to be provided.

Ordination Services. To this proposition Mr. Williams gave his written approval, signed upon the records. The ordination took place on the 4th of June. The council was composed of Rev. Eliphalet Williams of Hartford, father of the candidate, Rev. Richard Salter of Murrayfield, Rev. Timothy Kine of Goshen, Rev. Jonathan Judd of Southampton, Rev. Solomon Hopkins of Hadley, and Rev. Joseph Lyman of Hatfield. It passed off with the

usual ceremonies, sacred and profane. It is not known whether the customary ball occurred, but there is no doubt about the ordination dinner.

The Ordination
Dinner.

The committee on the ordination was composed of Ezra Clark, Aaron Cook, Jonathan Hunt, and Josiah Clark Jr. They provided a plentiful banquet, as the following bill of particulars, allowed and paid by the town, abundantly proves:—

	£	s	d.
“To 16 ³ / ₄ lb of Beef at 1s. 4d., Capt. Cook . . .	1.	2.	4
13lb of Beef at 1s. 4d., Capt. Joseph Lyman . . .	0.	17.	4
5lb beef at 1s. 4d. per pound, Solomon Clark . . .	0.	6.	8
10lb beef at 1s. 4d. per pound, Elisha Cook . . .	0.	13.	4
7 ¹ / ₂ lb pork at 1s. 4d. per pound, Joseph Root . . .	0.	10.	0
4lb of butter at 3s. per pound, Aaron Cook . . .	0.	12.	0
To half a bushel of Wheat, W ^m Clark . . .	0.	12.	0
A peck of Wheat, Joseph Clark . . .	0.	6.	0
¹ / ₂ barrel of Cyder at 72s. per barrel, Mrs. Hooker	1.	16.	0
4lb pork at 3s. per pound, Mrs. Hooker . . .	0.	12.	0
8 ¹ / ₂ lb Veal at 1s. 4d. per lb, Mrs. Hooker . . .	0.	11.	4
18lb pork at 1s. 4d. per lb, Mrs. Hooker . . .	1.	4.	0
Mrs. Hooker for trouble in addition to articles . . .	1.	4.	0
Mrs. Wright and Mrs. Hunt 3 days at 6s. . .	1.	16.	0
Elisha Cook 1 ¹ / ₂ days at 9s. per day . . .	0.	13.	6
Lt. (Stearns) 1 day at 6s. per day . . .	0.	6.	0
Simeon Birge 1 ¹ / ₂ days at 6s.	0.	9.	0
Oliver Strong's wife 1 day at 6s.	0.	6.	0
Dan. Kenfields wife one day	0.	4.	0
Noah Kenfields wife one day	0.	4.	0
Steven Coats wife one day	0.	4.	0
6lb rice at 1s. 6d. per pound supposed Mrs. H. per C. Strong	0.	9.	0
12lb Suet to Capt. Joseph Lyman at 2s. 6d. . . .	1.	10.	0
a Jirney to Hatfield to procure Mr. Lyman			
18lb of Veal at 1s. 4d. per pound, Nat Day . . .	1.	3.	4
5 ³ / ₄ lb of Veal at 1s. 4d. per pound, Elisha Lyman	0.	7.	8
Keeping a horse 5 dayes			
do do 6 dayes, Jonathan Hunt . . .	1.	13.	0
	£	19.	12.6”

Supplying the Wood-
pile.

In the matter of furnishing wood to the new pastor, the selectmen were directed “to appoint a day at a suitable season, and give public notice that those persons who are so disposed

might carry a load of wood to Mrs. Hooker's house, which shall be for the use of Mr. Williams and Mrs. Hooker's family." From this it appears that the new minister made his home with Mrs. Hooker. The following year he married Mary Hooker, and they occupied the house during his entire pastorate.

Settlers for South-
ampton. Elijah Pomeroy, Caleb Pomeroy, Widow Experience Bartlett, and Moses Bartlett, petitioned to be set off to Southampton about this time. The committee to whom the matter was referred reported against the change, but the town refused to accept the report, and voted to grant the prayer of the petitioners.

Titus King desires to
Build a House. The veteran schoolmaster, Titus King, petitioned for "liberty to build a House upon the Town Land between the rear of Asa Wright's Home lot and the burying yard fence." A committee reported in favor of granting the request, but the town refused.

Various Appropria-
tions. The usual allowances were made for schooling at Clapp's Farms, Easthampton, and for highways in Westhampton, previous to its incorporation. The bounty for wolves was raised to £16. A committee had been appointed in previous years in accordance with an act of the General Court, to provide for the families of Continental soldiers, and this year the sum of £588 was expended for that purpose. In November, the town voted that the prices for labor and materials should be six times higher than usual. Continental money at this time was at the rate of six to one.

CHAPTER XXX.

REVOLUTION—CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

More Soldiers THE first call for men in 1779 was in June,
Wanted. when 2000 were ordered to fill up the fif-
teen battalions of Continentals required of
this State. They were to be mustered at Springfield. Of
these, fifteen hundred men were to reinforce the Continen-
tal army and were to serve nine months, and five hundred
were to be enlisted for six months, and sent to Rhode
Island. Northampton was required to furnish ten men.
A town-meeting was held on the 25th for the purpose of
raising these soldiers. As a preliminary it was voted "to
indemnify militia officers from any fines or Penalties which
they may incur in consequence of their pursuing the ad-
vice of the town in raising the men now called for." It
was then decided

"That every able bodyed man that shall engage to serve in the conti-
nental army for the Term of nine months, shall have paid to him by
the Town according to the rate of eighteen pounds for nine months for
the term he shall actually serve, in wheat at 4s. per bushel, Rie at 3s.
per bushel, or Indian Corn at 2s. per bushel at the expiration of the sd
Term, on s'd soldiers producing a Certificate of their service as afores'd
& enabling & empowering the Town to receive the State Bounty. Also
£60 Bounty shall be paid to them on their Passing muster and the 2s.
per mile for mileage shall be paid to them before they march by the
selectmen. The sd soldiers to have their continental monthly pay."

To the six months' men who were enlisted for Rhode
Island £12 were voted in produce at the above named
prices, with a bounty of £30 and the same mileage.

Major Hawley Ad- When this requisition came, all the militia
dresses the Militia. companies in town were paraded near the
meeting-house. Major Hawley addressed
them, and it may have been on this occasion that he told

them that they would all be hewers of wood and drawers of water to British Lords and Bishops, if the great cause did not succeed. After the men were dismissed he invited them "to take moderate refreshment but not to excess."¹ This occurred on the 14th of July. The men were mustered in at Springfield with many others. They marched to Hartford then to Litchfield and thence to West Point, where they were distributed among the various Continental regiments. Here they remained four months, and were then ordered to Fishkill, remaining there in barracks during the winter, and until their discharge in April. They were obliged to draw wood by hand for several miles, fifteen or twenty men being attached to a sled.

The British Raid In July, Gen. Carleton sent Gov. Tryon
Connecticut. with a force of two thousand six hundred men to raid the towns in Connecticut. After laying waste New Haven, Fairfield, Norwalk and other places, he was suddenly recalled. New London was seriously threatened, and in order to protect that and other greatly menaced points, a levy of soldiers was made in Western Massachusetts. Thirty-one men² from Northampton marched for that place, about the 24th of July. They were paid for forty-two days' service at the rate of £4 per day. The company was commanded by Capt. Joseph Cook, 1st Lieut. James Shepherd, 2^d Lieut. Jonathan Stearns. It was called the New London expedition. The soldiers saw no fighting.

The "Claverack A requisition for two thousand men to co-
Tour." operate with "our French allies," was made in October for three months' service. The town voted them 40s. a month in grain at the prices heretofore quoted, and the standard sum for mileage. They were also to receive Continental pay, and £16 per month from the state. Capt. Cook reported for the militia officers (who had been empowered to give their obligations to the men on

¹ It is reported that when orders came for raising men, Major Hawley would appear with a short sword and address the soldiers in a most animating manner. On one occasion, when no one else turned out, he marched through the streets escorted by the drummer: others soon joined him and the procession rapidly increased. He engaged a substitute to serve in his place in the Continental army.

² See Appendix for names.

behalf of the town) that these had been obliged to pay each man \$30, over and above the sum that the town had voted to give them, and had also been obliged to expend considerable money for liquors, but the town refused to pay these expenses. Nineteen men¹ were enlisted under this call. They went to Springfield then to Great Barrington, where they waited some time for orders. Thence they marched to Claverack (Hudson), where there was another tedious delay. Finally they were sent to Albany, where they remained till their term of service expired. They enlisted for three months, went away early in October, and returned the latter part of December. Joseph Clapp, who lived in what is now Easthampton, was Captain; Timothy Lyman of Goshen, Lieut.; Dea. Sanderson of Whately, Ens.; and Elijah Wright of Easthampton and Nathan Strong of Northampton, Sergeants. This expedition is called the "Claverack Tour," in the town documents.

Results in 1779.

The fifth year of the war has been styled with truth a year of disasters. It was the gloomiest thus far during the conflict. No decisive engagements occurred at the north, yet the success of the enemy in marauding along the sea-coast, the capture of Verplank and Stony Point, though the latter was gallantly recaptured only to be dismantled, were among the most disheartening influences. Money was steadily depreciating and the loan from France was but a drop in the bucket. Expeditions to the frontiers against the Indians and the English settlements along the Ohio and in the Genesee valleys, though successful, had little influence upon the general result. The most important theater of warfare was at the South, where the British overran Georgia and the Carolinas, carrying everything before them. The French fleet under D' Estang failed not only in the combined attack upon Savannah, but also in the anticipated attempt upon New York, which was at one time the only northern port in possession of the enemy. Gen. Washington went into winter quarters at Morristown, and despondency and despair settled down upon the patriot cause. The first enthusiasm of the people, dampened by the constant efforts re-

1 For list of names see Appendix.

quired to recruit the armies and pay expenses, now increasing at an enormous rate, was gradually fading out. Under these adverse circumstances the glorious cause of Independence was put to a severe test, the most exacting of any during the struggle. Emboldened by the difficulties which were accumulating about their opponents, the tories became active and insistent everywhere. They obstructed as much as they were able the action of the towns in meeting the requirements of the government, and in many cases they met with altogether too much success. This town under the influence of Major Hawley, Caleb Strong, Robert Breck, and other equally patriotic statesmen, had never a strong tory element. Whatever the obstructionists may have attempted, failed to impede the efforts of the patriots, and every obligation imposed by the exigencies of the times was fully met and discharged.

Various Matters. Major Hawley, in 1779, was excused from serving on the board of selectmen, on account of ill health. He had been a member of that body for a quarter of a century, acting for sixteen years as its chairman, and his declination was accepted with great reluctance. The next year, however, he resumed his accustomed position on the board, retaining it several years longer. The town refused to pay Ezra Clark £30 which he advanced to Jonathan Pomeroy to engage him to enlist in the Continental army; voted not to supply the family of Joseph Phelps, a Continental soldier, with provisions; refused to take up more seats in the meeting-house to make pews, but voted rather to repair the roof of the edifice, as well as the floor and ground sills of the belfry; decided to allow 48s. (\$8) per pair for each pair of shoes that had been provided for the army; again appointed a committee to prevent "monopoly and forestalling"; and offered a bounty of £30 for every wolf's head presented.

The Constitutional Convention. The people having rejected the constitution prepared by the Legislature, and at the same time manifested by a decided majority a desire that a convention for the purpose of forming a new system of government should be assembled, the Legis-

lature submitted the question of calling such a convention to the towns. It came up at the May meeting in this form: "Whether the Town will impower their Representatives for the next year to vote for the Calling of a State Convention," if a majority of the people should so decide. This was a matter of no slight importance, and elicited not a little discussion. The debate upon it was continued throughout an entire day, when the final vote stood sixty in the affirmative to ten in the negative; a small meeting compared with that at which the question of calling a new minister was decided. The vote instructed the representatives to favor the calling of such a convention, "provided it shall appear to them on examination that a major part of the people present & Voting at the meetings called in the manner and for the purposes afores'd shall have answered the first Question in the affirmative." The first question evidently was whether "a new constitution and form of Government should be made," at this time.

The Convention
Voted.

The result was that the majority of the towns favored the proposition, though nearly one third of them neglected to make any return. The General Court issued precepts for the choice of delegates, and a meeting was held on the 9th of August, to elect them. Each town was authorized to send one or more delegates, "but the meeting being thin the town voted to suspend further action until the people should be more generally collected." When the seats were better filled, the decision was reached to send two delegates, and Mr. Ephraim Wright and Caleb Strong Esq. were chosen.

Its First Session.

The convention assembled at Cambridge, Sept. 1st. A committee was chosen to draft a constitution, and after a session of about a week the convention adjourned till October. When it reconvened, the committee was not ready to report, and after two weeks a further adjournment was had till January of the succeeding year. Both of the Northampton delegates were present at the September session. Caleb Strong received £106.10.8 and Mr. Wright £139.13 from the town for their expenses.

The Second and
Third Sessions.

At the January session a constitution was prepared, which together with an address to the people, was printed and circulated throughout the state. In March the convention once more adjourned till June, when it again assembled to canvass the verdict of the people upon its work. This session lasted about nine days when the convention dissolved, having made certain amendments demanded by the people, and having submitted the new constitution to the Legislature. Hon. Caleb Strong took an important part in the convention. He was a member of the committee to draft the constitution and declaration of rights, and he was prominent in the discussion of the many questions under debate.

Expenses of the
Delegates.

For the session in January, each delegate presented an itemized bill of expenditures, which was allowed and paid by the town treasurer. In both there were charges for lodging, horse keeping, shaving, etc., especially the latter item, which was generally appended to the item for lodging. The town voted to pay the delegates 48s. (\$8) per day for attendance. Mr. Strong charged that amount for eighty-two days' attendance, and Mr. Wright the same for fifty-one days' services. The aggregate bill presented by the former was £354.7, while that of Mr. Wright amounted to £311.17.¹

In June, Mr. Wright received an order on the town treasurer for "four hundred eighty pounds currency to enable him to attend the approaching convention for making a constitutional government." On the back of this document is the endorsement, "Mr. Wright returned £2.16."

The Constitution
comes before the
Town.

At the April meeting "The Town then took into Consideration the Plan of the Constitution and Form of Government sent out by the Convention appointed for that purpose, and after hearing the same distinctly read chose a committee of seven Carefully and Maturely to Consider the s'd Plan & to report to the Town at this meeting what they Judge proper

¹ For copy of Mr. Wright's account see Appendix.

for the Town to act thereon." This committee was composed of "Joseph Hawley Esq., M^r. Timothy Dwight, Robert Breck Esq., M^r. Benjamin Sheldon, Dea. Josiah Clark, Captⁿ Joseph Cook, & M^r. Stephen Baker." The meeting then adjourned to the first Monday in May.

Mr. Hawley Criticises the New Constitution. This committee at once took the matter into consideration, and Mr. Hawley drew up a series of criticisms upon and suggested various amendments to the new constitution, which were approved by the committee, reported to the town, and adopted by a vote of seventy-nine in favor to six in opposition. This report covered twenty pages of manuscript.¹ Eighteen propositions to change the document were offered by the committee, and apparently they were voted upon by the town as a whole, and not by paragraphs. It is not now of sufficient importance to recapitulate these amendments. Many of them were not of great value, and none seem to have had any effect upon the convention. They were couched in Mr. Hawley's plain, argumentative and effective style, and met the approbation of his townsmen. The strongest appeal was in favor of admitting poll-tax payers to vote for members of the Legislature without property qualifications. The new constitution provided that "every male person twenty-one years of age and upwards, resident in such towns one year next preceding the annual election having a freehold estate within the commonwealth of the annual income of three pounds or other real or personal estate to the value of £60, shall have the right to vote," for members of the Senate and House of Representatives. To this Mr. Hawley proposed the following addition:—"and also every ratable poll, being 21 years of age and who shall have been a resident of the commonwealth for the space of three years next preceding, and who shall be willing to take such oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth as the Law for the time being shall prescribe." This proposition he maintained by an elaborate argument. Having listened to the reading of this report, and after due consideration of it, the town directed Major Hawley, Mr.

¹ This document in Major Hawley's handwriting may be found at the Lenox Library, N. Y., where it forms part of the Bancroft Collection, and from it the foregoing facts were derived.

Caleb Strong and Doctor Shephard “to take the several amendments as voted by the Town into a new draught together with the reasons for the same & report” at the adjourned meeting which was held on the 22^d of May. At that time the committee chosen to make the “new draught” reported that they had placed the matter in the hands of a subcommittee with instructions to report such a document, but not being satisfied with it had “agreed not to report it to the town :” whereupon Major Hawley moved that the report of the subcommittee should be submitted to the meeting. This report was then read and “largely debated,” an entire day being devoted to its consideration. No copy of this report survives, and it is not known whether or not it embodied all the changes suggested by Mr. Hawley. There seems to have been no further action upon this report as a whole, but the town voted that the reasons offered by the committee “respecting the Quallifications of voters for Representatives,” and for a Governor, should be sent “to the Convention for framing the Constitution.” “The Question was then put in the words of the second resolve of the Convention and it Passed in the affirmative, and upon a Division it appeared that 57 votes were for it and 29 against it.” This resolve recommended to the several towns that they should empower their delegates at the next session of the convention to agree upon a time when the form of government should take place without returning the same again to the people, provided that two thirds of the votes in the state had agreed to the same, or the convention had made it conform to the sentiments of two thirds of the people. When the convention resumed its sittings in June, it was found that the voters had accepted the constitution as it stood in printed form, submitted to their revision by the resolves of March 2^d.

Laws against Monopoly and Oppression.

Throughout the war, particularly in its first years, there was much complaint of extravagance, and luxury, and dissipation. Much sham patriotism, great irreligion and profaneness were said to exist, and a spirit of monopoly and extor-

tion prevailed. The General Court endeavored to stem the evil tide by sumptuary legislation, and an act was passed in January 1777, "to prevent monopoly and oppression." This law was recognized by the town and measures taken to carry out its provisions. Very slight results, if any, followed the promulgation of this enactment, and two years afterwards another law was passed against "monopoly and forestalling," or the repeated purchase and sale of the same goods. "Severe distress was experienced, from the depreciation of the currency, the exorbitant price of the necessaries of life, and the distrust of public credit."¹ In accordance with the recommendations of Congress, attempts were made to regulate prices and devise means for the relief of the people, through conventions. The first of these meetings was held at Concord, July 14, 1779, by invitation of the Committee of Correspondence of Boston. A list of prices based on a moderate appraisal of the articles of produce and merchandise to take effect in August, was adopted, and an address earnestly recommending "loans to government, provision for the support of the clergy, and attention to schools, as the means of good education"² prepared. It was also proposed to hold another convention at the same place in October. These documents were forwarded to all the towns in the state. It was in reference to these proceedings that the following action was taken by the town.

The Town Declines to
Join the Crusade
against Prices.

An article inserted in the warrant for a meeting held in August, proposed for consideration "the Resolves & address of the late Convention at Concord, Touching the regulation of Prices and act thereon as the Town shall think proper." A "motion was made to allow the article to subside," but it failed. Then it was decided not to concur in the proceedings already had, not to send a delegate to the proposed convention in October, and "not to take any measures to regulate prices."

¹ Lincoln's History of Worcester, p. 121.

² *Ibid.*

Few Towns from Hampshire Co. Represented at Concord. Northampton was not represented in the first Concord convention; in fact only five towns in Hampshire County sent delegates. Jonathan Clark represented Southampton, and Ebenezer Mattoon Jr., Amherst. At the convention held at Concord in the month of October, other recommendations concerning prices were adopted, but little attention seems to have been paid to them.

2

Convention to Regulate Prices held at Northampton. The convention for regulating prices, held at Concord, was the forerunner of a similar meeting assembled in Northampton the same year. The Committees of Correspondence of the towns of Hadley, Hatfield, South Hadley, and Amherst sent circular letters to the selectmen of all the Hampshire County towns, proposing a convention of delegates to meet at the Court-House in this town, on the second Wednesday (8th) of September, 1779, at 9 o'clock a. m. Its object as stated therein was "that there may be a uniformity of prices in the several towns." No records of the proceedings of this convention remain. But it is apparent that a list of prices was recommended, upon which was a proposition to rate English hay at \$6 per cwt. Hadley accepted the list agreed upon at this meeting, but Northampton took no notice of it. It is doubtful whether or not this town was represented in the convention.

Requisitions for Men and Supplies. Demands for soldiers and supplies followed each other with rapidity throughout the year 1780. On the 5th of June, a call was made for six months' men to reinforce the Continental army. The resolve of the General Court ordering this enlistment provided that an able-bodied man who was drafted and refused to serve or to obtain a substitute, should pay a fine of £150. Each man was to be paid 6s. per mile mileage to the place of rendezvous, which was Springfield for the west. Each soldier was to have a firelock, bayonet, cartouch box, and a blanket. For the first three he was to be paid £5 at the end of his term of service, and £15 for the blanket. Noah Goodman of South Hadley was appointed superintendent of enlistments in the county. The quota

of Northampton was twenty-two men.¹ On the 13th the town met to raise the soldiers. A committee was appointed composed of all the commissioned officers in town, together with the following named citizens, "to manage the whole business," viz. : Major Hawley, Quartus Pomeroy, Elijah Clark, Stephen Baker, Capt. Samuel Clarke, Messrs. Benj. Sheldon, Samuel Judd, Nathaniel Edwards and Ithamar Strong. They were given unlimited power, and whatever they promised the soldiers the town agreed to fulfil. The bounty was £300, equal to about £5 in hard money ; currency then being 60 to 1. The selectmen reported that \$1000 each is "in part of the bounty for engaging in the Continental service for six months." The town was also to pay them \$20 each in depreciated paper, about 2s. in hard money for mileage to Springfield.

Statement of Eli Edwards. One of these soldiers was Eli Edwards. He joined the company in Springfield in July.

After a few days they marched through Simsbury, Litchfield, etc., to West Point, under the command of a Continental officer. These men were distributed in Tupper's and Marshall's regiments. They remained at West Point two or three weeks, then crossed to Peekskill and drew arms. Afterwards they recrossed the Hudson at King's Ferry and marched into New Jersey, where they were stationed at different places, but were not called into action. He saw Gen. Washington almost every day. Edwards was present at the execution of André. Large numbers of troops were gathered to witness it, but no special sympathy was excited among the soldiers. Winter quarters were established at West Point, where they remained till discharged, coming home a little before the six months expired.

Other Requisitions for Reinforcements. On the 22^d of June came two more requisitions for reinforcements ; one for one quarter as many men for six months, as were ordered on the 5th, which would add five more to Northampton's quota, and another for twenty-six three months' men. A town-meeting was held on the 29th and

1 For list of names see Appendix.

the same committee that served in raising the six months' men, were again empowered to act, but not with unrestricted powers. A bounty of £10.14 in gold or silver was offered for three months' service, and town notes for that amount, to be paid in hard money on demand with interest, were given. Northampton was called upon to furnish thirty-one men¹ in all, and they were promptly obtained. These men arrived at West Point about the time the six months' men started for New Jersey. The company consisted of forty-two soldiers from this town and Southampton, and was commanded by Capt. Ebenezer Sheldon of the latter place. Solomon Allen of Northampton and Jared Smith were Lieutenants. The regiment was commanded by Col. Murray of Hatfield, and Lieut.-Col. Whitmore of Sunderland. They marched first to Claverack, then to Spencertown, and thence to West Point. Seven or eight men from Northampton were detailed as boatmen, and were employed in carrying officers up and down and across the river. David Strong was one of these boatmen, and his narrative, here reproduced, was written down at an interview with him by the late Sylvester Judd.

David Strong's Narrative.

Soon after Arnold fled they carried an officer to Manuel's [Robinson's] house and farm, three miles below West Point, where Arnold lived. He was not to be found, but there was no suspicion of his treachery. They proceeded with the officer to Stoney Point, sixteen miles below West Point, and could there see the barge which carried Arnold and the British ship in which he sought refuge. During the night, after their return to West Point, there was great commotion in the camp. The boatmen were informed that the Indians were coming, but soon ascertained that the confusion was caused by the flight of Arnold. Strong relates that a man by the name of Coombs of Longmeadow and David Montague of Hadley were two of the boatmen who conveyed Arnold to the Vulture. He claimed to have heard these men tell the story, but does not give any particulars. In Spark's *Life of Benedict Arnold* it is stated that his boat or barge was rowed by six men who had no knowledge of

1 For names see Appendix.

Arnold's intentions. They were detained as prisoners of war on board the *Vulture*, but one of them was allowed to go on shore and obtain clothing and other articles of comfort for his companions. They were taken to New York, and set at liberty by Sir Henry Clinton.¹

William Clark's Reminiscences.

The company was divided. A portion of it was attached to Sheldon's regiment of dragoons, while William Clark, Bela Strong, Noah Clapp, John Wells of Northampton, and Reuben Graves of Whately were stationed at Fishkill, above West Point. William Clark stated that Washington on his return from Hartford rode up to this place, called for the commanding officer, questioned him about his men, their provisions, etc., called at the commissary's a little below, gave him orders, and then rode to West Point. The same day the men heard of the treachery of Arnold. "When the soldiers," says Mr. Clark, "saw the doings at West Point, the cannon removed, etc., they thought it was a strange state of things, but had no suspicions of wrong doings. After they were scattered about here and there, they wondered why they should be so placed. An old soldier before Arnold's treachery was known, told Clark, that something was wrong, that mischief was brewing, he knew not what, but advised the soldiers to have their arms in order with plenty of powder and ball."

Lieut. Solomon Allen. Among the soldiers in this company who were detailed to join Sheldon's regiment of Light-Horse, was Lieut. Solomon Allen of Northampton, who was for some time acting Adjutant. He was at North Castle when André was delivered by his captors to Col. Jameson. The latter immediately penned a hasty

¹ Another version of the story is as follows:—Arnold escaped in his own barge, manned by a corporal, who was also coxswain, and eight others. They were nearly two hours in reaching the *Vulture*. The crew of the barge was on board the *Vulture* when Arnold told them that he had joined the British army, and invited them to do the same, making them the most liberal promises. Among the crew were two men who had deserted from the British service; these decided to remain, but the others refused the traitor's tempting offers. They were allowed to return, not in the barge, but in a much inferior boat. The name of the corporal is given as James Lurvey, who belonged to a Massachusetts regiment commanded by Rufus Putnam, and is believed to have lived in the vicinity of Brookfield.—Mass. Historical Collections, Second Series, vol. 4, pp. 51, 52.

note to Gen. Arnold, announcing the capture, and “ saying that he sent forward under Lieut. Allen, and a guard, a certain John Anderson, who had been taken while going towards New York.” In a short time, while the prisoner and guard were on their way to West Point, owing to the earnest entreaty of Major Talmadge, who was not present when André was sent off, the order to Allen was countermanded, and he returned to North Castle. He was then ordered to proceed with his dispatches. While Arnold was awaiting the arrival of Gen. Washington, who had unexpectedly invited himself to breakfast with the commander at West Point, Lieut. Allen arrived with Col. Jameson’s letter. It contained the first intelligence Arnold had received of the capture of André, and he immediately made his escape on board the *Vulture*.¹ And here comes in the story of the boatman as related by David Strong.

Further Reminiscences.

Elisha Edwards and Aaron Bates, both of Southampton, members of the company, testify that a portion, if not the whole of it, was attached to Col. Sheldon’s regiment of dragoons, then commanded by Lieut.-Col. Jameson. Bates remembered well the capture of André. He was standing as sentinel at the door of Jameson’s tent, when the prisoner appeared. He also said that Lieut. Solomon Allen was dispatched to Arnold with the report of André’s capture.

Another Call for Continentals.

In December there was another call for men to serve for three years or during the war, and Northampton was required to furnish twenty-one men. On the 18th, a committee of nine persons was appointed to determine the best method of obtaining the men. They did not report till the following January, and probably no more soldiers from this town went into the army during that year.

Sixth Year of the War.

At the close of the sixth year of the war, the outlook continued dark and gloomy. Nothing had been lost by the enemy at the north, and they had gained much at the south. In Georgia

¹ Spark’s *Life of Arnold*, p. 241.

the armies of the republic had been defeated, and scattered, and the state was believed to have been securely conquered. Yet as the year closed there was a flash of encouragement from King's Mountain, but not enough was gained to compensate for other losses. Elsewhere, however, the patriots held their own. It is unnecessary to follow the operations in that section, as no troops from New England participated in them. While no engagements of importance occurred with the army under the immediate command of Washington, a campaign of manœuvres was carried on in which the American army was not outgeneraled. The British kept up the system of desultory warfare, killing, burning and destroying wherever their expeditions could reach. The treason of Arnold, so nearly successful, was the most severe blow that had fallen upon the patriot cause. It is not necessary to recapitulate the familiar incidents of that extraordinary episode. The reminiscences of the Northampton soldiers during that period, having special local interest have already been related. A French fleet, sent over to aid the cause of liberty, accomplished very little. Well nigh hopeless bankruptcy stared the country in the face, notwithstanding the foreign loans which the agents of the United States succeeded in negotiating. Every state was largely in debt, and it was almost impossible to obtain soldiers. In Massachusetts the currency had depreciated till it stood seventy-five to one of the old currency, and about forty to one of the new; taxes were high, and the absence of so many able-bodied men in the army seriously interfered with farming, the staple industry of the country. Mutiny followed swiftly in the footsteps of treason, and the prospect, when Washington placed his army in winter quarters, in 1780, was dark and dismal.

Sheldon's Light-
Horse.

For the better supply of the commissariat, different points were selected for the cantonments of the army in the winter of 1780 and 1781, and the regiment of Light-Horse, commanded by Col. Sheldon, was quartered in Northampton and Hatfield. No special reason for this proceeding appears. The regiment was not recruited in this section, though some companies of infantry from Hampshire County seem to have

been added to the organization. Its presence here was not agreeable to the citizens, and in January, 1781, the town voted to inquire into the matter. A committee was appointed to present the case to the Legislature, "and to know the occasion of their being quartered here." The result seems to have been that the soldiers were removed before the winter was ended.

More Pews in the
Meeting-House.

Busied mainly with affairs relating to the all engrossing war, yet the town found ample time for the transaction of routine municipal business. There was still a lack of seating room in the meeting-house, and constant endeavors were made to obtain more pews. While the town refused to allow pews to be constructed in place of the two rows of seats or benches on the ground floor, permission was given to individuals to build at their own expense a pew in place of the "negro seat."

A Requisition for
Horses.

In order to supply transportation for the army the method of assessing the towns directly for it was resorted to, and in July, Northampton was called upon to furnish ten horses and drivers. To facilitate the labor of obtaining them the board of selectmen was increased by the addition of four persons, making nine in all, and was authorized to procure them on the best possible terms. The requirement was that the town should hire or purchase for the use of the army till the last of November, ten horses and drivers. Horses to the number required were obtained at a cost of £73.5. Town notes were given for them, on which the interest amounted to £5 more.

A Requisition for
Beef.

In September came the first requisition for beef. Northampton being required to furnish 11,360 lbs., a town-meeting in October authorized a committee, consisting of Joel Wright, Capt. Joseph Lyman, and Moses Kingsley, to purchase it on the credit of the town, to be paid for in the following May. This attempt, however, proved unsuccessful, the beef could not be obtained on any such terms. At another meeting in

November, it was voted to raise £12,000 by taxation for this purpose, and the committee was instructed to buy the beef of Northampton people, "if it can be obtained reasonably," and the town voted that those who sold the beef should not be distrained upon for their last town rate, until they should have been paid for the beef. The purchasing committee brought in bills against the town, in which they charged \$40 per day for their time, and the same amount for the use of a horse. But the town amended these bills deducting \$10 a day from the wage account. Two of the three persons composing the committee were paid £89.2, and the third a trifle less. Some of the cattle were purchased in Conway and cost 27s. per pound in Continental money.

New Constitution Adopted. First Town Vote for State Officers. The new constitution, reported from the convention which framed it, was adopted by the Legislature, and measures were immediately taken to establish the new form of government. In September, the warrant for town-meeting ordered the constable "to warn and notify every male Inhabitant of the s'd town of Northampton of 21 years of age & upwards, having a Freehold estate of the value of sixty pounds," to give their votes for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, Senators and Councillors. The first vote for Governor under the new constitution given in this town stood: For John Hancock 46; James Bowdoin, 32. For Lieut.-Governor, James Bowdoin 40; John Hancock 15. For Councillors, Joseph Hawley 45; Caleb Strong 53; Samuel Mather 49; Timothy Danielson 31; Timothy Robinson 12; Capt. Jonathan Judd 8; John Bliss 7; Jonathan Hastings 5; Major Selah Barnard 3; Moses Bliss 2; Ephraim Wright 2; Elijah Hunt and Justin Ely 1 each.

Result of the Election and Choice of Representatives. ¹⁷⁸⁰ John Hancock was chosen Governor, James Bowdoin Lieut.-Governor, and Caleb Strong and Timothy Danielson, Councillors. On the 13th of October a meeting was held for the choice of Representatives, and Ephraim Wright and Quartus Pomeroy were elected.

Accidental Death of
Major Jonathan
Allen.

A most sad and distressing accident occurred early in 1780. On the forenoon of January 7th, Seth Lyman Sr. started on a deer hunt in company with Major Jonathan Allen. They went up Lyman's Lane (Park Street) to Cow Lane (Prospect Street), and on to Elm Street, where they met John King and Daniel Pomeroy. The four went on together, all on horseback, with snow-shoes fastened to their saddles. The snow was about three feet deep on a level, had been falling and drifting for some days, and the air was full of flying particles. It was considered a very favorable time for hunting as the snow would not bear up a deer, but would sustain a man on snow-shoes. Broad Brook swamp was considered excellent hunting-ground, deer being plenty in that vicinity. The four men entered the swamp below the Horse Mountain road, and while hunting there some time in the afternoon, Major Allen was accidentally shot by Seth Lyman, who in the snowy atmosphere mistook him for a deer. Word was immediately sent to the village. The news produced a great sensation, and many people went in sleighs to the scene of the disaster, but could not penetrate the swamp with their teams. Major Allen was carried some distance upon an improvised litter, and then taken to his home on a sled. The accident occurred near a spruce tree, on what was known as the Cecil Dwight farm, and for many years the tree stump marked the place. The wounded man died in the evening, and was buried on Monday, the 10th. Great excitement was caused in town by this affair, and some persons were inclined to believe that Lyman shot him purposely. Seth Lyman was considered a man of malignant disposition, and some bad feeling had been manifested by him during the war. He was offended by Major Allen's conduct towards his son, who came home from the war without leave. A coroner's inquest, held on the 8th, attributed no blame to Seth Lyman, which effectually quieted public opinion. The accused was brought before the Court of General Sessions in February. He plead not guilty, and was bound over to the April term of the Supreme Court for trial, in the sum of £10,000, with Jonathan Hunt of Northampton and Phinehas Lyman of Hadley as sureties. John King and Daniel Pomeroy were

recognized in the sum of £100 each, to appear as witnesses. Lyman was tried at that time and acquitted.

Major Allen. The deceased was a most estimable man, intelligent, ardent, brave and generous. He was by trade a carpenter and joiner, and by reputation an excellent workman. He built the house of Dr. Hunt, and was employed in the erection of the second Court-House. Captain of the company of minute-men, he led his command to the front when the war opened. He was at work rebuilding the barn of Joel Hunt, then recently burned, when the bells were rung and the guns fired announcing the battle of Lexington. With his men he dropped everything when the alarm sounded, "they went over the fences like deer," and were soon ready for Boston. Remaining in the service, he was in the army under Gen. Washington, was promoted for honorable service, and left an enviable record for courage and efficiency. He married Sarah Miller of Farmington, but left no children. He was a direct descendant of Samuel Allen of Windsor, whose son Samuel was one of the early settlers of Northampton.

CHAPTER XXXI.

REVOLUTION—ARMY SUPPLIES—SAMUEL ELY.

**Continental Soldiers
Required.** WITH the opening of the year 1781, there was pending the requisition for twenty-one Continental soldiers for three years. The committee having the matter in charge reported in favor of dividing the town into classes, and the selectmen were ordered to form them. This method was only partially successful, and but seven men¹ were obtained. One district hired Daniel Kentfield, and gave him £85 in silver, he to retain his wages. Ephraim Wheaton, an apprentice of Daniel Wright, enlisted for three years in the Continental service, and the town gave him two notes for £18.6.8 each, payable in hard money in one and two years, provided he did not desert. Another class hired a man for £65.6.9, hard money, and were obliged to sue one member for his proportion, amounting to 8s. 2d. Still another requisition for fourteen three years' men to complete the quota of twenty-one, called for in the preceding December, came in March.

**A System of Drafting
Soldiers Devised.** The repeated demands for soldiers had long since exhausted the patriotism of the people, and voluntary enlistments, except for short terms, had almost entirely ceased. A plan of drafting, amounting almost to conscription, had been devised by the Legislature and adopted February 26th, 1781, which proved generally effective. The taxpayers were divided into classes, equal in number to the quota of soldiers required. To each class was assigned the duty of furnishing one soldier, and providing his wages and for his support. Each member was required to pay his proportion of the

1 See Appendix for names.

whole amount needed in accordance with the assessed valuation. These accounts were returned to the assessors, and if any one failed to pay the amount it was included in his next year's tax, and committed to the collector.¹

The Town Adopts the
new Method.

The town at once availed itself of this new law,² and the five assessors in connection with the four militia captains, were ordered to divide the polls and estates into fourteen classes, each of which was to procure one man. The captains were Oliver Lyman, Joseph Cook, Daniel Pomeroy, and Joseph Clapp. A previous division into classes had been made for the purpose of facilitating enlistments, apportioning the expense more equally, and placing the responsibility more definitely, but it proved decidedly ineffectual. Men were greatly averse to entering the Continental army for three years, especially when the government exchequer was so nearly empty, and it appears from subsequent transactions that this quota was never filled. The names of eight men only, who served under this call, can be found.³

Another Call for Three
Months' Men.

On the last day of June another requisition for three months' men was made, and on the 19th of July, a town-meeting was held, and a committee of fifteen clothed with full powers to obtain them. The meeting was protracted by two adjournments, till the 25th of the month, and then dissolved. Seventeen men were required, but only sixteen⁴ were obtained. They cost about £230 in hard money. The men were paid £150 as wages and about £80 as bounty. This company was commanded by Capt. Ebenezer Strong of

1 See Lincoln's History of Worcester, p. 124.

2 Continental money decreased rapidly in value. In January, 1777, one hundred dollars of it was equal to one hundred five dollars in gold or silver; in December to \$310; during the next twelve months it fell from \$325 to \$634; in another year it fluctuated from \$742 to \$2,393; and in 1780, the variation was from \$2,934 in January to \$7,400 in December. The above values were fixed by act of the Massachusetts Legislature to April, 1780. In 1781, a specie dollar was equal to 187 cents of the new issue of Continental bills, from February 27th to May 1st; \$225 to May 25th; \$300 to June 15th; \$400 to October 1st; and these bills continued to decrease till they became worthless.

3 See Appendix.

4 See Appendix.

Northampton, with Asa Ludden of Williamsburg and Richard Sylvester of Chesterfield as Lieutenants. It was composed of men from Northampton, Southampton, and Westhampton, and was mustered in at Westhampton. The company marched to Pittsfield in August, then to Albany, where they remained two or three weeks, and thence to Saratoga. They were quartered in the barracks erected four years before. Several regiments were stationed there to prevent the British from sending reinforcements from Canada, while the campaign against Cornwallis was in progress. Barnabas Sears of Greenwich was the Colonel of the regiment, and the detachment was under the command of Gen. Stark. When news came of the surrender of Cornwallis, there was a general rejoicing among the troops. The company was discharged in November. Amaziah Lucas and Jacob Pomeroy, both of Southampton, were members of this company, and from them Mr. Judd obtained the above information. Their principal duty was scouting, and they picked up many tories, filling the Albany jails with them.

The Last Requisition. Gov. Hancock in September issued a call for a number of men equal to one quarter of the train-band companies. The town agreed to pay the men £3 per month specie, if they were called into active service. Few if any enlisted under this requisition, and no record remains concerning them.

The Town hires In August the town agreed to pay nine
Teamsters. teamsters for carrying nine loads of public stores from Springfield to Great Barrington, a distance of fifty-five miles, at the rate of 2s. 6d. per mile.

Closing Year of the With the end of the sixth year of the war
War. came its closing battles. Though hostilities did not immediately cease at the surrender of Cornwallis, yet that event was the beginning of the end. But there was no relaxation of endeavor, and the country had still another year of sore labor and dire distress before peace was finally established. The brilliant campaigns of Gen. Greene who, though defeated in two pitched battles, wrung from every disaster all the effects of

victory, led gloriously up to the crowning event of the contest. Nearly the whole of Georgia and a great part of the Carolinas, were recovered before the unpropitious southern climate prohibited further active campaigning. It was in the southern territory that the stirring events of the year occurred. No movement of importance was undertaken by Washington till the decisive march upon Yorktown. While awaiting reinforcements from France, he was closely watching the enemy cooped up in New York. Nor was the effective strategy, by which he deceived the British commander, the least brilliant of the many masterly manoeuvres by which he gave liberty to his country and his name to immortality.

Arnold Raids Virginia. Again the traitor Arnold made himself conspicuous. He invaded Virginia, inflicting great damage in the destruction of life and property. These wanton and unnecessary atrocities were followed by others of a still more aggravated character. The expedition against New London, resulting in the massacre at Fort Griswold, was one of the most atrocious incidents of the war. It was the one notable event at the north during that year. Designed to attract the attention of Washington, and possibly delay his movement southward, it completely failed of its purpose. Entrusted to the management of renegades, it accomplished in cruelty what it lacked in effect upon the progress of the war.

The Capture of Cornwallis. News of the capture of Cornwallis and his army was received with great rejoicing throughout the country. It was the general belief that the war was near its end. The British, after the evacuation of Wilmington, which soon followed, held but three points on the Atlantic coast, New York, Charleston, and Savannah, and these were closely guarded by efficient detachments of patriot troops.

Discouragement Prevails. Yet the country was in a worse condition than ever before. Laboring under the continued strain of taxation and conscription, the people were in the depths of despair. Everywhere

debt without immediate means of liquidation dampened the enthusiasm of the country and well nigh quenched even its patriotism. Repeated calls for men and materials had nearly rendered the country bankrupt. Success, however, though tardy in its approach, was hailed with enthusiasm; it revived the drooping spirits in every community and encouraged the most desponding to believe that at last liberty would be accomplished.

Supplies Demanded of the Town. When the year opened there came the second requisition for beef. It was provided that £3.17.6 in the new issue of Continental bills would be considered an equivalent, and might be paid to the commissioners instead of one hundred pounds of beef, or Indian corn would be received at 5s., oats at 3s., and peas at 7s. per bushel. On the 8th of January the town voted to assess a tax of £33,370.15, one half to be paid January 20th, and the other half February 20th, "in order to procure the beef and grain required of the town." Joel Wright was appointed to receive the beef to be obtained through this tax, and Simeon Parsons the grain. Beef was 27s. per pound in Continental money; rye 7s. 6d. in the new currency, and £15 per bushel in the old; corn was £11 per bushel in the old currency, and oats £6.13.4. The amount of beef required was 21,816 pounds, and the prices already named were fixed by the General Court.

The Town Borrows Money. So great was the pressure for money at this time, that the town voted to borrow on a mortgage of the sequestered land in Middle Meadow, and to sell the sequestered land in the nook.¹

Another Requisition. Before this demand for supplies had been complied with, another requisition for beef was forthcoming. This was promulgated on the 22^d of June, and Capt. Joseph Cook and Joel Wright were authorized to procure the amount demanded. Some little obscurity exists concerning this beef account, and the quantity

¹ When Manhan Meadow was divided in 1657, sixty acres were reserved "for sequestered land at the hither end of the meadow, and the corner behind Mr. Pynchon's land." It was undoubtedly this latter tract that was now sold. There seems to be no other record of this transaction, and it is not known how much was realized from the sale.

furnished is not definitely known, but it probably reached the vicinity of 9,005 pounds. It was the smallest of the three demands. The quantity of beef required of Northampton by these three requisitions was not far from 42,181 pounds.

Clothing also in Demand. Clothing as well as provisions was greatly needed in the Continental army, and frequent demands were made upon the country to obtain a supply. The usual method was to buy these articles from the inhabitants, and £1414.1.2 $\frac{3}{4}$ were expended in all during the year at different times for this purpose. Numerous accounts still exist showing to whom this money was paid and for what articles it was used, as well as the price paid for each. Shirts, shoes, stockings and blankets had to be provided.

A Deficiency. In consequence of the constant depreciation of the Continental currency, there was something of a deficiency in the beef tax, and in April, the town voted to bear the loss and not to exact it of the individuals who were delinquent. The amount of this deficiency is not known, but the sum must have been considerable.

No Committee. For this year no special Committee of Correspondence was appointed, but the selectmen were instructed to act in that capacity.

No more Free Dinners. For many years the custom prevailed of paying from the town treasury for the dinners and other refreshments provided for the assessors, while making out the valuation and assessing the taxes. In January it was voted that no further allowance should be made for that purpose. Undoubtedly this action was precipitated by the fact that at that meeting a bill was presented by Capt. Samuel Clark, who kept tavern in the house occupied by the late Mrs. L. I. Washburn. He charged for thirty-nine dinners and for rum for the assessors, £2.12.1, in July and November, 1780, and Jan-

uary, 1781, at the rate of 1s. 4d. each. From this bill 3s. 3d. was deducted before it was allowed.

Irrepressible Youth. Periodically the youth of the congregation created disturbance in the meeting-house on Sunday, and as often the matter came before the town for adjustment. After each new regulation had qualified or allayed the disorder, vigilance relaxed, the young people became bolder and bolder, till their actions becoming intolerable, some more effectual method of repression had to be devised. It is a strange comment upon the moral and religious teachings of our forefathers, that so many times this peculiar element of disorder should appear. That reverence for spiritual things, so marked a characteristic of the Puritans, seems to have been entirely wanting, completely omitted in training the rising generation. Was this their manner of protest against the dreary monotony of the Sunday catechising, that found vent in these unseemly proceedings? Or was that one among the many ways in which they rebelled against the straight laced propriety of their every-day life? Whatever may have been the cause, such ungodly behavior was a constant menace of evil and source of irritation, as well as a most effective slumber disturber to the good people of the town, as has already been shown by the many allusions thereto throughout these pages. As usual a committee was this year instructed to prepare a new by-law to meet the emergency. It was made the duty of any person appointed to keep order in the meeting-house to quietly request the evil-doers to desist, and in case of refusal, "Gently to lay Hands on the person so refusing or neglecting and him or her to expell and turn out of the meeting house (to be excluded during that exercise)." They were also empowered to require the aid of others if need be, who were to render the needed assistance. The officers chosen to execute this by-law were to be sworn in as were other town officers. It is not difficult to imagine the state of affairs when two or three stalwart deacons were hustling out some refractory and vigorous disturber. For a short time at least the remedy must have been worse than the disease.

“Hard Money”
Scarce. Very little coin was in circulation, and consequently the tax in coin was difficult to collect. In March, the town treasurer was “positively directed to issue his Executions against those Collectors that shall be delinquent in the payment of the hard money tax of £400.” The limit of time was the 6th of April.

Tobacco. This product seems to have been raised to some extent. It was universally used and was grown exclusively for the home market. There was no speculation in the “weed” in those days. Eleazar Root was permitted to use the land on which his “cyder mill lately stood,” which belonged to the town, to raise tobacco.

Immunities to
Soldiers. At the January meeting the Representatives to the General Court were instructed to “endeavor to procure those immunities promised by the General Court to those men who had served 3 years in the continental army, for those who belonged to this town that left the service without obtaining a regular discharge, after they had served the full term of 3 years.” The names of these soldiers are not given, and it is not known why they left the army without their discharge papers.

Attempt to Suspend
Judgment against
Debtors. In January the Representatives to the Legislature were instructed to give their votes and use their influence “that the part or Paragraph of a certain act or Law made and Passed at the last session of the General Court directing the Executive Courts to suspend giving judgment on actions brought for the recovery of Debts, or in case judgment was requested upon a suggestion by the Plaintiff that he was in danger of loosing his Debt, that judgment should be made or execution awarded for either the sum due to the Plaintiff in Hard money or one and seven eights of the like sum in new emission Bills, should from and after the day to which the s'd Paragraph stands limited wholly cease & be determined and that the same or any thing of the like effect shall not by any means be revived or continued.”

The Last Call for
Men.

Though another year elapsed before peace was declared, yet there was but one more requisition for three years' men. The number called for in December, 1780, was not enough to complete the quota of Massachusetts by nearly one thousand men, and it was found, on account of mortality, desertions and other causes, that about fifteen hundred more would be needed. The quota of Northampton on this last call was nine. These men were not very promptly raised: indeed it is doubtful if the required number was ever obtained. The General Court ordered the delinquent classes in Northampton to be assessed £518.11.8, the average cost of raising a man. To this must have been added the bounty and the other inducements offered by the town, for it seems that the nine classes were assessed £929.12.5 each, or £8366.8.0; in what currency, however, is not stated. These classes were arranged as follows:—

Class No. 1, had Jacob Parsons for chairman, and embraced the upper end of Bridge Street.

Class No. 2, had Benjamin Tappan for chairman, and included part of Bridge, Market and King Streets.

Class No. 3, Capt. Samuel Clarke for chairman, embraced part of King and Hawley Streets.

Class No. 4, with Capt. Joseph Cook for chairman, included Pleasant and part of Main Streets.

Class No. 5, had Major Daniel Pomeroy for chairman, and included part of Main and Elm Streets.

Class No. 6, Capt. Solomon Allen chairman, included Elm Street, Blackpole, Prospect and West Streets.

Class No. 7, Dea. Josiah Clark chairman, embraced South Street.

Class No. 8, with Capt. Ebenezer Strong for chairman, included part of South Street and Easthampton.

Class No. 9, had Asabel Clark for chairman, and embraced Pascomuck and Lower Farms.

Peace Secured. Nothing remains to show that any soldiers from this town entered the service this year. The war was practically ended with the surrender at Yorktown. Early in the following year the English Parliament began to consider the advisability of bringing about a peace with the rebels, and during the remainder of the year, active negotiations were in progress. It is not necessary to follow them. While they were under consideration, hostile-

ities ceased by common consent, and in September the treaty was signed and independence secured. This year the selectmen and assessors were made the Committee of Correspondence.

Much Counterfeit Money in Circulation. Added to all the other hardships of the time, was that of counterfeit money. Much of it was in circulation, and constables and collectors frequently asked the town to remit to them the losses occasioned thereby. To put a stop to this practice, an order to the following effect was adopted at the March meeting: That the Collector of Taxes shall sustain all losses either by counterfeit money or by "miscounting of" or transporting the same to the Treasurer, "unless such counterfeit money shall so nearly resemble the true money as not to be obvious to a careful and prudent observer."

Ferry. Representation. More Land Sold. At the same meeting another order was passed directing an examination relative to the right of the town to regulate the ferry over the Connecticut River, at the east end of the town. The result of that inquiry was not recorded, but it may be imagined that the town would have speedily discovered what rights it had in case of any attempt to interfere with the ferry. A motion was also made at this meeting to dispense with the attendance of both representatives at the General Court this year. But this was not quite in accordance with the views of the people, and they voted that "one or the other" of the deputies "should be directed to attend" at the next session. In order to meet the demands upon the town, it was found necessary to sell still other portions of the town lands, and a committee was appointed to dispose of portions of it "in the nook," and on "Pancake Plain." The collectors of taxes were instructed to use their "best endeavors to collect what is called the great rate as soon as possible," and lay before the selectmen within one month an account of their several collections. The latter were to report the result to the town "if they saw fit."

Deplorable State of
Affairs.

Though relieved of the immediate burdens of the war, the newly established government was compelled to meet other difficulties resulting from the long contest. Drained of its resources, exhausted physically, financially, industrially; with mountains of debt overshadowing energy, and paralyzing effort, the condition of the state was deplorable and apparently remediless.¹ The effect of this unsettled state of affairs became apparent before the preliminaries of the proposed treaty were completed. In fact, during the sanguinary life struggle, the means of remedying these evils and bringing relief out of existing chaos, had been under discussion. Legislation had endeavored ineffectually to solve the problem. Conventions of the people to regulate prices proved futile. Added to the constantly vanishing value of the currency was the rapidly decreasing supply of gold and silver, enhancing the difficulties and accumulating the burdens, till any sufficient remedy seemed impossible. Attempts to legislate away the burdens of the people fell far short of the requirements, if they did not add to the distress already existing. Among the laws passed by the General Court was what was termed the "confession act." It authorized Justices of the Peace to take acknowledgments of debts, and if any were not paid within a year, executions were to issue. While this saved something of the costs of the court, it brought other burdens and opened the way for greater injustice. This was followed by the "Tender Act," which provided that private debts might be paid in neat cattle, and certain articles of produce, specially named, at an impartial appraisal. This remedy failed to accomplish its object, and in the end led to other and more serious complications. "Its chief effect was to suspend law suits, which by delaying, only strengthened and enlarged the evil, when the year's existence of the law expired."

1 "In this state it was estimated that private debts amounted to \$7,000,000, and the state's arrears to the federal government to as much more. Bounties due to soldiers, and the annual cost of state, county, and town governments, would reach an aggregate equivalent to a tax of more than \$50 on every man, woman and child in the population of 379,000 souls. Upon every head of a family the average burden was some \$200, at a time when most farmers would have thought such a sum yearly a princely income."—Fisk's *Critical Period of American History*, p. 177.

Conventions the order
of the Day.

Those were pre-eminently days of conventions. It was the convention named at first a "Congress," and held originally in Massachusetts, that paved the way for the march of freedom. When tyranny usurped control of the law making power, the people were called upon to act. The Provincial Congresses were but conventions of delegates elected by them to retain those rights in the government, which were gradually being legislated out of their hands. That which in time of peril was the salvation of liberty, became afterwards a menace to the perpetuation of that liberty, and precipitated civil war within the very birthplace of liberty.

Their Frequency in
Hampshire County.

Throughout the Revolution conventions for various purposes:—to consult upon the general welfare, to stop the courts, to regulate prices, and to run things in general, had been held in all parts of the state. Several of those which occurred in Hampshire County have already been noted. When, therefore, the struggle was believed to be nearly ended, and when the accumulation of debt,¹ as well as the financial uncertainty of the future confronted the people, they turned naturally to the weapon with which they were familiar. Within the two years of 1782 and 1783, no less than seven conventions were held in this county² to consider the evils of the times. Nor were they less frequent in other parts of the state. A majority of persons undoubtedly took part in these gatherings at first from patriotic motives, believing that through such means their grievances could best be made known to the government. With no thought whither the heated discussions and lawless resolves, fomented and formulated by unprincipled agitators, would lead them, towns sent delegates to these meetings, hoping that some method might be devised that would relieve the distress weighing so heavily upon the community. But the demagogues saw their opportunity. Men of no standing in the community, often of tarnished reputation but fluent of speech, though meagre of intellect, came to

¹ Minot's Insurrections in Mass., pp. 13-15.

² Sheldon's History of Deerfield, p. 761.

the front. In too many cases the specious reasoning of these unprincipled leaders involved their followers in a conflict with the law, under the pretense that they were obeying the mandates of the people as set forth in these conventions. Everybody was in debt to everybody else, taxes were heavy, money scarce, and industry at a standstill. To escape the payment of their obligations was the end and aim of much of this agitation. People had nothing to pay with and knew not where to obtain anything. Hence all the machinery of law that in better times protected business and upheld government, was considered a grievance. The courts were opposed because they were used to enforce the collection of debts and taxes. Lawyers were especially obnoxious, because, under the sanction of the courts, they compelled payments. The truth was that, in the language of an observer of the times, the "Government was endangered by the noise of people in debt."¹

Convention at
Hadley.

The first convention of the year was held at Hadley, about the 11th of February. No representatives were present from Northampton or Southampton. Little is known respecting it, but apparently it was managed by the reformers. Its records have disappeared, but its action was characterized at that time as having been "ill done," and a "scandal to the county."² A petition was prepared and presented to the Legislature which was referred to a committee, but was never reported upon. Consequently, in the succeeding month another convention was held at Hatfield, the proceedings of which will be noted hereafter. A more conservative class of delegates was chosen to this body, and its action was much less objectionable. It was undoubtedly because of the part he took in the Hadley meeting, as well as for his utterances in different towns in the county, that Samuel Ely, who subsequently figured quite prominently, was arraigned before Major Hawley February 14th, to be examined for "treasonable practices." He seems to have escaped with but slight, if any, punishment at this time, but abated nothing of his treasonable work.

¹ Judd's Diary.

² Ibid.

The Meeting at
Hatfield.

The convention alluded to above was called —by what authority is not known—to meet at Hatfield, on the first Tuesday of April. At the March meeting, Joseph Hawley, Stephen Baker, and Timothy Dwight, were chosen delegates, and a committee appointed to formulate instructions. These were afterwards considered and adopted, but have not been preserved. They were undoubtedly strongly conservative, and it may be believed that the Northampton delegates were solidly in favor of upholding existing laws. Thirty-six towns were represented in this convention, and its deliberations extended over several days. Whatever may have been the intentions of its members, to its discussions and votes must be attributed those breaches of the peace that so speedily followed. Its deliberations covered the entire list of burdens under which the people were staggering. There was little that had reference to law or its enforcement that was not deemed a grievance. In almost everything relative to the administration of justice a change was demanded, and a committee was appointed to present its list of desired reforms to the Legislature. A proposition “To request the Inferior Court to forbear giving judgment in civil cases, except the creditor make it appear he is in danger of losing his debt, or where the parties are agreed,” was voted down by a decided majority. Northampton delegates, as might have been expected, recorded their votes against the suggestion. The vote, however, that caused the greatest trouble, and very nearly precipitated civil war upon the county, was that which declared “That there be no County Court of the sessions of the Peace.”

Samuel Ely Appears. Before the convention had completed its work, its labors began to bear fruit. Claiming the above vote as an authority, and professing to regard it as the voice of the people, a mob assembled during the April session of the court at Northampton, and endeavored ineffectually to stop its proceedings. Samuel Ely, who had just escaped from the clutches of the law for “treasonable practices,” was the instigator of this lawless gathering. It is not known whether he was a member of the convention or not, but as he lived in Conway, he may

have represented that town. He was a brazen-faced hypocrite, a demagogue in the most offensive sense, unprincipled, ambitious of notoriety: "a Seditious man and a person of depraved, impious and disquiet mind, and of seditious disposition and conversation."¹ Apparently he spent his time in traversing the county, exciting the citizens to oppose the government. In January at Sunderland, he loudly asserted that the people must "throw up our constitution," saying that he "had got a constitution in his pocket that the angel Gabriel could not find fault with," and that "the constitution is broke already." He contended that the Governor and the Judges received too much salary, asserting that "we can get men that will ride the circuit for half the money." Another argument used by him was that "Officers hold two offices." "The Justices of the Supreme Court," he said, "have gone beyond their power and should not sitt, nor the General Court should not sitt," and "we will pay no more regard to them than—puppies." At the same time "in pursuance of his wicked intentions aforesaid then and there Maliciously and seditiously did endeavor to incite and procure the Selectmen of said Sunderland to meet and draw a Warrant to call a meeting of the Inhabitants of the same town to break up the courts and to Give him a Copy of the same Warrant to carry to Conway." He also boasted that he "had been to all the Towns in the Lower part of the county, and that they were all for breaking the Courts up." He had talked with Col. Worthington and Moses Bliss Esq., of Springfield, and "they were of the mind that the courts had better be broken up." And "that he did then and there wickedly declare that the Attornies, Sheriffs, and all Officers should be sacrificed, that Major John C. Williams should be made a sacrifice of and his body should be given to the Fowls of the air and to the Beasts of the field." Throughout the county, from January 4th till the 30th of April, he

1 "Ely was an unlicensed and disorderly preacher and could not obtain an ordination. * * * He possessed the spirit, and so far as his slender abilities would permit, the arts of a demagogue in an unusual degree. He was voluble, vehement in address, bold, persevering, active, brazen faced in wickedness. * * * The Association of New London County some years before, when his character was very imperfectly known or suspected, licensed him to preach," and he was employed by the people of Somers, Ct. Afterwards he was brought before a council and pronounced to be wholly unqualified to be a preacher. He left Somers and drifted into Hampshire County, taking up his residence in Conway.—Dwight's Travels, vol. 2, pp. 275, 276.

uttered similar seditious sentiments, and declared that “the courts of law should be broken up and that he could raise 2,000 men for that purpose, if he could get anybody to lead them.”

First Attempt to Stop
the Court.

The regular session of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace was convened at Northampton, on the 4th of April, and continued till the 28th. On the first day of the session Ely was at hand determined to close its doors. He harangued a great crowd of riotous and disorderly persons in the streets of Northampton, inciting them to forcibly interfere with the court. He “caused a seditious Letter to be wrote and signed by himself as in the name & behalf & by direction of the same People there thus assembled declaring to the Good People of the Towns in the County that the Court was going on contrary to the mind of the Convention, and desiring them to come.” This missive, signed by others as well as Ely, was circulated extensively throughout the county, and on the 12th of April “a great number of disorderly persons” assembled in the town ready to accomplish the work proposed. Armed with a club, Ely again addressed the mob. “Come on my brave boys,” he says, “we’ll go to the Wood Pile and get clubs enough and Knock their Grey wiggs off and send them out of the world in an instant.” Thus incited, the mob immediately armed themselves with clubs and gathered in a menacing array about the Court-House. The “brave boys,” however, were more ready to attack the woodpile than the court, and held back. Once more the demagogue resorted to his favorite weapon, and endeavored to stimulate his hesitating dupes. Again he invoked the authority of the Hatfield convention, loudly charging the mob with cowardice, proclaiming that if they were afraid “he wanted to have the Honour of doing the business himself * * * and then and there loudly, and wickedly and seditiously declared he had rather fight against this authority than against the King of Great Britain, that he had rather oppose that oppressive Court than the King of Great Britain.” He was unable, however, to stir up his unruly followers to the commission of any overt act, and they did nothing but curse and

swear. For some hours they swarmed about the Court-House, to “the great disturbance of good order and the due administration of Justice in great Terror to the Peaceable & good Subjects of this Commonwealth, in evil example to others.”¹ Some such movement as this must have been anticipated, after the demonstration by Ely on the first day of the session, and measures taken to protect the court. Capt. Allen was present with a guard, and prevented the mob from entering the Court-House.

Testimony of an Jonathan Judd Jr. of Southampton was
Eye-witness. present when this affair occurred, and he
writes in his diary, under date of April 12th,
as follows :—

“About 5 o'clock in the afternoon, a Committee from the Mob came into Court. About half an Hour after sent a Petition and before Dark came in a Body. But a Guard under Capt. Allen, prevent their coming into the Court House. Ely was soon after taken and Examined and then bound to appear at the next Superior Court which took after Midnight. Ely was in no ways Subdued but I Suppose the rest were.”

Ely Bound Over. The prisoner was promptly arraigned before
the court he had endeavored to suppress.
Pleading not guilty, he was, on the evidence produced,
bound over for trial to the next term of the Supreme Judicial Court to be holden at Northampton, on the last Tuesday (30th) in April. He gave bonds for his appearance at that time in the sum of £100, with Timothy Marsh of Hadley, Samuel Wells and Daniel Dunham of Conway as sureties. Caleb Strong was attorney for the Commonwealth.

His Trial. Ely remained at large till the session of the
court the last day in April. His case came
up on the first of May, when his bondsmen surrendered
him to the sheriff, and he was quartered at the jail during
his trial. An indictment by the Grand Jury speedily followed, and he was brought up for trial on the 6th. Not guilty was his first answer to the indictment, but this he afterwards retracted and plead guilty. He was sentenced to “pay a fine of £50, suffer six months' imprisonment, and recognize in the sum of £200, with sufficient sureties in the

1 Records Supreme Judicial Court.

like sum for his keeping the peace and being of Good Behaviour for the term of three years, pay the costs of Prosecution and to stand committed till this sentence is performed." He was committed to jail in Springfield.

A Mob Gathers. On the first day of May, Mr. Judd was again in Northampton. He records :— " A Mobb in town. They Center at Major Pomeroy's. * * * went among the Mobb in the Afternoon. Sam'l Ely's Bondsmen took him out of the Mob and carried him to court, he was then sent to Goal under a Strong Guard. Ely's Imprisonment made the Mobb very mad, but they could do nothing, and mostly dispersed at Night. A Guard kept at Night." When Ely was brought up for trial, fears were entertained that a demonstration would be made by the malcontents and the prisoner spirited away. Consequently precautions were taken to protect the court and secure the culprit. These forebodings were not groundless, and on the day named for the trial, people swarmed into the town, some with arms in their hands, to release Ely and break up the court if possible, others to see the fun. The position of affairs at this juncture is graphically described by Mr. Judd, who writes :—

" Monday 6th, went to Northampton, find the Inhabitants under Arms, others from Hadley & Hatfield come in. A Mob is Collected at Williamsburg armed, the Militia were Kept under arms all day. Ely was brought to the Barr and pleaded Guilty and Confessed his faults in writing, after which he was Sentenced to pay £50, be imprisoned 6 Months and then on paying costs and giving Bond for his Good Behaviour for 3 years to be liberated."

Ely Released by the Mob. When their leader had been disposed of by the obnoxious court he and they were fighting against, the discontented element in the county determined that they would forcibly release him. Accordingly on the 12th of June, a mob which eventually numbered one hundred fifty men, mostly from towns above Northampton, set out to accomplish that design. Early in the morning nearly one hundred of them marched through the town in an orderly manner, though bound on a very disorderly errand. In a short time about fifty citizens of this town, supporters of the government, hastily followed.

They were too late, however. The acts of the mob are thus described by a contemporary :—

“ Between 4 and 6 o'clock p. m. about 150 men, from the Northwestern part of the county of Hampshire, came into Springfield, with swords and guns, broke open the goal with axes and cleavers, and released Samuel Ely, one McKnoll, a debtor, and a negro runaway, and then marched off with Ely. Most of the male inhabitants were absent at the funeral of Rev. Stephen Williams of Longmeadow. People rallied and pursued them and received 3 persons as hostages for the return of Ely. * * * Northampton and other towns in its vicinity manifested a good spirit, and in 24 hours more than 1000 men were under arms.”

The Mob Pursued. Col. Elisha Porter of Hadley, High Sheriff of the county, proceeded at once to the scene of operations. With the men from Northampton, and such others as could be hastily gathered in Springfield, he organized a company and sent it in pursuit of the mob. In order to prevent them from crossing the river, Col. Porter secured all the boats on the east side as far up as Hadley. Col. Burt,¹ who had command of the pursuing party, overtook the rioters at South Hadley, where, after a bloodless skirmish, both detachments encamped for the night. Porter gathered a small force at Northampton the next morning, and marched to Hadley with the intention of intercepting the mob. Unable to cross the river, pursued by Col. Burt, and menaced by Col. Porter, the mob turned towards Amherst. A detachment under Capt. Solomon Allen of Northampton, sent to intercept them, came upon their flank, and a lively “set to” occurred, resulting in a number of broken heads. When Col. Porter arrived, a parley ensued. A conference committee of five from each party was chosen, and the mob marched willingly to Northampton to escape the falling rain, while matters were under discussion. In case no satisfactory arrangements were made, the lawbreakers were to be allowed to assume their previous belligerent attitude. While these negotiations were in progress Ely made good his escape.

1 Col. Gideon Burt of 1st Berkshire Regiment.

An Agreement with
the Mob.

A lengthy consultation between the committees resulted in an agreement that a petition, praying for measures of relief, signed by both parties, should be sent to the General Court, and that Ely should be given up. As he could not be produced, three hostages were given by the mob for his return. To meet this last requirement, Capt. Abel Dinsmore of Conway, Lient. Perez Bardwell of Deerfield, and Paul King, probably of Northampton, were selected. All attempts to find Ely were unsuccessful, and the hostages were lodged where Ely ought to have been, in the jail. When this fact became known to the mob, they began to clamor for the release of their men, claiming that the hostages were to be held for punishment, as leaders in the affair. The mob, which had begun to disperse, again assembled in increased numbers and threatened to burn the town unless the men were released. The jail was so strongly guarded night and day, that no attempt at rescue was made. On the following day the crowd continued to increase, and Col. Porter called out the posse comitatus from all the adjoining towns and soon had an ample force to protect the jail. About twelve hundred militia responded to the summons of the sheriff, and with them the mob declined to try conclusions.

Capt. Dickinson Com-
mands the Mob.

Matters remained comparatively quiet during the 15th, though the mob still lingered. There was no relaxation of vigilance on the part of the authorities night or day. Capt. Reuben Dickinson of Amherst had collected about three hundred men at Hatfield, and succeeded in capturing a company of the sheriff's posse on their way down from Deerfield. During the day he sent messengers to Porter, proposing a conference one mile from Northampton, in two hours and a half after the delivery of the message. But Porter had had enough of negotiations, and declined the overture. Once more the insurgents demanded the release of the hostages and again threatened to burn the town.

And makes another
Demonstration.

In the meantime the belief that the terms of the treaty had been violated by the continued confinement of the hostages, especially fomented and encouraged by the tory element, spread

widely among the disaffected, and on Saturday the 16th, another demonstration was made. Porter immediately invoked aid from other towns. Two hundred men marched from Springfield, and the Sabbath day exercises in neighboring towns were very thinly attended. In the afternoon, Dickinson, who was credited with having at this time a force of six hundred men, marched for Northampton. Towards night his ultimatum, demanding the release of the prisoners, and the delivery of the bonds of Dea. Wells within half an hour, or an attack would be made, was sent to the sheriff. He replied that while he was ready to enter into any reasonable arrangement, he would not agree to that proposition. "It is my earnest desire," he wrote, "to have peace, and it is in your power to prevent bloodshed." The insurgents continued to advance and were just ready to begin the attack, when Porter offered to meet Dickinson between the lines. This conference resulted in a visit to the prison on the part of Dickinson and others of the mob. Here the visitors found things different from the representations. The prisoners had been treated in every respect in accordance with the agreement, and it was evident that much misrepresentation had been disseminated concerning them. The hostages themselves advised Dickinson to give up his attempt to rescue them. An agreement was made by which Ely was to be given up, and the hostages were released. This bargain was carried out, and Ely was eventually surrendered to the authorities and imprisoned in Boston. During the night, however, an alarm was given in Northampton and signal-fires lighted, but no further demonstration was made.¹

Mr. Judd's Account
of the Affair.

In this connection, even at the risk of some repetition, it may not be uninteresting to repeat an account of these proceedings as narrated in the Diary of Jonathan Judd Jr., who was himself an actor in them :—

"Wednesday 13 [June] noise of a Mobb going to Spring-field, but no order till after 9 at Night. We then Collected about 12 and went to Northampton ; got there at sunrise. Thursday, 14th. The party went

¹ The above account of the proceedings growing out of the attempt of the mob to rescue Ely, was compiled principally from the Judd MSS., Sheldon's History of Deerfield, and Holland's History of Western Massachusetts.

to Hockanum Ferry. The Mobb have Ely and going up on the other side of the River. Very rainy. Walked to the Ferry with Mr. Dwight, got wet. By one the Mobb came to a parley and came over to Northampton. People Collected fast. Matters were settled by Night & Capt. Dinsmore, Lt. P. King, Lt. Perez Bardwell went to Goal till Ely was returned. The Mobb went out of Town, but most of the people tarried.

.. Saturday 16. At 1 had another alarm of a Mobb collecting at Hatfield. People turned out soon. I went with Col. Chapin, found that the Mobb were collecting at Hatfield. No people got in except from Southampton, unless a few Scattering ones. All soldiers collected lodge in the Meeting House.

.. Sunday 17. Got up about four went to the middle of the Town. Maj. Banister, Capt. White & Capt. Warner, who are leaning towards the Mobb go up to Hatfield. Was with a Committee to advise the Sheriff. Was at Meeting part of the Exercises. People collect but slow till Noon and after. Upon Maj. Banister, &c. coming back at 2, Phinelas Lyman, Noah Smith & Dea. King go to the Mobb. All the return we have is that they will have the Hostages. They were then at Luke Lyman's. We answer they can not. At Dusk, when Col. Porter had about 500 Men at the Jail, and Gen. Parks arrives with 160 more, they march to the Jail, mostly on Horses, being about 450, one Half armed with Clubbs. They fill the Lane from the School House to and in the Jail Yard [from King street corner to the lower end of Pleasant street]. A Parley then began which lasted perhaps 1 Hour and a Half, in which Time Capt. Dickinson and other Heads of the Mobb went into the Goal and saw the Prisoners. They had then an Idea of resigning up Ely, but as soon as they came out, Ely put off with speed. It was then agreed that the Mobb should go to the plain near the Burying Yard, and they went, and Dickinson returned and the agreement was that the Question whether the Hostages should be delivered up should be brought to a County Convention, and their opinion sent to the General Court, who should be the final Judges in the matter. When Dickinson returned to the plain all his party had left him. Almost the whole Party might have been taken with very little loss, but we aimed to show we did not want to Hurt them nor shed blood. Springfield people came while they were at the Jail, with 1 field Piece and a Number of Continental Soldiers. A large Guard was kept at the Goal, others scattered about a little not much; it was so near Day before matters were settled.

.. Monday 17th. Got up before 4, went to the Jail. In the forenoon the Brigade was collected and then Dismissed. Dickinson, Harvey Philips & Nash head of the Mobb in Town and will not stand to the agreement made last Night. They are obstinate as human Creatures can be. Nothing can be done with them. Much time was spent in A. M. and more in the P. M. to Convince them but all in vain. People were all gone almost when I came away at 7 o'clock. A Mobb man is almost certainly a Liar. Their cause is principally carried on by Lying.

“Thursday 20. In P. M. went to Northampton. The Hostages were released on Tuesday upon promise of returning Ely or themselves when called for. General Court have ordered pay to those turned out in support of Law and thanks to Col^l. Porter, Brigadier Parks, Col^l. Burt, Capt. Allen.”

Northampton Militia. In this contest Northampton furnished her quota of duly enrolled militia, as well as the services of all her loyal citizens in whatever capacity desired. Muster-rolls containing the names of forty-three men and officers, who served April 30th, June 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th and 17th, have been preserved.¹

Aid from the Tories. Foremost in fomenting these disturbances were the tories, and none rejoiced more heartily at the attack upon the government, or prayed more fervently for its success. Major Hawley counselled the holding of the hostages while Ely was at large, or it would be a “triumph to the tories and Great Britain.” He considered the position of affairs very dangerous and believed that the “Tories have great expectation from the view and prospect of them.”

1 For list of names see Appendix.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

A SERIES OF CONVENTIONS—PEACE—EASTHAMPTON.

A Critical Situation. DURING these trying times the people of Northampton must have been in an anxious, restless and uncertain state. For three days the town was in the hands of a crowd of excited and irresponsible men, who were constantly threatening to lay it in ashes. Any indiscreet act on their part might bring on bloodshed, pillage, fire, and the slightest demonstration of hostility by either party, might precipitate open war at any moment. Rioters and defenders of the law were acquaintances, friends, neighbors. Heretofore they had mingled in business, pleasure, and duty. Now they were standing face to face with arms in their hands. Should they resist each other unto death, and how soon would the struggle commence? Loyal citizens of whatever town, while they sympathized with the real grievances of their misguided friends, suffering themselves from the same causes, were determined to resist all attempts to break the laws, from whatever quarter and by whomsoever made. The efforts on the part of the sheriff to conciliate the mob and prevent bloodshed were undoubtedly the wisest measures he could have adopted, though his course has been censured, and characterized as "contemptible and pusillanimous."¹ In delivering the hostages before Ely was presented to take their places, the sheriff exhibited greater faith in the mob than his previous dealings with it would seem to warrant. In that the lawbreakers gained their point. On the other hand they knew well enough that the surrender of Ely would have liberated the hostages at once, though cranks and fanatics among them may have endeavored to make

¹ Holland's History of Western Massachusetts, vol. 1, p. 232.

them believe that the latter were to be held for trial and punishment in any event.

Action of the Leg- The position of affairs in this county nat-
islature. urally attracted the attention of the Legis-
lature, which was at that time in session.

On the 17th of June it voted to suspend the habeas corpus act for six months within the County of Hampshire, and ordered out the posse comitatus to bring the prisoners to Boston.¹ At the November session agreeably to the recommendation of the Hatfield convention, a full pardon was granted to all the rioters with the exception of Ely. The "Tender Act" was passed on the 3^d of July, and soon after a committee was appointed to investigate the cause of the disturbances. It consisted of Samuel Adams of the Senate, and Artemas Ward and Nathaniel Gorham of the House.

A Letter from Major Major Hawley was strongly in favor of the
Hawley. appointment of this committee. In a letter to Caleb Strong, who was then a member of the Legislature, he decidedly advocated its formation, and his influence undoubtedly had much to do in deciding the matter. The following extracts from this letter show, not only the sentiments of Major Hawley, but the general tendency of public opinion, as well as the method suggested by one who was well acquainted with the best and most popular means of enlightening and controlling public sentiment:—

June 24, 1782.

"In a letter by Doct. Lyman I proposed the General Court sending a committee into this county without any delay. I now undertake to pronounce that without such a step there is the utmost hazard that the government will take such measures as may vastly endanger the whole American cause. You would be astonished to know with what amazing rapidity the spirit of the Insurgents propagates. Many are infected with it, of whom you never would have the least suspicion. We are not certain who besides the Devil sprang Ely at first. But we are not at a loss who ventilates the flame, for the fire is now become such a flame as I cannot describe to you. The Genl. Court have not had any affair of greater magnitude before them since the Revolution. Dispatch, dispatch is of infinite consequence, but at the same time we must remember *Festina lente*, for that interest a committee must pre-

¹ Belknap's Letters, Mass. Historical Collections, Ser. 5, vol. 2, p. 133.

viously be on the spot. Pray endeavor that the committee consist of sensible, honest, cool and Patient men. Let them be able to explain to the people the state of the Nation, to inform them to what use the three hundred 1000£ and the two hundred 1000£ taxes have been put and are putting on us. Many of the Insurgents say that our soldiers get none of it. That it cost them much to maintain the Great men under Geo. 3^d but vastly more under the Commonwealth and Congress. We have had it Hurra'd for Geo. 3^d within 8 rods of the Court House. * * * Doct. Hunt surmises that there may [be] British emissaries with British money among the People. Such a supposition does not appear to me groundless.

* * * "None but God can say how far the spirit may spread. They are perpetually taught that they were horribly deceived and deluded by those who first contended with Bernard & Hutchinson, and disputed against the Duties. Many, many in these western regions believe it. They have no sense or value for Liberty. They are principally affected with present and immediate feelings. I was told three weeks ago by a calm and sedate man as any I have seen of their number That two-thirds of these western people fully believed that they were miserably deceived by Hutchinson's opposers, that they were the men who brought all their burdens upon them, which they are told that they should have been forever free from, if they had submitted to the British Government. That they would take care how they were catch'd again. If you had seen the late insurrections you would have believed that he was not munn from the truth in the fact which he related respecting ye proportion. The people in the highlands of this county and Berkshire are *fervidum Genus hominum*. and many too many on the east side of the river are of the same temper. * * * An attempt to subdue these People by force will at least be very expensive if not a very dangerous course. Their numbers, by some means or other (be those what they may) increase daily. The case will never be understood without a committee to go in to the towns and learn the facts on the spot, by seeing and hearing, and neglect of this may deceive and ruin the government."¹

The Committee Calls
a Convention.

This committee arrived at Northampton, July 27th, and immediately proceeded to Conway, the home of Ely, and the principal seat of the disaffection. The people of Conway declined to act independently of the other towns, and on the 29th delegates from thirteen towns in the northern part of the county met the committee in that town. The result of this gathering was the mutual calling of a county convention to be held at Hatfield in the following month. This convention assembled on the 7th of August, and dissolved

¹ Copied by permission from the Hawley papers, Bancroft collection, Lenox Library, N. Y.

on the 10th. Northampton was represented by three delegates chosen at a meeting held a few days before the convention assembled, and no instructions were given them by the town.

The County Convention.

Held under the auspices of the legislative committee, this convention was less reasonable in its utterances, and less radical in its recommendations than some of its predecessors. Guided in the paths of conservatism by the men from Boston, its resolutions evinced a loyalty to the existing government heretofore conspicuously lacking. It is true that the grievances complained of were as yet unredressed. Still the rioters, though in a sense partially successful in their attempt to override the law, must have become convinced that while they commanded the sympathy of all loyal citizens, they must also understand that no attempt to overthrow the government would be tolerated.

Resolutions Adopted by the Convention.

A list of resolutions, fourteen in number, was adopted. Relief from the weight of taxation by means of a more equal distribution of its burdens; a scaling down of the list of civil officers, and a consequent reduction in the amount paid for salaries; a general and effective system of economy in the methods of conducting affairs; and indemnity for all engaged in the late unpleasantness, except Samuel Ely, were the principal points insisted upon. The whole wound up with a fervent declaration of loyalty to the State and fealty to Congress.

Results of the Action of the Committee.

The results attending the presence of this committee, were in accordance with the anticipations of Major Hawley, and much that he predicted seems to have been accomplished. Affairs were quieted, temporarily at least, in the county, and but a single outbreak is chronicled till the Shays rebellion convulsed the state. The committee received the thanks of the Legislature "for their indefatigable and successful endeavors in so great a degree quieting the disturbances that had arisen in that county." They led the people along the lines already followed, and the result did not vary essen-

tially from that of previous attempts of the kind. The people presented their grievances, and prayed for relief. But their burdens were not lifted, and little was done or could be done towards lightening them. The discussion of grievances still proceeded, but still the people were taxed, and still their debts were unpaid. Money was yet an almost unknown quantity. Legislation failed to alleviate the distress, and the future developed no sign of improvement.

From Mr. Judd's
Diary.

In this connection, the comments of Mr. Judd of Southampton, who was an active member of the convention, are of importance. He was a strong conservative and had little sympathy with the malcontents. His diary reads:—

“Wednesday 7 [August] set out at 7½. Stopt at Northampton to get Shaved; got to Hatfield by 10½. Put up at Lt. D. Billings. Chose Co^{ll}. Wells Chairman and Deaⁿ O. Smith Clerk. I assisted him in reading. Began upon Business at 3. The committee from the General Court present, and the first question was whether their Commission was Constitutional. We then determined to let every one tell his Grievances and adjourned.

“Thursday 8. The Mobb began to tell their Grievances and the [committee] to answer and to give Information. The Day was spent in this way. The Mobbists began to feel themselves more a ground than they expected. The Tories who are spectators in very great plenty do not hold their Heads so High as they have done of late.

“Fryday 9. Began where we left off. Afterwards chose a committee to state Grievances to us. Then the Mobb still continued to tell their Grievances but got upon the Shoals long before Night. Committee report near Night.

“Saturday 10. Began in the Morning upon the Report of the Com^{tee} which Consisted of 8 Articles. 3 we passed and the rest we through out. Friends of the Mobb could not get things to their Mind. They [are] Disappointed and Chagrined. What that may produce is uncertain, but 'tis certain that they cannot answer the Arguments of the Com^{tee}, or gainsay the facts they asserted. The appearance is that there is more probability of their being still, if nothing more. Convention broke up about 6. /

Conventions Con-
tinue.

These congresses continued to be the medium of mutual communication and general discussion. No less than four were held in this county in 1783. To a considerable extent these gatherings were sectional in character and though termed county conventions, were in most cases composed of delegates from

a few contiguous towns. They differed in character somewhat from those previously held. At first they were guided by cranks and demagogues, but afterwards greater numbers of the more thoughtful and substantial men in the community took part in them. On the 6th of March, the first of these meetings was held at Williamsburg. Of its records nothing seems to have been preserved. From the fact that another convention was held at Hatfield within a fortnight, it is probable that this one was not very largely attended. No delegates were present at Williamsburg from this town, but Northampton was represented at Hatfield, though the names of the delegates are not on record. At Hatfield, on the 19th and 20th of March, thirteen towns were represented. Everything appeared to be very harmonious. "We were good Natured, had no Disputes, very reserved. They want to get rid of Major Hawley and myself. Near night we set off, leaving all the rest."¹ After Mr. Judd and Mr. Hawley left, the convention proceeded to business. It voted to pay no taxes to the state, and adjourned to Hadley. It reassembled at that place on the 15th of April. Joseph Hawley and Elijah Hunt were delegates from Northampton. They were instructed not to act unless a majority of the towns in the county were represented. According to Mr. Judd, the delegates from sixteen other towns had received similar instructions. Thirteen towns only acted in this convention. "But they felt feeble and fearfull. They begin to know the County are not with them and they must try to pay Taxes. Truths are told them more plain than they have been and they feel them since aid is not likely to come from New York."² These conventions were much less radical than their predecessors, and undoubtedly acted as safety-valves, words being much safer weapons than clubs and muskets. All attempts to interfere with the courts proved futile, and their sessions continued with but a single menace during the year.

A Demonstration
at Springfield.

On the 20th of May, during the session of the Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions at Springfield, about sixty persons gathered, resolved themselves into a county convention,

¹ Judd's Diary.

² Ibid.

passed a series of resolves, and adjourned to hold an open meeting near the Court-House, not forgetting to arm themselves with bludgeons. When the court appeared to hold its afternoon session, the mob opposed its entrance into the Court-House. While the sheriff expostulated with them, loyal men acted, and drove the rioters away. Some were wounded, and several arrested.¹ Uneasiness among the people prevailed and many persons were in favor of forcibly stopping the courts. At the August term, held in Northampton, "many collect at Mr. Clapp's to oppose the court, but dare not appear. Vast numbers of people attend court."²

A New Proposition. Another series of these gatherings took place in the fall, at which a new element of discontent was broached. In September, delegates from seven towns in the upper part of the county met at Deerfield, ostensibly to consider the deplorable state of affairs, at present and in the future, unless more money—paper money—could be obtained. One special difficulty under which these towns labored was their remoteness from the Courts of Justice—the very courts they had been voting out of existence and trying forcibly to abolish—as well as from the offices of the Registry of Deeds and County Treasurer. They desired the removal of all the courts from Springfield to Northampton, or a division of the county, and proposed to petition the General Court to that end. This measure was considered of sufficient importance to lay before the county at large, and it was decided to call a convention to meet at Hatfield on the 20th of October. In this convention twenty-seven towns were represented. The general financial condition was considered, as well as the pressing need of more conveniences for the transaction of legal business. Its discussions were moderate and its recommendations characterized by fairness and good sense. Two delegates from Northampton were present, Dea. Josiah Clark and Capt. Samuel Clark, who received instructions similar to those given to the delegates to the Hadley convention, not to act unless a majority of the

1 Holland's History of Western Massachusetts, vol. 1, p. 232.

2 Judd's Diary.

towns in the county were represented. This seems to have completed the series of conventions for this year.

A Treaty of Peace and Local Rejoicings. Peace was declared in 1783. In November of the previous year, a provisional treaty of peace was signed at Paris; in the following January an armistice declaring a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon at the same place; but the definitive treaty was not signed till the 3^d of September. News of the provisional treaty and the armistice reached this country at the same time, arriving at Philadelphia March 23^d, but was five days on the road to Boston. It is not known when the information reached this town, nor is it absolutely certain that any notice was taken of the event. No action on the part of the town was had, and if any celebration occurred, it was gotten up by the citizens in their private capacity. Contemporary writers make no allusion to it, while reference is had to similar rejoicings both in Springfield and Westfield.¹ The only account of any celebration at Northampton, appears in the Massachusetts Gazette, a newspaper published in Springfield, in the following language. It is dated "Northampton, April 28, 1783":—

"Thursday the 24th inst. was observed here [Northampton] as a day of rejoicing on account of the present glorious peace, when a sermon suitable to the occasion was preached by the Rev. Mr. Spring² of Newburyport, and the proclamation of peace was published from the Court House by the Sheriff of the county, before the militia in arms, and a large concourse of gentlemen, and the evening was concluded in decent mirth and hilarity."

Authenticity of this Account Questioned.

Had the writer been satisfied with the above statement, it would doubtless have passed unchallenged, though nothing has appeared to corroborate the fact. But the next paragraph is sufficiently absurd to discredit the whole account. It represents that the ladies of Northampton, dissatisfied because they were not invited to join in the celebration, im-

1 In Mr. Judd's diary, under date of March 28th, is the following entry:—"Noise of peace but no particulars. Firing at Springfield last Evening and at Westfield to Day."

2 Rev. Samuel Spring of Newburyport married a daughter of Rev. Dr. Hopkins of Hadley.

proved one of their own the next day. It is stated that they drank thirteen toasts, and so proved their patriotism. While the report of such a celebration is not mentioned elsewhere, neither is the statement about the celebration on the part of the ladies contradicted by any contemporary writer.

Murder of Elisha
Brown.

An event which startled the community and caused considerable excitement throughout this section, took place on the 25th of July. Daniel Norton and others were engaged in shingling the barn of Elisha Brown, who lived in what is now Easthampton. While the work was in progress, Brown came to the barn with some men who had been reaping. The two parties began to joke each other, and in a few moments something more substantial than words began to pass between them. Their sport continued for a short time, when Norton, who was a very passionate man became greatly excited. He descended from the roof in a great rage, attacked Brown, and struck him so severely that he died upon the spot. The murderer was immediately seized, confined in the house and guarded. During the night he succeeded in making his escape through a window. The deed was committed on Friday. On Saturday a report was circulated that Norton had been seen in the vicinity of the tragedy. People in Northampton and Southampton organized searching parties and scoured the country. Three days afterwards a similar rumor prevailed, and another search was instituted, but the fugitive could not be found. Two years elapsed before anything more was heard from Norton, and then it was ascertained that he was living at or near New Milford, Ct. He had married again, though he left a wife here when he fled, and seemed to be in comfortable circumstances. Officers from Northampton arrested and brought him back, lodging him in jail. His trial took place before the Superior Court in May, 1786, when he was convicted of manslaughter, and sentenced to be branded and imprisoned. This murder, though not the result of malice, produced a great sensation in all this section. Rev. Mr. Williams in the church record calls Norton "a refugee from Long Island."

A Remonstrance from Northampton it seems had a special grievance, the nature of which does not appear upon the records. All that is known in reference to it is contained in the vote passed at the March meeting. A remonstrance and a petition had been prepared by a special committee, and another committee was appointed to prepare instructions to the representatives to use their influence in the General Court that an act should be passed agreeably to the desire of the town, as expressed in the document referred to. About the same time a vote was passed declaring that the town would not receive from any of its debtors any of the "consolidated state securities" in discharge of the "whole or part of their obligations." In what these "consolidated state securities" consisted has not been ascertained, nor has any further allusion to them been found.

An Ungallant Act. Safety for the Clock Winder. An article was inserted in the warrant for the March meeting, asking for the assignment of a pew in the front gallery of the meeting-house, to the young women, but the town very ungallantly refused to grant the request. In October, the selectmen were ordered "to make some Effectual Security for the person that shall be employed in taking care of the clock, in case the weight should at any time happen to fall." A clock had been placed in the steeple of the meeting-house as early as 1740. It was probably put there at the time of or soon after the building of the third house of worship. No record of its purchase, or of the payment of any money for it was ever made. This clock was wound by drawing the weights up by hand, the winder standing directly beneath them. The length of rope required was about forty feet. It is not known that any accident of the kind feared had then occurred. In later years, however, a person was killed by the fall of the weight when it had nearly reached its height.¹

1 In 1807, Martin Ely Jr., aged fifteen years, an apprentice of Nathan Storrs, goldsmith, was killed by the falling of the meeting-house clock weight.

Salary of Representatives. Permission to Erect a Meeting-House.

In March, 1784, private parties were allowed to erect a sun-dial at the east side of the belfry. Representatives were instructed not to draw any pay from the state treasurer for attendance at the General Court, but to draw mileage, and the town would pay all other expenses. They were to receive 2s. per day for their time and other reasonable charges, after deducting "the sums which they may receive from the State Treasurer for their travel." In May, permission was granted "the Inhabitants who live within the limits of the new proposed Parish to Erect a Meeting house on Town Land near the dwelling house of Mr. David Chapman, and also to cut such timber thereon as they shall have occasion."

Easthampton Incorporated.

Another attempt was made this year for the establishment of the new town of Easthampton. At the December meeting a committee was appointed to meet a committee designated by the General Court, to view and report concerning the expediency of forming a new district from the towns of Northampton and Southampton. This committee, together with others from the Legislature and from Southampton, met repeatedly, viewed the premises, and discussed the matter thoroughly. In accordance with their decision the question was settled at the next session of the Legislature, and an act of incorporation granted.

The Mob makes another Demonstration.

During this year very little was accomplished in the way of public agitation of the questions uppermost in men's minds. No report remains of any conventions held, though the mob spirit was not wholly in abeyance. In September an attempt was made to break up the Superior Court at Springfield, but it was not successful. The demonstration was deemed of sufficient importance to call out the militia. A company of fifty men¹ marched from Northampton to Springfield, under Capt. Solomon Allen. Some of them were in the service but a single day. The attempt seems not to have been very formidable. On the 29th Mr. Judd went to "Chickabee bridge, found the mob scattered yesterday; none dare to lead them."²

1 For muster-roll see Appendix. 2 Judd's Diary.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

DIVIDING THE COUNTY—HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE.

Schools for Girls. THE question of schooling girls at the expense of the town was again in agitation in the year 1785, but with no more favorable results than before. Fourteen years previously an attempt had been made to admit female children to the Lickingwater school, and it was negatived on the ground that those persons who were interested in bringing the subject before the town did not desire any such privilege. Now the proposition was speedily voted down, and recorded without so much as a single qualifying word. Attention was undoubtedly called to the matter at this time, because a private school for the co-education of the sexes already existed. During the previous year a number of persons had established a school for this purpose, and this is the first instance in the history of the town when boys and girls attended the same school. This fact, while it may have been an incentive to the attempt to admit both sexes to the town schools, possibly made by some who could ill afford the luxury of a private school, had also the effect of suppressing the proposition. Those who desired to send their daughters to such a school already had that privilege and were unwilling to pay taxes to aid those who did not. Another reason why it was desired to interest the town in the new departure, was that the new school was a close corporation, none but the proprietors being allowed to avail themselves of its privileges. Thirteen among the prominent citizens of the town were interested in this new educational enterprise, viz. :— Caleb Strong, Robert Breck, Quartus Pomeroy, Joseph Cook, Benjamin Tappan, Josiah Dickinson, Asahel Pomeroy, Levi Shepherd, Benjamin Sheldon, Elisha Lyman, Nathan-

iel Fowle, Ebenezer Hunt, and William Lyman. Dr. Shepherd, when in England, engaged Isaac Curson to take charge of the school, and brought him home. No law was then in existence forbidding the importation of laborers. He was to receive £24 per year, and his board. The school was opened Sept. 13, 1784, in a room hired for that purpose. In October, an arrangement was made with Elisha Alvord, and the school was removed to his shop, at the junction of Main and South Streets. A rental of 40s. per year was paid for the use of the building, and the cost of fitting it up was £4.12. Soon after, Robert Breck, Levi Shepherd, and Caleb Strong, petitioned the County Court for permission to build a private school-house on county land, "as near as may be in line with the meeting house and Court House, and northerly of the town school house." Permission was granted, and a building was erected in the highway at the corner of Main and King Streets. There the school was kept for several years, and the house was afterwards removed to Market Street. The school opened with twenty-five scholars, fifteen boys and ten girls. At the end of the first year the number of pupils had increased to thirty-two, and it never advanced beyond that figure. This school was continued under substantially the same proprietorship for about four years, when it was discontinued. There was a change of teachers, and the number of scholars was reduced to eight. It was afterwards revived, and seems to have been in existence in 1791. Reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, grammar, and Morse's geography, comprised the principal course of study, though some of the boys studied Latin, and both boys and girls were taught French.

Its First Teacher. Isaac Curson taught about two years and was succeeded by William Lyman. During part of the time Curson had an assistant, a Mr. Frye. Curson seems to have been an accomplished teacher, and an excellent scholar, but he was an unprincipled man. He got into difficulty and was obliged to leave town. Afterwards he taught private schools in Hatfield and in Berkshire County. He left a wife in England, but representing by what were supposed to be forged letters, that she was dead,

he sought the hand of Abigail Barnard of Deerfield. She declined his offer of marriage, and he threatened to shoot himself, but finally induced the girl to sign a marriage promise. When it became known that Curson's wife was living, Samuel Barnard, father of Abigail, came to Northampton and threatened to horsewhip Curson, but he escaped and went west.

School-House used for a Private School. In 1794, Levi Shepherd and others, probably the proprietors of this school, were granted the use of a room in the new school-house for a private school, under the direction of the selectmen. This may have been a continuation of the proprietor's school. How much longer it existed is not known. There is no further record concerning the use of the school-house for such a purpose.

A Counterfeit Bill. In 1785, the town voted to reimburse Timothy Parsons the value of a £30 counterfeit bill, which he received for rates in 1779. The selectmen were to ascertain the value of said bill by scale and order payment from the town treasurer. At that time the value of the bill was 13s. 5d. Whether it was originally taken at its par value is unknown.

Horse-Blocks Provided. Horse-blocks were again ordered at the east end of the meeting-house and at the gate of the burying yard. It was not the custom to drive or ride into the cemetery, but all dismounted at the entrance, and the procession marched to the grave.

Division of the County. For many years the question of dividing the county had been in agitation. In 1784 it was brought before the General Court. Two petitions for such a division were presented, whether in accordance with a general convention of the towns interested, is not clear. They were undoubtedly an outcome of the general uneasiness then prevailing: one of the means proposed for redressing the many grievances then so popular. One of these petitions is described as that of "Jas. Ball and others," and the other as that of "David Saxton,

Jonathan Ashley, Samuel Field and Jonas Baker." These petitioners were all residents of towns in the northern part of the county. Several of them belonged in Deerfield, and the rest in contiguous towns. The Legislature referred the matter to the several towns in the county, requesting them "to give their reasons why the county should not be divided agreeably to said petition." The question came before the town of Northampton, at a meeting held in May, when the town not only voted against it, but instructed its representatives "to use their Influence in the Gen'l Court to prevent any such Division of the County." The proposition was to form a new county from the northeastern portion of Hampshire and the northwestern part of Worcester County. The response from the towns was decidedly against any such division, and nothing further was done at that time. But the design was not abandoned. It was pressed again the next year, but without success.

A Convention Considers the Subject.

In May, 1786, a convention met at Hatfield for the purpose of discussing this question, in which forty-one towns were represented. Among the reasons advanced in favor of the proposition was the inconvenience of reaching the towns of Northampton and Springfield, where all the courts were held. The county then extended from the Vermont line on the north to that of Connecticut on the south, and the courts were held and all business transacted below the center of the county. The convention voted twenty-two against and nineteen in favor of a division. A vote to center the courts showed twenty-three against and eighteen in favor of such a proposition. The suggestion that two courts should be held at Deerfield, received twenty-four votes in its favor and seventeen against. Nothing, however, was accomplished, and many years elapsed before the county was divided.

Pews in the Meeting-House.

places.

This year saw the last of the benches in the meeting-house. All the long seats were taken out, and pews erected in their

The Newspaper. Events such as have been narrated prepared the way for the advent of the newspaper. Public sentiment was rapidly verging towards anarchy. People had for years demanded the overthrow of the Courts of Justice, were clamorous for the universal issue of paper money, and were seeking the repeal of laws that compelled men to pay their debts. In this burdened and helpless condition they attributed their misfortunes to the laws and to those who administered them. Listening to demagogues, self-appointed leaders, who sought reputation and power through the annihilation of all the safeguards of society, their respect for law and justice was being gradually undermined. This meant the abolition of all legal authority, and the end must result in the downfall of the republic, hardly yet fully established. In order to counteract this tendency it was deemed essential that the people should be enlightened. That they should be taught whither all this unlawful action was leading, and what dire results must ensue unless their better judgment came to the rescue. No more practical method could be devised to educate the community, to show the utter folly as well as the inevitably destructive tendency of the sentiments then prevailing, than through the columns of the weekly newspaper. There was no more effectual means of counteracting the evil influence of the demagogues who seemed then to be in the ascendant. Barely half a hundred papers had survived the Revolution, these were issued in the cities and larger towns, and few found their way into the remoter hamlets. Means of communication were slow and uncertain, newspapers were not admitted to the mails, and their circulation was restricted to within a few miles of their places of publication. The majority of them were published weekly, and none oftener than three times a week. Daily papers had then no existence on this continent, and people were satisfied with American news a week or two old, and foreign items were many months behind. The only newspaper in existence at that time in Western Massachusetts was published in Springfield.¹ Apparently it had little circulation

¹ The Massachusetts Gazette and General Advertiser, established in 1782, changed to the Hampshire Herald and Weekly Advertiser in 1785, and was discontinued in 1787. —Holland's History of Western Massachusetts, vol. 1, pp. 436, 437.

and less influence, as it was discontinued within a year. Whatever may have been its power and influence, it was considered too far distant to accomplish what was desired, and it was decided to establish another paper in the very heart of the affected district, the northern half of Hampshire County being at that time the hotbed of sedition and rebellion. Consequently a number of gentlemen in this part of the county determined to establish a newspaper in Northampton. It was hardly a newspaper in the present acceptance of that term that was designed. It was not a mouthpiece of the newsmonger, the politician, or the essayist that was proposed. It had a higher aim than the mere tittle-tattle of neighborhood gossip. Local happenings were patent to everyone, they were repeated from mouth to mouth, and had no need in the estimation of that day, to be embalmed in print.

The Advent of the
Hampshire Gazette.

The first newspaper in Northampton was established in 1786, by William Butler, a young man twenty-two years of age. It was an undertaking requiring no small amount of courage, even when backed by the leading patriots of the town, to launch a newspaper in such troublous times when the discontent with the then present order of things was at fever heat. The more so as its mission was to oppose the malcontents, and by argument and persuasion, stem the tide of lawlessness and mob rule. The leading men, the well-to-do citizens, the educated class, were strongly opposed to the course that had been pursued by the clamorous reformers, who, having little to lose and much to gain, were endeavoring to force their theories into operation, at the sacrifice of honor, justice and common honesty. At the suggestion and with the encouragement of the best men in the community, Mr. Butler, on the 6th of September, 1786, issued the first number of the Hampshire Gazette. Unfortunately no copy of the initial number of the paper can now be found. In his prospectus the editor states that he commences the enterprise "by the advice and encouragement of a number of Gentlemen in this county." His object is to enlighten the public and he asserts with truth that "It is well known that the establishment of schools

in every part of the country and the circulation of Newspapers, are among the principal causes which have led us to our present situation : the danger is that the enjoyment of peace and tranquility will produce inattention to these subjects ; that when the feelings excited by our troubles have subsided, our minds will sink into that indolence which is natural to such a state, our children will grow up in ignorance, and ignorance is the parent of slavery and all the national vices which mark the decline of empire." It was not so much the individual work of the editor that was relied upon to counteract the sentiments then prevailing, as it was the arguments and writings of the leading men of the day. In the very first number strong articles were printed against the general tendency of affairs in opposition to the conventions then being held, and arguing in favor of the existing government. Many of these papers, which were continued while the troubles lasted, were written by Major Hawley, Caleb Strong, Rev. Enoch Hale, and others. The clergy of the county, it is believed, contributed liberally to its columns in favor of good government. By no means was the discussion confined to one side. The insurgents also had their defenders, and column after column was filled with comments, strictures, replies and criticisms of both parties. Argument and sarcasm, both in prose and poetry, were brought to bear upon the questions at issue. On the whole the discussion was good natured, though many sharp thrusts were indulged in by all concerned. This thorough and able ventilation of the grounds of controversy must have been beneficial, and though it did not prevent the discontented from taking up arms against the government, must have strengthened the nerves of its supporters.

William Butler. His Printing-Office. William Butler, son of David, was born in Hartford, in 1763. He served an apprenticeship to the printing business in the office of Hudson & Goodwin, printers and publishers of that city. He came to Northampton with the purpose of establishing a newspaper in the summer of 1786.¹ His office was at first at the corner of Main and Pleasant Streets

¹ William Butler built a paper-mill in Northampton in 1795.

in the wooden building formerly the residence of Benjamin Prescott, since for many years occupied by the late Harvey Kirkland, on the ground where now stands the Lambie block. In a short time he erected a building on Pleasant Street. It was the third building from the Main Street corner, on the east side of the street. The printing-office was in the upper story, and on the main floor was a variety store carried on by his brother Daniel. William Butler married Huldah, daughter of Major John Brown of Pittsfield.

Means and Methods
of Circulation.

But few post-offices were then in existence, none having been established in this section of the valley north of Springfield. The paper was circulated almost wholly by carriers or post-riders, who covered nearly the whole of Hampshire and much of Berkshire Counties. From Williamstown on the west to Ware and Hardwick on the east, and from Wendall on the North to Springfield on the south, these men made weekly journeys. At some of the nearer points, not covered by the post-riders, the subscribers in a neighborhood took turns in coming to the office for the papers, or to some convenient point on the carrier's route. Mr. Butler was obliged to send to Springfield once a week for his exchanges and other mail-matter. Frequently he went himself, sometimes he hired a man, and always made it a point to enlist the good offices of any one who had business at that place. It was probably on one of these occasions that he made himself amenable to the law against traveling on Sunday. In 1787, at the September term of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, "Wm. Butler, printer and traveller," was indicted by the grand jury for traveling "on the 13th of May, the same being the Sabbath or Lord's Day, unlawfully and unnecessarily & with force and arms between the sunrising and sunsetting of the same day from the Dwelling House of Zenas Parsons in Springfield, in s'd county thro' the town of South Hadley in s'd county to Northampton in the same county, the same not being from necessity or charity, in evil example to others against the Peace and Dignity of the Commonwealth & the law in such cases made and provided." Butler plead *nolo con-*

tendere, and was fined 10s. and costs amounting to £1.1.4. Rather an expensive bit of news for that issue of the paper, and not very likely to be repeated. Zenas Parsons was an innholder in Springfield, his tavern being located on what is now Court-House Square.

Still in Existence. The newspaper, born amid the troubles and discontents of those disastrous times, still survives, now as ever the upholder of true and honest government, and a leader in all that makes for morality, religion and right.

The Newspaper was Needed. It was high time that some influence should be brought to bear to counteract the unsound ideas that were floating through the community. The newspaper came none too soon. But its influence was not immediate. The movement which gave impetus to the rebellion, named from its leader—Daniel Shays—had already begun. Four years before, the first act in the drama was played at Northampton, and so also the second, that opened the rebellion in earnest, appeared upon the same stage.

The Discontent Increases. Since the trouble with Ely, practically very little had been accomplished to better the condition of affairs. The embers of discontent were still smouldering, with an occasional isolated outbreak, and but a breath was required to cause them to burst into a general conflagration. Of all the reasons for dissatisfaction none were so trivial but that some among the disaffected seized upon and marshalled them before the public. Whatever had a suspicion of evil in it was eagerly caught up and paraded in its darkest hues. Two classes, the merchants and the lawyers, who alone seemed to be even fairly prosperous, were denounced in unmeasured terms. The merchants, accused of accumulating wealth through the gains of commerce, were arraigned for their luxurious living, and charged with exciting in others a desire to imitate them, that they might grow richer while they made the people poorer. But most pronounced among the grievances to be abated were lawyers. They were hated

with a hatred that grew by what it fed on, and was bitter and deep-seated. With the revival of the machinery of the law, which had been to some extent thrust aside during the struggle for liberty, lawyers became the most prosperous among the professional classes. Debts had multiplied to an enormous extent, everywhere the law was invoked to enforce payment, and the attorneys were coining money. The demand had increased the supply much beyond the ordinary number, and they soon became a shining mark for the vengeance of the discontented. This jealousy against lawyers prevailed throughout the state. They were denounced in the strongest terms of reproach, the press was used to vilify them and they were regarded as rogues, rascals, and thieves, and to them was attributed the largest share of the ills under which the country groaned. Pointed out as the class to be abolished, the electors were strongly urged to leave them out of office, and to instruct their representatives to annihilate them. These sentiments prevailed to such an extent throughout the state, that lawyers were very generally omitted from the role of legislators chosen in 1786. Much seems to have been anticipated from this onset upon the legal fraternity, but the malcontents were greatly disappointed in the results of legislative action. The lower house passed a bill regulating the practice of the law as well as the fee list, but the Senate refused to concur, postponing its consideration to the next session. Then the House refused to act upon a petition from Bristol County for an emission of paper money, and the popular plan of making real and personal estate a tender at an appraisement in discharge of executions, was also defeated. After having negatived these and some other matters of legislation demanded by the disaffected, the Legislature adjourned early in July.¹

Conventions again
Resorted to.

Failing to carry out their propositions in the General Court, the reformers or "regulators," as they styled themselves, sought to compass their ends by means of county conventions. The rapidity with which these meetings followed each other points to a preconcerted plan to excite the people to the

¹ Minot's Insurrections, pp. 29-32.

utmost throughout the Commonwealth, and in the end gain by violence what they did not succeed in accomplishing by packing the Legislature. Nothing so inflamed the people as the discussion by wily demagogues of their so-called grievances, and no opportunity was better fitted to that end than these gatherings. Voting themselves lawful and constitutional bodies—a formula that was never omitted—seems to have endowed them in the minds of their promoters, with supreme power. While there was nothing pertaining to government that was not a grievance, their principal and favorite method of redress was the stoppage of the courts. It was the one thing the disaffected could themselves accomplish. For the rest they must await the formal action of the constituted government. In the same breath they denounced lawlessness and decried the only constituted means by which crime could be punished. They belittled government in all that pertained to its functions, and voted that the safeguards which protected property, and made society possible, were grievances that ought to be abated. By incendiary appeals they marshalled the forces of rebellion, and mildly deprecated overt action. It was a trick of the demagogues to work up the passions of their followers to the simmering point, and then serenely implore them not to boil over.

The Opening Convention.

The first of these conventions that set the forces of the unruly in motion, convened at Worcester, on the 15th of August, five weeks after the adjournment of the Legislature. A month before the convention was held a paper was circulated throughout the County of Worcester, which received thousands of signatures. The subscribers bound themselves to use their best endeavors to prevent the sitting of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas or of any other court that should attempt to take property by distress. They also agreed to prevent any public sales of personal property seized by distress, even at the risk of their lives and fortunes, till their grievances were legally redressed.¹ In this convention thirty-seven towns were represented: the deplorable state of the times was enlarged upon, and a for-

1 McMaster's History of the People of the United States, vol. 1, p. 306.

midable list of grievances paraded before the public. They proclaimed the sitting of the General Court as one of the first causes of discontent; bewailed the want of a circulating medium; complained of the abuses in the practice of the law and the exorbitance of the fee table; arraigned the existence of the Court of Common Pleas; denounced the appropriating of revenues derived from the impost and excise to the payment of the interest on the securities; found fault with the number of state officials and their salaries; objected to the payment of money to Congress while our public accounts remained unsettled; and begged the people not to resort to unconstitutional or unlawful methods of redress. Correspondence with other counties was arranged for and similar gatherings rapidly followed throughout the State. The earliest response to this appeal came within a week, when another gathering was had at Hatfield.

Hatfield Con-
vention.

Fifty towns in Hampshire County were represented by delegates at this convention, held on the 22^d of August. This assembly was convened in consequence of circular letters from certain persons in Pelham, who had been in all probability, members of the Worcester convention. The meeting in Hatfield was three days in session, and the leading questions of the day were fully discussed. Upon its action as upon that of the previous convention held at the same place four years before, the regulators based their authority for open rebellion, which speedily followed. Undoubtedly Northampton was represented in this convention, though no names of delegates have come to light. Having first voted themselves a constitutional body, they adopted a list of seventeen grievances.¹ First among their heavy burdens was the Senate, then followed the mode of representation, the fee table, the method of appropriating the impost and excise duties, and the existence of courts was not forgotten. Annexed were several recommendations to the towns, suggesting that they should instruct their representatives to endeavor to have the conclusions of this convention enacted by the Legislature. Among the recom-

1 For list of grievances and votes, see Minot's Insurrections, pp. 34, 35.

mendations was a demand for paper money subject to depreciation; another proposed a revision of the constitution; still another suggested an immediate session of the General Court to redress grievances; the whole winding up with the customary advice to the inhabitants of the county to abstain from all unlawful assemblies, until a constitutional method of redress could be obtained.

Result of this Assembly.

Whatever may have been the opinion of this convention, as expressed by its vote against mob violence, the real design of its instigators was to break up the court to be held at Northampton the following week. Mr. Judd in noting the choice of delegates from Southampton, adds:—"the design is to break up the court next week."¹ In this connection may be stated the fact that in September, Northampton, after having the list of grievances set forth by the convention, read aloud in town-meeting, voted, "that the several articles therein contained ought not to be considered grievances, excepting that they were of the opinion that the Court of General Sessions of the Peace was unnecessary."

The hot-headed regulators found in the Hatfield gathering opportunity to air their vocabulary of oppression without check. Their harangues inspired their followers with a determination to redress at least one of their grievances, and four days afterwards, on the 29th of August, a mob assembled at Northampton, and opened the first act in the drama of the Shays rebellion in the County of Hampshire.

1 Judd's Diary.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SHAYS REBELLION.

Opening Events. ON the last Tuesday in the month of August, the Court of General Sessions of the Peace assembled in this town, when it was met by a mob of armed rioters, fifteen hundred¹ in number, determined to prevent it from transacting any business. The result of this demonstration is best told in the language of the Clerk of the Courts, who made the following entry upon the records:—

“ Hampshire ss. At the Court of Common Pleas holden at Northampton, within and for the County of Hampshire on the last Tuesday of August, Anno Domini, 1786.

“ Justices of the said Court present, viz. :
Eleazar Porter, Esq.
John Bliss, Esq.
Samuel Mather, Esq.

“ Early in the morning of this Day, there was collected a considerable Number of Persons under Arms who paraded near the Court House, with a professed Design to prevent this court from sitting; a committee from whom presented a Petition requesting the Court would not proceed to do any Business; the Court having considered thereof, thought proper to open the same at the House of Capt. Sam'l Clark, Innholder in Northampton, & having continued all matters pending in said Court, to the term of this Court next to be holden at Springfield in & for the County of Hampshire on the second Tuesday of November next, adjourned without day.

Att. Robert Breck, Cler.”

The Mob in Control. Armed, some with muskets, some with bludgeons, and some with swords, with drums beating and fifes playing, the mob held possession of the Court-House till midnight, when they quietly dispersed. They are represented as having conducted them-

¹ Minot's Insurrections, p. 37. The newspapers of the day report that four hundred or five hundred men were present.

selves with "less insolence and violence, and with more sobriety and good order, than is generally expected from such a miscellaneous crowd bent on such an unlawful errand." No names of the leaders of this demonstration have been preserved, and it is not known whether any of the men who were afterwards foremost in the rebellion, were conspicuous in this affair or not. Their design was accomplished with ease, and for the time being lawlessness was in the ascendant. Appended is the comment of an eye-witness:—

"All is again afloat. No law, nor order. Prison full of criminals, but none can be punished. Monarchy is better than the Tyranny of the mob. Tories appear with pleasant Countenances others with long Faces." Again he says:—"What the consequences of these things none can tell. Destruction seems to await us."¹

The Governor's Proclamation. Gov. Bowdoin met these lawless proceedings by a vigorous proclamation, denouncing such treasonable practices, and calling upon every citizen and all officers, civil, military and judicial, to suppress any similar riotous assemblages, and bring their leaders to condign punishment. He also called the Legislature together on the 18th of October. But the spread of the disorderly sentiment induced him to change the time of assembling to the 17th of September.

Demonstrations by the Rioters Elsewhere. During the following week the prescribed programme of stopping the courts was carried out in Worcester. A mob of three hundred men and upwards took possession of the Court-House, though one of the Judges argued with them two hours without effect. The Court of Common Pleas adjourned *sine die* and the Court of Sessions to the 21st of November. On the 11th of September, Job Shattuck with several hundred men prevented a session of the courts in Middlesex County. The Court of General Sessions was to sit at Concord the following week, and the Governor ordered out the militia for its protection. Citizens of Concord and other towns, hoping to pacify the mob by lenient measures, appointed committees to confer with the insurgents, and upon the recommendation of these committees,

¹ Judd's Diary.

seconded by the Justices of the Court, that no interference with the Courts would be attempted, the order calling out the militia for Middlesex was absolutely countermanded, and that for Bristol conditionally delayed. Having induced the government to withdraw the troops, the insurgents broke faith with the committees, and appeared in great force at Concord under command of Job Shattuck. They took possession of the Court-House, and prevented the session of the court. Simultaneously with the unlawful acts in Hampshire, a convention was held in Lenox, Berkshire County. This body contained a majority of conservatives, and the results of its deliberations were not what the malcontents desired or expected. Instead of treason it professed loyalty to the government, and voted to support the courts of justice. Contrary to its suggestions, however, when the court opened at Great Barrington, a few days afterwards, a mob of eight hundred persons assembled. They not only prevented the court from sitting, but released the prisoners confined in the jail. This mob went a step beyond the others, and compelled three of the four Judges to sign an agreement not to act under their commissions till the grievances complained of had been redressed. In Bristol County, though the orders for assembling the militia were partially countermanded, yet the people appeared under arms, and the courts were not interrupted.

The Criminal Courts
Attacked.

Up to this time the demonstrations of the insurgents had been confined to the courts which had power in civil suits only, including those for the non-payment of debts and taxes, though some opposition had also been manifested to certain features of the Probate Courts. The proceedings of the rioters against the judiciary brought them under the cognizance of the criminal courts, and rendered them liable to arrest and trial for treason. Through the same means by which they had for the time being escaped the payment of their honest debts, they now sought to evade punishment for their misdeeds. By silencing the criminal courts they thought they could save their necks in a manner similar to that by which they had saved their money. To this quarter the attention of the insurgents was now directed.

The Supreme Judicial
Court Assailed.

Little excuse existed for an attack upon the Supreme Judicial Court, but the insurgents decided that this too must be discontinued. No indictments had been found against any of the rioters by these courts since the unlawful proceedings commenced, and while Grand Juries were composed of the friends and neighbors of the criminals, there was little likelihood that any such action would be taken. But the leaders of the disturbing element determined to prevent the higher courts from accomplishing business of any kind. Heretofore the government had endeavored to conciliate the malefactors by mild treatment, but this was carrying opposition to the law too far, and it was decided to protect the courts at all hazards. The rioters made no attempt to conceal their designs, but boldly announced their intention of interfering with the fall session of the Supreme Judicial Court for Hampshire County, soon to be held at Springfield. Gov. Bowdoin took the ground that no more courts should be "held up" with impunity, and invoked the aid of the militia for their protection. Flushed with the easy victories in the eastern counties, the leaders of the insurgents were anticipating equally satisfactory results in the western section of the State.

Some of the Insur-
gent Leaders.

Prominent among the leaders in Hampshire County were Daniel Shays of Pelham and Luke Day of West Springfield. The latter served through the Revolutionary war, reaching the grade of captain, and by his bravery and skill earning the brevet title of Major. He was poor, suffered in common with others, and was a man of plausible speech and ready tongue, of which he made excellent use in stirring up and keeping alive the prevailing discontent. He gathered quite a company of men, whom he drilled daily on West Springfield Common, and aspired to be a leader in the movement. Associated with him were Elijah Day, Benjamin Ely and Daniel Luddington. Shays, whose notoriety as leader gave a name to the movement, had also served in the Revolution, but left the army in 1780. Judge Samuel Hinckley, who came to Northampton from Brookfield in 1781, gives the following account of Shays¹ :—

¹ Judd MSS.

Shays and a man named Cutler, (afterwards Gen. Cutler), lived as hired men with Mr. Hinckley's father at Brookfield, for two years preceding the Revolutionary war. Both men were smart, active men, and received £16 (\$53.33) per annum, when the common price was £15 (\$50). Shays had much taste for the military, and the boys were in the habit of assembling with wooden guns and swords, and Shays would exercise them. Mr. Hinckley had often marched in that company. When the company of minute men was formed in 1774, Rufus Putnam was Captain, and Shays and Cutler were Sergeants. They had no bells and no cannon in Brookfield, and all alarms were given by conch shells. The day after the battle of Lexington, the shells were sounded, and Capt. Putnam's company soon marched. Capt. Putnam was speedily promoted to the rank of major, and Shays and Cutler became officers in a short time. Shays continued in the army till 1780, when he had the rank of Lieut. When Lafayette came over, he brought a large number of elegant swords, many of which he gave to the subordinate officers of the army. Shays received one of them, but as he had a good one already, he sold the one given him by Lafayette. This excited the indignation of his company, and of the officers of his regiment. An outcry was made about his meanness in selling the gift of Lafayette. The officers refused to associate with him, and talked about trying him by Court Martial for his base conduct. He resigned and came home much incensed against the other officers, and even against Washington. He was a disappointed man. The people of Brookfield censured him, and even his father-in-law, Capt. Daniel Gilbert, whose daughter he married after the war commenced, blamed him, and made severe remarks about his selling the sword. He remained in Brookfield a few years and then removed to Pelham.

"On Election day, in May, 1786, Col. Porter's regiment met in Hadley, and Shays appeared at the head of the Pelham company. His activity and his officer-like appearance, excited admiration, and were the subjects of much conversation."

The Affair in Springfield. Tuesday, September 26th, was the time appointed for the regular session of the Supreme Court at Springfield. Aware that preparations were being made to interfere with this court, the Governor ordered out the militia of Hampshire County, and gave the command to Gen. William Shepherd of Westfield. The troops began to assemble on the 23^d, when about one hundred twenty of them took possession of the Court-House, and before the session of the court commenced, one thousand or more were on the ground. The insurgents, under the command of Shays, were of nearly equal numbers, but were poorly armed, only about one half of them having guns. At the appointed time the Judges appeared

and the court was opened. But on account of the absence of the Grand Jury, most of whom were under arms guarding the Court-House, no business could be done. Great numbers of people flocked into the town during the day, joining one side or the other. Some of the militia companies ordered out to protect the courts, went over to the insurgents bodily. For an insignia the malcontents adopted a sprig of hemlock, which each man placed in his hat, while the law and order men pinned a piece of white paper to their head-gear. Finding that the government party were acting on the defensive, Shays sent an insolent demand to the court, stating on what conditions he would disband his forces. His first requisite was that no indictments should be found against his men for their acts, either at Northampton or Springfield; he proposed that no civil cases should be tried except where both parties were willing; and finally he demanded that the militia then in the field should not be paid for their services. A prompt and vigorous denial was made to these preposterous propositions, the court declaring its intention to execute the law in accordance with the requirements of the statutes. This reply exasperated the rioters more than ever and they threatened to attack the militia. Then they whined to the court, complaining that the government forces had insulted them, and would not permit them to march where they pleased. They were told that they could go where they wanted to, provided they behaved themselves properly. Accordingly they paraded back and forth before the militia, possibly with the hope of intimidating them. It is claimed that Shays with difficulty prevented his followers from firing upon the soldiers. On the third day, when it became apparent that no jury could be impaneled, the court adjourned, deciding not to attempt to open a court in Berkshire County, as had been the custom. The militia remained upon the ground, and the mob, madder than ever, threatened to drive them away. They marched valiantly up and down in front of the government forces, but deeming "discretion the better part of valor," eventually retired to their former position. Gen. Shepherd, considering the arsenal of more importance than an empty Court-House, stationed his forces so as to cover that point. The insur-

gents at once captured the abandoned Court-House, and after enjoying their triumph for a single day, dispersed. Soon after the military were withdrawn.

Mr. Judd's Account
of the Demonstration.

Jonathan Judd Jr., of Southampton, was one of the men who volunteered at the call of the authorities to oppose the rioters, and at the risk of some slight repetition, the following extracts from his diary are given :—

“ Tuesday [Sept.] 26, 1786, 60 or 70 of the Militia set off for Springfield, very early to support the Government. About 8 I set out, some from Westhampton likewise got to Springfield about 10. Militia at the Court House and the mob above Ferry. About 1 the Mob marched down in order and back: about 900 armed and unarmed. Government upwards of 1000. Court sit in the afternoon. A very sorrowful day. Brother against Brother. Father against Son. The Mob threaten the Lives of all that oppose them. Came away about sunset.

“ Wednesday, 27. Went with Dr. Woodbridge about 9. Got to Springfield by 12. Lines are drawn and Centuries kept by each Party. Looks more threatening than yesterday. Committees from each have met but cannot agree. Court did business in the P. M. our situation is truly deplorable. An alarm about 7; but rest of the Night was Quiet.

“ Thursday 28. Mob threaten much but they are not coming. Those who threaten most do the least. The agreement nearly completed yesterday is finished. Militia march on to the Hill. the Mob march and countermarch thro the Town. Militia discharged about 3 P. M. Mob are high yet, not lowered tho [they have] lost their vim. I came away about 5; nothing but fire and Smoke where the Mob are.

“ Fryday 29. Militia got home in afternoon.”

Other Volunteers.

No record of the militia from this town who served on this occasion has been found. Undoubtedly Northampton sent its quota, but the muster-roll has not been preserved. People who went to Springfield as lookers-on, organized themselves into companies on the spot, received arms, and joined the ranks of the militia. A muster-roll is extant which contains the names of eighty persons, who thus organized themselves after reaching the scene of the disturbance. It bears this endorsement :—

“ The above gentlemen who were spectators in the Great Mob at Springfield, Sept. 28, 1786, at the Time when the Insurgents collected to Break up the Supreme Court, and made choice of Gen. Warham Parks as Capt., Ruggles Woodbridge, 1st Lieut., Col. Whitmore 2^d do., Lt. Seth Colten, Ensign, who cheerfully accepted the command of the

company & after being organized were armed at the Public Store." There is a further endorsement of "6 doz. Arms sent in a Waggon."

Few if any of the persons named on the roll were from Northampton, Levi Shepherd being the only one known to have belonged here. Some were from Southampton, others were probably residents of Springfield, West Springfield, Longmeadow and Westfield.

The Mob in Berk-
shire.

When the court decided not to hold a session in Berkshire County, the malcontents therein professed to believe that it was only a ruse, and on the day appointed for the meeting, appeared in great force at Great Barrington. Disappointed at not finding any court to overawe, the crowd became turbulent and vented their rage upon such government officials and supporters of existing laws as they could lay their hands upon. A number of houses were searched, several persons fired upon, and much lawlessness perpetrated.

Legislative Action Re-
sented by the Mob.

Meanwhile the Legislature came together and the Governor in his address strongly condemned the course of the insurgents. Immediately the discontented in Worcester, Middlesex and Suffolk Counties met in conventions and drew up petitions in which their grievances were recited and legislation agreeable to their ideas suggested. Other petitions, similar in character, came from towns in all sections of the Commonwealth. These documents were taken into consideration by the General Court, and a number of acts calculated to bring about a better state of affairs, were passed. The action of the Governor in calling out the militia was approved, and payment for their services voted. While the session was in progress, the time came for holding the Supreme Court at Taunton, and effectual means were provided for its protection. Similar preparations were made to protect the court to be holden at Cambridge the following week.

Shays Musters his
Forces.

On the 23^d of October, Shays issued an order from his headquarters at Pelham to the selectmen in the different towns in Hampshire County, requesting them, inasmuch as the General Court had determined to punish all who appeared to stop

the courts, to assemble their men together, "to see that they were well armed and equipped with sixty rounds each man, and to be ready to turn out at a minute's warning; likewise to be properly organized with officers."¹ The House of Representatives had manifested a desire to temporize, but this defiance of Shays seemed to brace them up, and a bill was passed to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and to empower the Governor to arrest and imprison without bail the leaders of the rebellion. Among the measures passed by the Legislature for the relief of the prevailing distress, were:— a provision for collecting the arrear of taxes in specific articles, an act making real and personal estate a tender in discharge of executions, and for rendering law processes less expensive, as well as a promise that in future, if possible, the sessions of the General Court should be held in Boston. A riot act was also passed imposing penalties upon all who were in rebellion, such as confiscation of property, punishment by whipping, imprisonment, etc. At the same time indemnity was provided by which all who submitted according to the terms offered should be pardoned. After a session of two months, on the 18th of November, the Legislature adjourned, having in addition to its other proceedings issued an address to the people. Its acts, however, did not satisfy the malcontents, and they were as bold and defiant as ever. Construing the leniency of the government as an indication of weakness, the mob continued the business of holding conventions and stopping the courts as vigorously as before. A convention was at once held in Worcester County, which adopted an address to the public, in which the action of the Legislature was strongly condemned. The course of the mob in opposing the courts was also disapproved and the people advised not to do so any more. Before this document was issued the mob assembled at Worcester, when the November term of the Court of General Sessions came on, and succeeded in preventing it from transacting any business.

The Government Decides to Protect the Judiciary.

Measures were at once taken by the Governor to arrest the leaders of the mob and protect the courts. The militia were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for active service,

¹ Hampshire Gazette, Nov. 15, 1786.

and warrants for the arrest of the most prominent men among the insurgents were issued. As the time approached for holding the December term of the Court of Common Pleas at Cambridge, indications of disturbance appeared, and Gov. Bowdoin ordered seven regiments of militia to be ready to march at a moment's notice. Another attempt to placate the mob, similar to that which had been so unsuccessfully tried a short time before, was made. Promises were given by influential citizens that if the insurgents would make no demonstration, the soldiers would not appear. In spite of this pledge, which was readily accepted by the agitators, a large body of them gathered at Concord, expecting reinforcements from Bristol, Hampshire and Worcester. But the militia received no orders to march. This new, but by no means unexpected act of duplicity, led the Governor to take more decisive action, and a detachment of horsemen was quickly dispatched to arrest the leaders. In a short time Parker, Page and Shattuck, were in the hands of the law. The latter fought bravely for his liberty, and was sorely wounded.

A Demonstration at
Worcester.

Early in December, a thousand men were gathered at Worcester under command of Shays, most of whom were billeted upon the inhabitants. Among the reinforcements drawn from this county were about one hundred fifteen men from Belchertown, West Springfield and Longmeadow, commanded by Luke Day. In addition to the men under the immediate command of Day when he reached Leicester, about fifty more followed and afterwards joined him. Following is an extract of a letter from Springfield, dated Dec. 4, 1786:—

“By the best accounts I can get, Capt. Day received orders yesterday, by express, from Capt. Shays, to march to Worcester, all the men he could raise. He hath spared no pains to collect them. However I expect two-thirds of the men whom he expects, will fail him. Perhaps his party from Westfield and West Springfield will consist of 100 or 300 men. The mob party from Long Meadow have this moment arrived, after two or three expresses sent them: but their number is only four poor boys.”¹

¹ Hampshire Gazette, Dec. 20, 1786.

The Mob Excited. When the news of the arrest of the insurgent leaders reached Worcester, great excitement ensued. Some were ready to give up the struggle and return home; others were in favor of marching to Boston to release them. The weather was extremely cold, the roads blocked by huge drifts of snow, and many of the insurgents were disinclined to fight both the government and the elements. While there was little to fear from any movement by the mob upon Boston, precautions were taken to secure the chief city of the Commonwealth. The militia of Middlesex were put under marching orders, and the chief command given to Gen. Lincoln.

Shays Retreats. Instead of advancing, however, Shays retreated, and then commenced the real sufferings of his party. With the mercury far below zero, the snow deep and much drifted, with scarce any provisions, and marching through a country in which they found little sympathy, the retreat became disastrous and disheartening in the extreme. Cold and hungry, weak and exhausted, many of them were frozen to death, and scarce any escaped without marks of frost upon their persons. Notwithstanding these hardships the leaders managed to keep their men together, and very few of them disbanded. Shays with the largest contingent retreated to Rutland, where he remained some time.

Northampton Greets the Mob. Many of the mob, however, had had enough of winter campaigning, and set out for home as soon as possible. A squad of Berkshire malcontents marched through this town on their homeward way. The reception they met with and its results are thus reported in the Hampshire Gazette of December 13th :—

“ On Monday last, as a party of the Berkshire insurgents were returning from Worcester, through this town, a little ludicrous jocularly from six or eight of the unarmed inhabitants, produced abusive and insulting language, and even a violent onset with swords, guns, bayonets; some of each party were badly wounded in the rencountre, which must have ended seriously, had not the speedy and timely collection of the inhabitants, under their proper officers prevented.

“ The affair was hapily terminated by a compromise; although by

information from some of the insurgents and others, some kind of injury to the inhabitants of this town was evidently preconcerted.

“ From the present inflammable temper of many minds, the necessity of avoiding even the smallest appearance of rudeness and insult, will be realized by every worthy member of society. In such circumstances, even common jocularity may be misconstrued and eventually attended with consequences that must make humanity shudder! and fill every man of feeling and sensibility with horror!

“ On the evening of the 11th inst. William Hartley, one of the insurgents, returning through this town to Williamsburg, his place of residence, was unfortunately, (being much fatigued) overcome with the intense severity of the weather. His body was found the next morning near the road to Mill-stone Mountain Plain, by some of the same party, who applied to the coronor to summon his Inquest, whose verdict after regular process, was that he came to his death by the mischance of severe cold.”

An Important Con-
vention.

On Tuesday, November 7th, in obedience to the summons of Col. Bonney, a convention consisting of thirty-two delegates from twenty-seven or twenty-eight towns assembled at Hadley, which continued in session three days. Its first business was to appoint a committee “to consider and draft an answer to the late publications in the Hampshire Herald and Gazette, under the signature of Old Republican.” This (to judge by the time the convention spent upon it) seems to have been considered as much the greatest grievance. They also resolved that the office of Registry of Deeds and the Courts of Probate as constituted by law, were grievances. A committee was also appointed to correspond with the standing committees of other counties, and a vote was passed to send letters to such towns in the county as were not represented. The convention then adjourned to meet at the house of Samuel Dickinson in Hatfield, on the 2^d of January, 1787. The committee appointed to reply to Old Republican, declined to serve. The convention met agreeably to adjournment, and issued an address, advising the insurgents to lay aside their arms and petition the Legislature “for a redress of our grievances,” and once more adjourned to meet at Mr. Goodman’s, innholder in Hadley, on the third Tuesday in March. But before that time the backbone of the rebellion had been broken, and nothing more concerning its proceedings has been recorded. Con-

ventions had lost their hold upon the community. They had become the mouthpiece of the mob, and many towns in the county refused to send delegates to this one. All that had been accomplished by them seems to have been by the rule of contraries. Each one of them advocated the abolition of the courts, but voted against armed opposition to them. It is a fact that only in the counties in which conventions had been held, had open rebellion and outrage actually taken place. Now on the eve of the greatest conflict between the rebels and the government, it was proposed to lay down arms and petition. The same rule of contraries still applied.

The Rebels State
their Case.

Emboldened by their success in breaking up the courts in Worcester County, the insurgents next turned their attention to those of Hampshire. Their first demonstration was an address to the people, issued by Daniel Gray, chairman of a committee appointed for that purpose. It was dated at Worcester, and in it were cited the "principal causes of the late risings of the people, and also of their present movement." They were in brief :—the "present expensive mode of collecting debts, which by reason of the great scarcity of cash, will fill the jails, and thereby render a reputable body of people incapable of being serviceable either to themselves or the community ;" the money "raised by impost and excise being appropriated to discharge the interest of government securities and not the foreign debt when these securities are not subject to taxation ;" "a suspension of the writ of habeas corpus ;" "the unlimited power granted to civil officers by the riot act," and "indemnifying them in the prosecution thereof," when they are actuated by motives of "revenge, hatred and envy." Following this list of grievances was a communication from Thomas Grover, dated at Worcester, in which "in defence of the rights and privileges of the people" he demands :— the removal of the General Court from Boston ; a revision of the constitution ; stopping the payment of interest on government securities that had been purchased by speculators at a discount ; the sale of the public lands in the eastern part of the state, and the payment of the proceeds towards the domestic debt ;

the money raised by impost and excise to be used to discharge the foreign debt; the repeal of the supplementary aid act; "the total abolition of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace;" the abolition of the office of Deputy Sheriff, and that constables be empowered to do their duties. These documents were published in the Hampshire Gazette of Dec. 27. The next week a communication appeared in the same paper, stating that Thomas Grover, who belonged in Montague, hearing that a movement was on foot to capture him, "with his usual presence of mind and wonted audacity, boldly put on his snow shoes and took to the woods to secure himself from the danger and duplicate grievance of being taken and brought to justice."

A Committee of Strategy. In order the better to carry out their designs, the rebel leaders sought to organize their forces, and a committee of seventeen was chosen from among the companies in the county to accomplish this end. The list contains no name from Northampton.

The Demonstration at Springfield. Notwithstanding this war of words on the part of the regulators, no demonstration was made by either party, either to assail or protect the courts. A court met at Springfield on the 26th of December. The following account of what took place at that time is copied from the Hampshire Gazette of January 3, 1787:—

“The Court of General Sessions of the Peace and the Court of Common Pleas, by the late resolve of the General Court, were directed to be holden at Springfield, on the 26th ult. In the morning of that day a number of armed men took possession of the ground near the Court House, with an avowed design to prevent the Justices entering the house. A committee from the insurgents waited on the Justices with a request, that the courts might not be opened, and intimations were given that very disagreeable consequences would follow, in case of non-compliance, and sentinels were placed at the door of the room where the Justices had assembled. As no Jurors had been summoned, and no business was proposed to be done, if there had been no opposition, except choosing a Clerk, and so no force had been collected or attempted to be collected to support the courts, the Justices present thought it prudent and necessary to inform the said committee that the courts

would not be opened at that time. The committee requested an answer in writing; the Justices informed them, if they expected a written answer, they must exhibit their request in writing; they retired and soon after produced their written request, of which the following is a copy:—

“Springfield, Dec. 26, 1786.

“We request the Hon. Judges of this Court, not to open said Court at this term nor do any kind of business whatsoever, but all kinds of business remain as though no such court had been appointed.

LUKE DAY
DANIEL SHAYS
THOMAS GROVER.”

“To which the following answer was returned:—

“Springfield, Dec. 26, 1786.

“The Justices of the Court of Common Pleas and Court of General Sessions of the Peace, now assembled at Springfield, in consideration of the opposition made to the opening of the said Courts, have determined not to do any business or open the said Courts this term.

ELEAZAR PORTER.”

“Soon after which the insurgents amounting as was supposed to about 300 quietly dispersed.”

The Government
Acts.

When the report of the above transaction reached Boston, the government determined to take vigorous and effective measures to support the laws. The January session of the courts for Worcester County was at hand, and they must be thoroughly and effectively protected. It was decided, therefore, to raise an army of four thousand four hundred men to serve for thirty days and crush the rebellion. The quotas from Hampshire and Worcester Counties were the largest and comprised twelve hundred men each. Those from this county were to rendezvous at Springfield on the 18th of January. The command was conferred on Major Benj. Lincoln. There was no money in the State Treasury to meet the expenditure entailed by this proceeding and no means of providing for it at such short notice. This difficulty was surmounted by the efforts of a number of patriotic citizens of the Commonwealth, who voluntarily loaned to the government the sum needed. It was subsequently repaid by a vote of the Legislature. An address was issued by the Governor, in which he enumerated the measures taken to enforce the laws, and called upon the people to co-operate with the government in restoring order, harmony and peace within the Commonwealth.

The Insurgents Prepare to Resist.

The address of the Governor was dated the 12th of January. On the 15th, the insurgents presented a manifesto, signed by Shays and four other leaders, to the company officers throughout the county, urging the assembling of their commands, well armed and equipped with ten days' provisions, and that they march in season to be at or near Dr. Hinds in Pelham, by Friday, the 19th inst. In this document it is asserted that the "Governor and his adherents" had not only determined to support the courts "by the point of the sword," "but to crush the power of the people at one bold stroke, and render them incapable of ever opposing the cruel power, Tyranny by bringing those who have stepped forth to ward off the evil that threatens the people with immediate ruin, to an unconditioned submission, and their leaders with an infamous punishment."¹

The Arsenal to be Seized.

In Springfield had been established during the Revolution a Federal arsenal. It was located on the site of the present Armory, and contained a number of muskets and a few field-pieces, besides a small amount of military stores. Shays and his party determined to seize this depository before the soldiers under Gen. Lincoln should arrive. Gen. Shepherd, in accordance with orders from headquarters, at once occupied the post. He had under him about twelve hundred² men, militia of Hampshire County. A large number of these men were from towns in this vicinity, many of whom had collected at Northampton on the 17th of January. On the morning of the following day, about one hundred sleighs, filled with soldiers, left this town for Springfield. About one hundred thirty of them were from Northampton and between fifty and sixty from Southampton. Nearly all the people of the Hamptons and Hadleys were on the side of the government. The insurgents or regulators began to collect at West Springfield on the 19th, and on the 21st, their number at that place was three hundred fifty, which was soon increased to five hundred or six hundred. They

¹ Hampshire Gazette, Jan'y 24th, 1787.

² The newspapers of the day put the number at fifteen hundred, and Dr. Holland gives it as eleven hundred.

were commanded by Capt. Luke Day.¹ Another body of four hundred insurgents from Berkshire, commanded by Eli Parsons, was at Chicopee, while Shays with eleven hundred more was approaching along the "Bay Path." Gen. Lincoln was at Worcester on the 21st. The intention of the rebels was to attack and defeat Gen. Shepherd's small force before the commander-in-chief should arrive.

Efforts to Combine
the Rebel Forces.

Connecticut River intervened between the divisions of Day and Shays. On the 24th of January, the latter sent a messenger to Day, informing him that he should attack Gen. Shepherd the next day, and urging Day to cross the river to his assistance. But Day was not ready, and sent back word that he could not co-operate in the attack till the 26th. On his return the messenger was captured and his dispatch placed in the hands of Gen. Shepherd. Ignorant of the decision of Day, Shays, expecting his assistance, advanced at the appointed time.

Day Summons Gen.
Shepherd to Sur-
render.

Before Shays appeared, Day, relying upon the safe transmission of his dispatch, sent the following summons to Gen. Shepherd. In all probability he believed that his missive would end the strife, and that the glory of the victory would fall to him.

"Head Quarters, West Springfield, Jan'y 25, 1787.

"The body of the people assembled in arms, adhering to the first principles in natural self-preservation, do in the most peremptory manner demand,

- "1. That the troops in Springfield lay down their arms.
 - "2. That their arms be deposited in the public stores, under the care of the proper officers, to be returned to their owners at the termination of the present contest.
 - "3. That the troops return to their homes on parole.
- "To the commanding officer at Springfield, Jan. 25, 1787.

LUKE DAY, Commandant of this division."

On the back was this endorsement.

"By Col. ELI PARSONS."

1 Hampshire Gazette, Jan'y 29th, 1834.

A Proposition from Shays. On the same day Shays sent a communication to Gen. Lincoln, in which he proposed that the government troops should be instantly disbanded, that every person identified in any way with the uprisings should be indemnified in their persons and property until the sitting of the next Legislature, that no one should be molested or injured on account of rebellious acts until a fair hearing had been given in the next General Court respecting the matters of complaint by the people, and that all prisoners on account of the troubles should be surrendered without punishment. On these conditions the rebels would lay down their arms and disperse. Gen. Lincoln received this document when within two days' march of Springfield. The principal object of Shays in writing it was to delay the march of the government troops, and prevent them from aiding in the defense of the arsenal. But Gen. Lincoln was not to be hoodwinked by any propositions of such a nature. Not considering the petition worthy of an answer, he pressed forward with all speed to relieve Shepherd, and issued orders for the Middlesex militia to march to Springfield with all haste.

The Fight at Springfield. Shays reached Wilbraham on the 24th, and the next morning the government party sent a message to warn Gen. Shepherd. The messenger reached Springfield in time for all necessary preparations to be made, and when Shays arrived he found everything in readiness to receive him. Gen. Shepherd's dispatch to Gov. Bowdoin concerning this engagement is as follows. It states the facts graphically, covers the ground completely, and is altogether the best description of the fight that has come to hand:—

“Springfield, January 26, 1787.

“Sir: The unhapy time is come in which we have been obliged to shed blood. Shays, who was at the head of about 1200 men, marched yesterday afternoon, about four o'clock towards the public buildings, in battle array. He marched his men in open column by platoons. I sent several times by one of my aids, and two other gentlemen, Captains Buffington and Woodbridge, to know what he was after, or what he wanted. His reply was, he wanted barracks and barracks he would have, and stores. The answer returned was, he must purchase them dear, if he had them. He still proceeded on his march, until he approached within 250 yards of the arsenal. He then made a halt. I im-

mediately sent Maj. Lyman, one of my Aids, and Capt. Buffington, to inform him not to march his troops any nearer the arsenal on his peril, as I was stationed here by order of your Excellency and the Secretary at War, for the defence of the public property: in case he did I should surely fire on him and his men. A Mr. Wheeler, who appeared to be one of Shays Aids, met Mr. Lyman, after he had delivered my orders in the most peremptory manner, and made answer, that that was all he wanted. Mr. Lyman returned with his answer.

“ Shays immediately put his troops in motion & marched on rapidly near one hundred yards. I then ordered Major Stephens, who commanded the artillery, to fire on them, he accordingly did. The two first shot he endeavored to overshoot them, in hopes they would have taken warning without firing among them, but it had no effect on them. Maj. Stephens then directed his shot through the centre of his column. The fourth or fifth shot put the whole column into the utmost confusion. Shays made an attempt to display the column, but in vain. We had one howit which was loaded with grape shot, which when fired, gave them great uneasiness. Had I been disposed to destroy them, I might have charged upon their rear and flanks with my infantry and the two field pieces, and could have killed the greater part of the whole army within five minutes. There was not a single musket fired on either side.

“ I found three men dead upon the spot, and one wounded, who is since dead. One of our artillery men, by inattention was badly wounded.

“ Three muskets were taken up with the dead, which were all deeply loaded. I enclose to your Excellency a copy of a paper sent me last evening. I have received no reinforcements yet, and expect to be attacked this day by their whole force combined.

“ I am Sir, with great respect.

Your Excellency's most obedient

Humble Servant,

WILLIAM SHEPHARD.

“ His Excellency James Bowdoin, Esq.”

The Killed.

The paper referred to above was Day's summons to surrender, already given. The names of the killed were Ezekiel Root of Gill (his brother Solomon Root of Gill asked for the body on the 26th), Ariel Webster of Gill (his brother William Webster of Gill asked for his body on the 26th), John Hunter of Shelburne (a friend asked for his body), and Jabez Spicer of Leyden. Jeremiah McMillen of Pelham was wounded and missing.

Shays Retreats.

Too much demoralized to make another attack, the discomfited regulators continued their flight for ten miles, halting only when they reached Ludlow.

Day makes no Movement.

Day relying upon the effect of his summons to Gen. Shepherd, remained inactive at West Springfield, waiting for the government troops to march over to his encampment, deliver up their arms and render themselves prisoners. The sound of Shepherd's cannon failed to arouse him, and he made no movement. On Friday, the 26th, Shays formed a junction with Col. Eli Parsons at Chicopee, and on Saturday night retreated to Amherst. Gen. Lincoln was too near at hand and he had no stomach for another fight. Two hundred of his men had already deserted and others were only too anxious to follow their example.

Incidents at South Hadley.

On Saturday, the 27th, a large party of the insurgents, said to be about five hundred in number, passed through South Hadley. They had been fed at Butts' tavern, where they found sympathizers. When opposite Smith's tavern, about a quarter of a mile south of the meeting-house, they were fired upon by a number of government soldiers concealed in an outhouse. Adj. Amos Call, son of Samuel Call of Montague, was killed, and Joseph Bellows of Palmer, who was an acting captain, severely wounded. These two men who were dressed in some kind of uniform, acted as officers, and the soldiers thought one of them was Shays. In a short time the latter came up with the rest of his forces, and said that if another gun was fired from the house he would burn it to the ground. Nine men were captured by the insurgents, and carried to Amherst, where they were released. The men who fired from Smith's horse shed were Cotton Graves and Martin Cooley of Sunderland, and Ebenezer Barnard of Mill River, Deerfield. One gun was fired from Smith's chamber window, as was said, by Josiah Smith. There was more random firing by both parties, but no one else was injured. This firing at Smith's alarmed the people in the neighborhood. They were afraid of violence from Shays' party, and several families left their houses. Shays' men broke into these houses and helped themselves. They took from the house of Major Goodman two barrels of rum, his account-books, various articles of furniture, stripped the beds, and broke the windows.

They also broke into the house of Col. Woodbridge, ransacked it, and took many articles from other houses in the neighborhood. Every house they entered was stripped of provisions and much valuable property was destroyed. Shays tried to prevent this lawlessness, but without avail. After reaching South Hadley, Shays and his party turned eastward to Moody's Corner, and crossed by the notch in the mountain to Amherst, where they arrived about eight o'clock Saturday night.

Movements of Gen. Lincoln. On the 22^d, Gen. Lincoln and his army arrived at Worcester, and his troops reached Springfield on Friday and Saturday, Jan. 26th and 27th. On Saturday he marched against Day at West Springfield, crossing the river on the ice, Gen. Shepherd having been ordered up the east side of the river to prevent the junction of Day and Shays. Upon the appearance of Lincoln's forces, the insurgents under Day fled without firing a shot. Many of them threw away their arms and accoutrements, and in their haste forgot to take the provisions that were being cooked for them in the houses of some of the inhabitants. Day's men sped to the north through Southampton. About two hundred fifty of them arrived in Northampton the same evening and took possession of the houses on South Street. On Sunday afternoon they crossed the river to Hadley, passed through Hadley street, and joined Shays in Amherst.

CHAPTER XXXV.

SHAYS REBELLION.

Pursuit of Capt.
Luddington.

A company of the insurgent forces was commanded by Capt. Luddington of Southampton. On Sunday the 28th, he went to Southampton with about one hundred men. It was at first believed that he came for provisions or plunder, but the men were well behaved, and apparently homeward bound in the shortest possible space of time. A small detachment of government troops commanded by Capt. Banister, was ordered to follow this party and capture Luddington if possible. They set out from Springfield in sleighs, and reached Southampton on the night of the 29th. Not finding Luddington at his home, they pushed on to one Egleston's, where he was supposed to have gone. When near his house they were attacked by about fifty men with Luddington at their head, and the entire party was captured. Messengers were hurried off to Northampton and to Gen. Lincoln for assistance. Col. Baldwin with fifty men in sleighs, and Col. Crafts with one hundred horsemen were ordered to pursue the fugitives. A few men from Southampton joined them. The insurgents fled first to Norwich, and thence to Middlefield, where Luddington and fifty men, together with nine sleigh loads of provisions, were captured without firing a gun. The prisoners taken the week before by the rebels belonging in Southampton, returned on parole the same day. The sleighs and horses, captured with Banister's party, were found here and brought back. Sleighs and horses were impressed by both parties wherever found. Mr. Judd writes on Feb. 1st that "he could get no sleigh in lieu of that taken from Father," even at Gen. Lincoln's headquarters in Hadley.¹

¹ Judd's Diary.

Movements of Gen.
Lincoln.

At two o'clock on the morning of the 28th, Gen. Lincoln marched from Springfield in pursuit of Shays. When he reached Amherst he found that Shays had retreated to Pelham, and taken a strong position on two high hills. Nearly all the men of Amherst carrying with them such provisions as were most available, followed the insurgents to Pelham, and Lincoln, having searched the houses and finding nothing, turned off to Hadley, where he encamped, remaining there till the 3^d of February. While Gen. Lincoln remained in Hadley, his headquarters were at the house of Gen. Elisha Porter, High Sheriff. The troops, said to be over three thousand one hundred in number, were distributed throughout the village; some of them were billeted in almost every house. The field-pieces were placed on the north side of the meeting-house. Prayers were held in the street nearly opposite Gen. Porter's house, and the soldiers were assembled there every day. A heap of snow about six feet in height served for a pulpit. As the voice of Dr. Hopkins, the minister of Hadley, was too feeble for the task, Dr. Lyman came over from Hatfield, mounted the pulpit and offered earnest and fervent prayers in a voice that could be distinctly heard by the entire army. The troops were exercised daily.¹

Negotiations with
Shays.

While at Hadley, Gen. Lincoln forwarded a dispatch to Shays under date of January 30th, in which he was told that he was in a tight place, and that the best way out of it was to surrender at discretion. In this letter Lincoln said to him:—

“Your resources are few, your force is inconsiderable, and hourly decreasing from the dissatisfaction of your men: you are in a post where you have neither cover nor supplies, and in a situation in which you can neither give aid to your friends, nor discomfort to the supporters of good order and government. Under these circumstances you cannot hesitate a moment to disband your deluded followers. If you should not, I must approach and apprehend the most influential characters among you. Should you attempt to fire upon the troops of the government, the consequences must be fatal to many of your men, the least guilty. To prevent bloodshed, you will communicate to your privates, that if they will instantly lay down their arms and surrender themselves to government, and take and subscribe to the oath of alle-

¹ Hampshire Gazette, Jan'y 29th, 1834.

giance to this commonwealth, they shall be recommended to the General Court for mercy."

To this Shays replied that "the people were willing to lay down their arms on the condition of a general pardon, and return to their homes," and requested that "hostilities should cease on the part of the government, until our united prayers may be presented to the General Court and we receive an answer." This was speedily followed by a visit from three of the rebel leaders, who brought a communication signed by Francis Stone, Daniel Shays, and Adam Wheeler, in which the request of Shays for a cessation of hostilities till the Legislature could be heard from, was reiterated. Gen. Lincoln refused to listen to this request, on the ground that he had no authority to enter into any such agreement.

Shays Evacuates
Pelham.

On Friday, Feb. 2^d, Gen. Lincoln reconnoitered the position of the enemy at Pelham with the intention of making an attack the next day. Alarmed by this demonstration, the insurgents made arrangements for the evacuation of the post. But hoping to gain time thereby, a flag of truce was sent to Gen. Lincoln at three o'clock, Saturday morning, from Gen. Wheeler, requesting that he might have a conference with Gen. Putnam. This was granted, and they met Saturday afternoon. Wheeler's main object was to provide for his personal safety. But receiving no encouragement, he retired. While this conference was in progress, Shays quietly slipped away, and marched for Petersham. Information that a movement was in progress in the camp of the enemy reached Lincoln at noon. Not having authentic information, he judged that Shays was merely shifting his position from one portion of the town to another. Determined not to be caught napping, Lincoln ordered his army to prepare for instant marching with three days' provisions. At six o'clock he received reliable information that the insurgents were in full retreat. In two hours the army was on the march.

"The first part of the night was light and the weather clement, but between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning the wind shifted to the westward, it became cold and squally, with considerable snow, the wind arose very high, and with the light snow that fell the day before, and

was falling, the paths were soon filled up, the men became fatigued, they were in a part of the country where they could not be covered in the distance of 8 miles, and the cold was so intense that they could not halt in the road to refresh themselves. Under these circumstances they were obliged to continue their march."¹

The thirty miles that lay between Hadley and Petersham were traversed without a halt. Self preservation demanded that the men should keep moving. When the storm abated the cold increased, and the "greater part of our men were frozen in some part or other." The advance guard reached Petersham at nine o'clock on Sunday morning, while yet the main body was five miles away.

"We approached this town nearly in the center where Shays had covered his men; and had we not been prevented by the steepness of the hill, and the depth of snow, from throwing our men rapidly in to it, we should have arrested very probably one half of his force, for they were so nearly surprised as it was, that they had no time to call in their out parties, or even their guards. About 150 fell into our hands, and none escaped but by the most precipitate flight in different direction; but most of their men fled to Athol."²

The Victory Complete.

This march of the raw militia in such tempestuous weather, and the quick dispersion of the insurgents, were the most notable features of the rebellion. The rebel army, safely housed at Petersham, never dreamed that the government forces were nearer than Hadley, nor did they believe them able to move for many days. Shays, while undoubtedly congratulating himself upon the clever ruse by which he had duped Gen. Lincoln, with difficulty escaped his clutches. The surprise, therefore, was all the more complete.

Beginning of the End of the Rebellion.

This rapid movement put an end to the army of Shays. Those who escaped were most effectually scattered. Three days after, only three hundred men remained with him at Winchester, Vt. The rest were in Vermont, New York and New Hampshire. The rebellion was not over, but its backbone had been dislocated. There were gatherings under other leaders, particularly in Berkshire County, and

¹ Gen. Lincoln's Official Dispatch.

² *Ibid.*

several encounters with the militia in which a number of lives were lost, but nothing occurred of equal importance with what had already taken place.

Trouble in Berk-
shire.

Gen. Lincoln discharged a portion of his army after the retreat of Shays, but he still had work for the remainder. On the 8th of February he was at Northampton, and the next day marched for Berkshire. Before the rebellion was crushed, the terms of enlistment of many of his troops expired. Recruits were enlisted for four months, and while the exchange was taking place, Lincoln at one time had but thirty men with him.

The Legislature
Meets.

On the 3^d of February, the General Court assembled, four days after the time fixed upon. So great was the confusion of affairs throughout the State, that the members could not sooner reach Boston. A declaration of rebellion was made, the offer of clemency by Gen. Lincoln approved, all the measures inaugurated by the Governor for the suppression of the rebellion were sanctioned, and an appropriation of £40,000 made to repay the money loaned by citizens, and to meet the other expenses of the war. Resolutions approving the conduct of Gens. Shepherd and Lincoln were passed, an order was made to raise fifteen hundred men for four months, and a reward of £150 offered for the apprehension of the leaders of the outbreak.

The War Continued.

Satisfied that it was no longer practicable to make head against the concentrated army under Gen. Lincoln, the insurgents instituted a guerilla warfare, sending out small parties to surprise, harass and plunder the people. During the remainder of the conflict, hostilities were in the main confined to the County of Berkshire. Between one hundred fifty and two hundred of the disaffected under command of John Hubbard, gathered at West Stockbridge, but a number of volunteers were soon collected, and the party dispersed. Hubbard and a number of his men were captured.

Skirmishes with the
Rebels.

Gen. Shepherd with his regiment of Hampshire militia was posted at Northfield. On the 6th of February, he dispatched Capt. Samuel Buffington into Vermont for the purpose of arresting rebels who had taken refuge there. But the people were so much in sympathy with the refugees that nothing could be accomplished, though the party held warrants from a Vermont magistrate. The same day a small party was ordered to Bernardston for the purpose of arresting Capt. Jason Parmenter, a notorious rebel. The pursuers came suddenly upon the rebel party, when the latter, receiving no answer to their hail, were ordered to fire, but their muskets were unserviceable. Then Jacob Walker, a horseman of the government party, and Parmenter fired simultaneously at each other, and the former was mortally wounded. Parmenter and his men immediately fled, but as the snow was three feet deep, no pursuit was made. The next day they were captured and lodged in jail at Northampton. Mr. Walker was buried with military honors at Hatfield, where the funeral services were held. Rev. Mr. Wells of Whately preached the sermon, Rev. Mr. Williams of this town made the opening prayer, and music suitable to the occasion was sung.

Rebels tried for Treason and Sentenced to Death.

A session of the Supreme Judicial Court was held at the meeting-house in this town, continuing from the 9th to the 21st of April, at which Jason Parmenter of Bernardston, Daniel Luddington of Southampton, Alpheus Colton of Longmeadow, James White of Colrain, John Wheeler of Hardwick, and Henry McCulloch of Pelham, were convicted of high treason, and sentenced to death. Seven others were convicted at the same session, of "exciting and stirring up sedition and insurrection in this commonwealth." They were sentenced in accordance with the degrees of their guilt. One was to sit on the gallows with a rope about his neck, others were to stand in the pillory one hour and to be whipped on the naked back twenty stripes. Nearly all of them were fined, some £100, some £50, and put under bonds to keep the peace for twelve months. Early in May death-warrants were issued in the case of Parmenter and

McCulloch, and they were to be hanged on the 24th of the month. The other four were pardoned. On the 23^d the prisoners were reprieved for four weeks.

Prisoners Reprieved
at the Gallows.

It was the intention of the authorities that this execution should be as impressive as possible, and more than usual preparations to that end were made. An occasion of universal interest and of much more than common importance, even at a time when the catalogue of crimes punished by death was much greater than at present, it was to serve as a demonstration of the power of the government, as well as a manifestation of its leniency. Capital punishments always attracted great crowds of people, and at this time when the excitement was at fever-heat, a general outpouring of the people from far and near was to be expected. Government, fearful of an attempt to rescue the prisoners, strengthened the volunteer companies on duty in town, guarding the prisoners by a detachment of militia from Gen. Shepherd's command at Northfield. It is highly probable that the gallows was erected on "Pancake Plain." June 21st was the day named for the execution. Early in the morning of that day, spectators began to assemble, and long before the hour appointed the streets were thronged mainly by crowds gathered from idle curiosity, but among them undoubtedly were many others who would gladly have attempted a rescue had opportunity occurred. Impressive religious ceremonies were always considered an important part of the program on such occasions, a sound orthodox sermon always preceding the final passage to the gallows. From the jail on Pleasant Street to the meeting-house the prisoners, strongly guarded by the military, marched through the thronged streets. But the edifice was altogether too small to entertain one half the assembled multitude. Consequently the troops with the prisoners were drawn up in front of that edifice, and the religious services were carried on from one of its windows. Rev. Enoch Hale of Westhampton made the opening prayer, and Rev. Mr. Baldwin of Palmer preached the sermon from Romans VII, 21. Then the procession with the sheriff and his deputies escorted by the soldiers, resumed its mournful way through the

ever increasing crowd to the scaffold. At the foot of the gallows, where all was in readiness for the closing scene, and when everybody was waiting in anxious expectation of their final taking off, the High Sheriff produced a reprieve, and the criminals were remanded to their old quarters in the jail. The government had shown its hand, had proved its power to carry out the decrees of the courts, but at the last moment had also established the fact that its justice was tempered with mercy. It was thought by some that the government was intimidated by the threats of the insurgents, who had captured two reputable citizens of Worcester County, whom they threatened to hang if Parmenter and McCullock were executed.¹ This time the prisoners were respited till the 2^d of August; afterwards to the 20th of September, and in the end they were pardoned. Many people were dissatisfied because capital punishment had not been inflicted upon them. Mr. Judd of Southampton, when he heard of the transaction on the 21st of June, thought it "unaccountable," and adds, "People are much Chagrined at the Prisoners being reprieved."²

Hanged for Burglary. On the 6th of December, an Irishman named William Clark, was hanged in Northampton for burglary, with very little parade. Rev. Mr. Hale wrote a long article for the Hampshire Gazette over the signature of "Grap-teer," in which he contrasted the great parade of the former abortive execution with the later one, and endeavored to show that the strictures upon government for its leniency were unwarranted. The government demonstrated its ability to carry out the decision of the courts, and at the same time showed its determination to temper justice with mercy.

Closing Scenes of the Rebellion. On the 26th of February, a large body of insurgents under Capt. Hamlin entered Berkshire County from the State of New York, and proceeded to plunder the town of Stockbridge. This they accomplished in a very thorough manner, and then

¹ Hampshire Gazette, May 30, 1787.

² This transaction is recorded in the Gazette of June 27th in the following language: — "On Thursday last Jason Parmenter and Henry McCullock, had like to have been hanged."

marched to Great Barrington, where they made a general jail delivery. But the alarm had been given, the militia began to collect, and the plunderers had only time to prepare for their own safety. A retreat through Egremont was at once commenced, but the government force arrived there first, and a hot engagement took place. In a few moments the rebels gave way, and a number of prisoners were captured. This was the expiring effort of the rebellion. Plundering and stealing was continued by detached parties of the regulators for some little time, but most of those implicated in the troubles fled to other States. Safe in these asylums they continued to "Hurrah for Shays," ready to participate in any outbreak that might occur. The General Court requested the Governor to write to the authorities of other States, suggesting that they should apprehend certain refugees and prevent them from obtaining supplies. Favorable responses were received from most of them and arrangements were made by which any guilty person demanded by Massachusetts should be given up. Most of the leaders of the rebellion were captured and imprisoned. Day was made prisoner at Westmoreland, N. H., in January, 1788, and taken to Boston. Shays and Eli Parsons escaped capture, and petitioned the Legislature for pardon, which was granted. Shays died respected at Sparta, N. Y., in 1825, aged 85 years. Parsons died at Oswego, N. Y., five years after, "a genial, kind-hearted and respected citizen."

A Story of the In-
surrection.

A Northampton incident of these unsettled times, handed down by tradition and showing the determination of the people, women as well as men, in resisting these unlawful proceedings, ought not to be omitted. The exact date of its occurrence is uncertain. Very probably it took place about the 27th of January, 1787, when Day's party of insurgents, while running away from Gen. Lincoln, spent the night here. The story is as follows:—

Capt. Joseph Cook was an innholder and Keeper of the Jail on Pleasant Street, the keys of which it is said he kept beneath the feather-bed upon which he slept. When the rioters came at night to set the prisoners free, the key to

the jail door could not be found. Every possible hiding-place was thoroughly searched, except the bed occupied by the captain and his wife. Enraged at their discomfiture, the mob then dragged Capt. Cook from his bed and took him out of doors into the snow, dressed only in his night-clothes, but they could not wrest from him the secret hiding-place of the key. From this exposure he must have suffered greatly, for he died the following year. His wife, undaunted by the threats of the insurgents, refused to leave her warm couch, and the rioters were too gallant to offer her any indignity. To this may be added another version, also handed down in the Cook family. While the men were punishing the captain with a cold bath, Mrs. Cook dressed herself and, slipping the key into one of the long pockets which housewives wore tied about their waists, she put her dress over it. With the key thus safely concealed, she followed the searchers as they proceeded about the house, mocking and jeering and laughing at them. At last one of them opened a very small drawer only to be met by these words from this courageous woman: "Fools did you expect to find the key in that little drawer, the key is thus long," measuring the length on her arm to the elbow. Still another version of the story is that the key was hidden in the trundle-bed in which one of the children had been sleeping, but which the rioters did not see fit to disturb. At any rate the key was not found, and the prisoners remained in jail. This key is now preserved at the jail and house of correction on Union Street.

The Rebels before
the Courts.

Having put down the rebellion, measures were taken to bring to trial its leaders and instigators. Special sessions of the Supreme Judicial Court were held in Berkshire, Hampshire, and Middlesex Counties. A law was passed excluding from the jury-box all who had been guilty of favoring the rebellion in any way. At the same time three commissioners were appointed who were empowered to grant indemnity to all who took the oath of allegiance, and gave satisfactory evidence of future good behavior. The leaders, Shays, Day, Parsons and Wheeler, were excluded from the benefits of this law, as well as those who had killed any citizen, and

against whom warrants were pending. The action of the Supreme Court at its session in this town has already been given.

The Rebels Seize
Hostages.

About the 21st of May, the rebels had the audacity to seize the persons of two respectable citizens of Massachusetts, Mr. Joseph Metcalf of Orange, and Dr. Medad Pomeroy of Warwick, whom they carried to Vermont. Their avowed design was to hold them as hostages for the lives of the prisoners, Parmenter and McCullock. Both were allowed to escape in a few days, very soon after the first reprieve of the prisoners was made known.

No Rebels Executed.

No one in this part of the State paid the extreme penalty of the law for participation in the Shays rebellion. Several of the leaders were condemned to death, two or three were reprieved at the foot of the gallows, but eventually all were pardoned.

The Commissioners
Meet.

The commission already mentioned, consisted of Benjamin Lincoln, Samuel Phillips Jr., President of the Senate, and Samuel A. Otis, Speaker of the House. They advertised a session to be held in Northampton, continuing ten days from the 9th of April. Those persons making application for clemency were required briefly to state in writing the instances of criminal conduct with which they were respectively chargeable, what office they had sustained under the government, if any, and the capacity in which they acted in opposition to government, if they had been in arms. All applications were to be accompanied by a certificate subscribed by two or more persons of known attachment to the government, and purporting that the applicants are duly penitent for their crimes, and properly disposed to return to their allegiance to the State, and to discharge the duty of faithful citizens thereof. The justices of the county were to convey to the commissioners at Northampton, as soon as possible, a certificate of the persons to whom they had administered the oath of allegiance, and the towns to which they respectively belonged.

Few take the Oath. Little is known respecting those who sought to take the oath of allegiance in this manner, and it is not certain that very many in this vicinity availed themselves of the proffered clemency. The following year an act of general indemnity to all who had been engaged in the rebellion was passed by the Legislature, and those who had exiled themselves returned to their homes and became good citizens.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

FEDERAL CONSTITUTION—MANUFACTURES—CHURCH MUSIC.

Probate Office Con- JOHN C. WILLIAMS of Hadley was Register
ducted in Jail. of Probate, having been appointed in 1776.

During the latter part of his term of office he became intemperate and for nearly a year was in jail. All the business of the court was of course transacted at the new place of residence, adopted perforce by the Register. High Sheriff Eleazar Porter of Hadley favored Williams and kept him in office. He was in jail for debt, took the poor man's oath, and was supported there by one of his creditors. A petition was forwarded to the Governor in 1786, asking for his removal. In it is recited the fact that he had practiced marrying people without the publication of banns required by law; that he had been brought before the court, and on promise of reformation let off with a fine of £5; and that he had resumed this practice after his confinement in jail. The name of Mr. Samuel Hinckley was proposed as his successor and the following year he was appointed, holding the office for thirty years, when he was promoted to the judgeship.

No Disgrace to be People were sent to jail for very trivial
in Jail. offences. Persons unable to pay their debts,
those suspected of being tories, parties
arrested for participation in the rebellion, all found accommodations there, and plenty of men from all parts of the county had tasted the good cheer of the Northampton goal. While there the prisoners enjoyed themselves as best they might. If they had money or friends outside of its walls, they did not go without such creature comforts as were then in fashion. They were supplied with good things

to eat and drink, and all the popular bar-room games of the day were always at hand to while away the long and dreary hours. The jailer was also an innkeeper, his rules for the government of the prisoners were never very strict, and he was able to contribute much towards the comfort of his boarders without actual pecuniary loss. While it might not have been derogatory to the Register to be an inmate of the jail, it must have been a new experience for persons having business with the court to be compelled to go to jail for its accomplishment. Considering the determined raid then in progress against the courts, the Probate Court seems for a time to have been in a safe place.¹

The Town Votes to Sustain the Government. Allusion has already been made to the action of the town at its September (1786) meeting concerning the list of grievances adopted at the Hatfield convention. At the same meeting the circular letter from the town of Boston was read, "and the town voted their approbation of said address." The citizens of Boston, soon after the disturbances commenced, addressed the Governor, declaring their determination to coöperate in the support of constitutional government, but recommending lenient measures with respect to their deluded friends and fellow-citizens. At the same time they sent out a circular letter to the inhabitants of every town in the State. In it they showed the mutual danger that awaited all parties during the War of the Revolution, contrasted the present freedom of the citizens with what it would have been had they been conquered; recalled the sacred pledges of life and fortune made to support the constitution, which was as inestimable as the blood with which it had been purchased; and enjoined on their brethren to seek redress only in a lawful and constitutional manner.²

¹ A communication in the Hampshire Gazette of December 6th, alludes to the notice of the Register posted in the tavern, announcing that the next Probate Court would be "held at the office of the subscriber, nearly fronting the Jail House, Northampton." The writer congratulates the people "in this day of tumultuous opposition to the Courts of Justice that the Court of Probate can be safely holden within the limits of the gaol yard of Northampton; and that for the honor and dignity of the county, those important records (as appears by the Registers sign fronting the gaol) are safely kept within the same place. Under these circumstances, and for the convenience of the good people, it must be presumed that constant attendance will be given."

² Minot's Insurrections, p. 45.

The Representative Instructed. Sensible instructions to their representative were also adopted. He was "Directed to use his Influence at the General Court in their next session to get a revision of the present fee bill, and that all Grants of the General Court in future should be made with Prudence and Good oeconomy." Dr. Ebenezer Hunt and Benjamin Sheldon were chosen representatives that year, but it was considered "Good oeconomy" that but one of them should attend at a time, and a vote to that effect was passed.

The Town Provides for its Safety. In response to an article in the warrant "To see whether the Town will take any measures for their mutual safety in this time of anarchy and confusion," it was voted "that the keeper of the Town stock of ammuniton should be Directed to Deliver out of the s'd Stock to each man that shall appear to Support the Supreme Judicial Court on Monday next, Half a Pound of Powder and a Proportional quantity of Ball." This vote was passed in September, and had reference to the militia ordered out to protect the court at Springfield, under Gen. Shepherd. A company was enlisted in Northampton, and was in the service.¹ In November a vote was passed to pay for the two barrels of beef "supplied by Capt. Allen to the militia that went to Springfield in September last."

A Northampton Company. A company of seventy-three men enlisted in Northampton early in 1787, and commanded by Capt. Hezekiah Russell, joined the forces under Gen. Shepherd at Springfield. In compliance with the proclamation calling out the troops, they were to serve for thirty days, but they received pay for only twenty-five days. From Springfield they marched up the river to intercept Day, and after the dispersion of the rebel forces, were stationed at Northfield.²

1 For list of names see Appendix.

2 Ibid.

Constitution of the United States. In May the convention for framing the constitution of the United States convened at Philadelphia. It did not get to work, however, till June. After a session of four months a document was prepared which was submitted to the several states for ratification. A convention for that purpose was held in Massachusetts in January, 1788. Northampton made choice of Caleb Strong and Benjamin Sheldon as delegates. They were chosen at a meeting held in the preceding November. A committee was appointed to prepare an address, expressing the sentiments of the people touching the important business for which they were appointed. This document, signed by the chairman of the committee, is extended in full upon the town records. It is as follows :

“In Conformity to a resolution of the Gen’l Court of the 25th of October last, We have Delegated you to meet in State Convention on the Second Wednesday of January next, for the purpose of Adopting or rejecting the Reported Constitution for the United States of America. The object of your Mission Gentlemen is of the Highest magnitude in Human affairs. Much time & unwearied application are requisite in order thoroughly to Investigate it. The Civil Dignity of this State; of the United States: and perhaps of Humanity are Suspended upon this Momentous Question; & We wish you Gentlemen patiently to hear & attentively to Examine every argument that Shall be offered for or against its Adoption. Be not unduly influenced by Local Considerations. Let your mind be Impressed with the Necessity of having an Equal Energettick federal Government. ’Tis the welfare of the Union as well as of Massachusetts that you are to Consult. And while you are tenacious of the rights & Priviledges of the People, be not affraid to Delegate to the federal Government Such Powers as are absolutely Necessary for advancing & Maintaining our National Honor & happiness. But Gentlemen we mean not to give you Positive instructions relative to your Voting for or against the reported Constitution. When in convention you will Have the Collected wisdom of the State before you. Will hear all that can be said on the subject, & will Consequently be able to form a Judicious opinion; and, having the fullest Confidence in your Political wisdom, Integrity & Patriotism, we Cheerfully (on our part) Submit the all important Question to your Decision. And we beseech the alwise Governor of the world to take the Convention under his holy influence, that so the result may be The best Good of the United States of America.

“SAMUEL HENSHAW, Chairman.

“By order of the Committee.

“Northampton, Nov. 22, 1787.”

The Constitutional Convention. The body to which this momentous question was submitted, was composed of three hundred fifty members, among whom were many of the most prominent men in the State, men who had served in the federal congress, and had been members of the convention which framed the constitution of Massachusetts. Gov. Hancock presided. At the suggestion of Caleb Strong of this town, it was voted

“that this convention, sensible how important it is that the great subject submitted to their determination should be discussed and considered with moderation, candor, and deliberation, will enter into a free conversation on the several parts thereof, by paragraphs, until every member shall have had opportunity to express his sentiments on the same; after which the convention will consider and debate at large the question whether this convention will adopt and ratify the proposed constitution, before any vote is taken expressive of the sense of the convention upon the whole or any part thereof.”

This proposition of the Northampton delegate was fully carried out, and the convention consumed nearly a month in the consideration of the document. Many delegates were dissatisfied with it, and it was ratified by a meagre majority of nineteen votes. Both the Northampton delegates voted in its favor.

Regulations to be Observed at Funerals. In March, 1789, the town undertook to regulate the method of conducting funeral processions. The warrant specified a “more orderly method of walking to funerals.” A committee was entrusted with the consideration of the matter, who reported in May:—

“Whereas it is the opinion of this Town that funerals ought to be conducted with great decency and decorum in order to impress on the minds of the rising & risen generation the importance of the awful solemnity, and to render the House of mourning better than the House of feasting, Be it, therefore recommended to all the Inhabitants of this Town to observe the following regulations at funerals:—

“1. That the relations of the deceased follow next the corse two & two.

“2. If the deceased was a male person, the males are to follow next the mourners, two & two,—and the women after them, two & two—but if the deceased was a woman, then the women are to follow next the mourners, & the men after them.

“3. Those on Horseback are to fall in after the foot folks, Horses two & two, and the Carriages are to follow in the rear of the proces-

sion. And it is requested that no person walk or ride on either side the procession from the House to the Grave."

And in "order to carry the foregoing regulations into effect," a committee consisting of ten persons was appointed and "requested to attend at funerals & to regulate the procession agreeably to the foregoing recommendation untill the same shall become habitual to the people."

The above report was considered and adopted by the town, and henceforward funerals were conducted with "decency and decorum," and no doubt the minds of the rising generation were suitably impressed thereby.

Town Clock out of Repair. The town clock had grown old and was out of order in 1790. A committee recommended that it would be better economy to purchase a new clock, than to repair the old one, inasmuch as a new one would cost but £30. The matter was referred to the next town-meeting, but was not called up at that time, for there is no other record relative to the subject.

Manufacturing in Northampton. At the close of the Revolution New England had no manufactures. Nearly all that had been commenced were obliged by the hard times to suspend. Very little machinery existed or was in use throughout the entire country. Only here and there in any of the inland towns was anything of the kind carried on, and that in a very limited manner, almost wholly by manual labor. Two years before the war broke out, Northampton contained a small establishment for the manufacture of the coarse pottery then in use, but before the war closed, even that had ceased to exist. When affairs became more settled, and business in consequence began to revive, the forerunners of the splendid system of manufactures, which has since made New England famous, were commenced by enterprising citizens in different parts of the Commonwealth. The second attempt at manufacturing worthy of the name in Northampton, was the paper-mill, established by William Butler, at what was subsequently known as the "Paper Mill Village." He made there by hand all the paper used in printing the Gazette. In 1817, he sold the mill to his brother Daniel, who carried it on till his death in 1849. It afterwards passed into the hands of William Clark and was continued under different proprietors till the property was bought by the present

owner, E. E. Wood, who is now running a profitable cutlery establishment on the old site.

Duck Manufactory. Within two or three years after the establishment of the paper-mill, a factory for the manufacture of Duck, or canvas cloth, was commenced by Levi Shephard. He came to this town in 1765, and opened a store for the sale of drugs and medicines, and from that fact was called Dr., though he was not a physician. He continued this business, adding groceries and dry goods and many other things that are found in a well equipped country store, till his death in 1805.¹ He began the manufacture of Duck in 1789. The year previous he advertised in the Hampshire Gazette for proposals for making the material. "It is the opinion," he says, "of the best judges that this useful article may be manufactured in this part of the country to great advantage to the people, and in a short time become a most valuable article of commerce, as our county is so well suited to the raising of flax." About the same time he also advertised for 1000 lbs. of water-rotted flax, to be paid for, one half in dry goods, and one half in cash. Probably he failed to receive satisfactory proposals for the manufacture, for he built a factory on the rear of his home lot at the north corner of what are now River and Pleasant Streets. It was a large building of considerable length, and was located near the site of the livery-stable of the late E. T. Wood. Many of its foundation stones may still be seen in that vicinity. Weaving was carried on in a portion of the building, and spinning in another, though much of the flax was spun in private families. The machinery was operated by hand power, either a boy or girl turning the wheel. The distaff with the flax for the warp was fastened to the side of the spinner, and the tow or filling spinners held the carded tow in their hands while walking up and down. Government offered a bounty of 8s. per bolt for Duck. He carried on the business until his death, and in the year 1800, supplied government with this cloth.

¹ In a short time he formed a partnership with Dr. Ebenezer Hunt, which continued under the firm name of Shephard & Hunt, fourteen years. A new firm, Breck, Shephard & Clark, soon followed, which was dissolved in the fall of 1787. He remained alone in business for a number of years, then associated with himself his two sons, Levi and Thomas.

A Ropewalk. Rope was also manufactured by Mr. Shephard. In one part of the building flax was spun and Duck made, while the rest of it was used as a ropewalk. As many skeins of yarn as were needed for the rope were attached to hooks fastened to a circular disk. This was revolved by a man turning a crank, and the cords or threads were twisted into ropes of the required size. Ropes were very extensively used in those times. Very little leather was used in a harness, horses were guided with ropes, and traces were made of the same material. Cart ropes were indispensable with the old-fashioned carts and ladders, and were very common in Northampton. A regular cart rope was sixty, seventy, or eighty feet long, a burden for one man to carry, and some skill and experience were needed to bind a load properly. The rope was put around the four corners of the load, across its width, and through its length. Individuals made ropes for themselves and others, years before Mr. Shephard started his factory, but he was the first who made them on a large scale.

A New School-House. At the November meeting the town decided to build a new school-house, and the committee was instructed to erect it "in the most convenient Place between the Court-House and Dr. Shephard's Shop,"¹ and they were to apply to the County Court for permission to place it there. For building it £200 were appropriated, and the dimensions were left to the judgment of the building committee. The materials of the old brick school-house were to be employed as far as practicable in building the new one. Apparently there were some persons who thought that more than one school-house was needed, for in December a special meeting was called to reconsider the vote ordering the new school-house, and to "see if the town will build one or more school houses," but it was voted not to reconsider the former vote.

A Training Field. On Pancake Plain a field for training the militia had been established, and at the May meeting the question of clearing it was brought before the town, but it was decided in the negative. An

¹ Dr. Shephard's shop was on the corner now occupied by the First National Bank Building.

order to repair Lickingwater bridge was adopted, and instructions given to employ "town debtors" in preference to other persons to do the work.

Ball Playing Pro- Both the meeting-house and the Court-
hibited. House suffered considerable damage, especially to their windows by ball playing in the streets, consequently in 1791, a by-law was enacted by which "foot ball, hand ball, bat ball, or any other game of ball was prohibited within ten rods of the Court House easterly and twenty rods of the Meeting House south westerly, neither shall they throw any stones at or over the said Meeting House or Court House" on a penalty of 5s., one half to go to the complainant and the rest to the town.

Time of Religious Ser- This year in November, occurs the first
vices fixed. Teach- recorded vote concerning the time of
er of Singing Em- commencing religious services on the Sab-
ployed. bath, when it was provided that the morning service should begin at 10.30 o'clock. During the pastorate of Rev. Mr. Hooker, the morning services began at 10 o'clock and ended at 12, and in the afternoon they were still longer. Another vote of importance passed this year, the first of its kind, was that to employ a singing-master, "to instruct the Singers in the art of Psalmody for three months." Abner Baker was the first person employed for this purpose. In December he petitioned for an allowance for time spent in teaching singing. The next year he was paid £3 for his services. From this time onward the singing-master became a fixture, and frequent items for his payment may be found in the record of town expenses.

Church Music. For many years the people of New England were greatly agitated over the question of church music. Previous to the eighteenth century there had been no very systematic efforts made to guide the singing in the meeting-house, or to instruct the singers. All sang by rote, and less than a dozen different tunes were in use. It was congregational singing in every sense of the word. Singing-books were scarce, and the Psalms and Hymns were "Deaconed." After the minister had read

the psalm and the tune had been announced in a stentorian voice by the deacon or precentor, the deacon read one line and the people sang it: then they waited till the next line was read. This method always tedious, often ill performed, and generally unsatisfactory, fell into disrepute, and a vigorous attempt was made for its improvement. The clergy were conspicuous in condemnation of it, and earnestly advocated a reformation. Then arose a controversy which extended throughout New England, and for many years the question of "singing by rule or rote" was the theme of animated discussion. Slowly the system of singing by rule gained ground, and the young people began to take lessons in singing and sociability. At first there was strong opposition to singing-schools, and the older citizens came tardily into the method. Schools were opened in various towns in the vicinity, certainly in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and possibly before. Such schools were in operation in Hatfield and Hadley in 1768, and in 1771. They were sustained for some time by subscription, and afterwards, when their efficiency was recognized, supported by the town. Some wanted them placed under the supervision of the town, because they were afraid that the young people would govern if they were not under the control of officers appointed by the town.¹ "Singing Lectures," at which the minister preached, and the singers gave evidence of their proficiency, formed a part of the new system of musical education. They were frequently held in various towns in different parts of the county, though there is no mention of any in Northampton till 1773. Five years before, the singers of the towns of Hatfield and Hadley met in the latter town. There was a lecture and singing in the afternoon, and apparently a concert by the two schools in the evening. The Hatfield singers seem to have been sumptuously entertained by their Hadley friends. Singing-schools were held sometimes at private houses, and sometimes in the meeting-house.

Change in Singing
in Northampton.

The change in the method of singing was made in this town, as nearly as can be ascertained, about the year 1770, and was not effected without considerable opposition. One reason

¹ Judd's Diary.

urged by those who opposed the innovation was, that many of the people had no psalm-books, and could not know what the choir was singing, unless it was read by the deacon. The change was gradual, and began with the first hymn only, but by degrees it was carried through the whole service. When the choir was first introduced into public worship is uncertain, but probably it was about this time. There was very little use for a choir under the old system. Choristers seem to have been employed to set the tune and lead the singing before the choir was formed. But it is probable that the choir did not come in till after the old method of singing was abandoned and singing-schools were established. Evidently there were schools for teaching music in 1773, and probably, if a master was hired, he was paid by subscription. The chorister, however, was employed much earlier than this. About 1755, Daniel Pomeroy was chorister, and he was followed in the office by Joseph Root, Joseph Parsons, and Timothy Dwight. Dea. Ebenezer Pomeroy was an excellent reader, celebrated for the manner in which he "Deaconed the Psalm," line by line. After the new method was adopted, Josiah, Isaac and Jacob Parsons, Caleb Strong and others, would leave the meeting-house just before the last singing. The singers frequently met at Dea. Supply Kingsley's to practice, and occasionally at Major Hawley's. He was not much of a singer, but was very fond of music. Northampton was noted in Mr. Edwards' day, before the evolution of the choir, for the excellence of its church music.¹ The reputation of the town in this respect was not suffered to diminish. The choir, in a few years, became one of the largest associations of singers in this region, and contained many fine musicians.

1 In Mr. Edwards' account of "Surprising Conversions," during the great revival of 1733 to 1735, he bears the following tribute to the excellence of this part of the Sunday services:—"Our public praises were then greatly enlivened. God was then served in our Psalmody, in some measure, in the beauty of holiness. It has been observable that there has been scarce any part of divine worship, wherein good men amongst us have had grace so drawn forth, and their hearts so lifted up in the ways of God, as in singing his praises. Our congregation excelled all that I ever knew in the external part of the duty before, the men generally carrying regularly and well, three parts of music, and the women a part by themselves."—p. 13.

The School-House. The reason for attempting to reconsider the vote for building a new school-house at the center of the town became apparent at the December meeting in 1791. A committee reported that the old school-house at Lickingwater (South Street) was not worth repairing, and that a new one could be built there for £38, and the old school building. Thereupon, Capt. Russell offered to do the work for that amount, and a vote was passed empowering him to carry out his proposition. The school-house was built, and in it for the first time in the history of the town, girls and boys attended school together. For many years a master was at the head of it, female teachers not being employed till the beginning of the present century.

Warned out of Town. In December, 1791, more than one hundred persons, many of them heads of families, were "warned out of town." There was no discrimination as to occupation, ability or position. Among them were named day-laborers, traders, yeomen, card-makers, pump makers, cordwainers, blacksmiths, joiners, wheelwrights, gentlemen, saddlers, foreigners, clock-makers, negromen, masons, tanners, bookbinders, painters, hair-dressers, single women, and widows. Many of the men were married and had families, so that the whole number of persons, if they had but one child each (and some of them had more), must have amounted to upwards of two hundred. They were characterized as persons "who have lately come into this town for the purpose of abiding therein," and "not having obtained the town's consent therefor," it was ordered "that he, she or they respectively depart the limits thereof with their children and others under their care within 15 days." Two years before the law respecting the qualifications of permanent inhabitants had been re-enacted by the Legislature, and the town for the first time taking action under it, made a wholesale requisition upon all who had not obtained the proper permission to become residents. The object of this law was to prevent transient persons or persons of questionable morals or uncertain character from becoming residents, and thus acquiring a legal "settlement" within its

limits. It is not to be presumed that none but paupers, or such persons as it was apprehended were likely to become so were "warned." It was to ensure, as far as might be, the moral and industrial character of the community, thereby adding to the permanency of the municipality, and to keep out idlers, non-producers, and irresponsible or undesirable settlers, who might become a burden upon the taxpayers. This law had been in force since the colony was established, and had been resorted to at many different times during the existence of the town, but there is no other record of a similarly generous application of its provisions. The design of building a canal around the rapids in Connecticut River at South Hadley, was in agitation about this time, and possibly attracted many who were in search of employment. Some of the persons warned were afterwards among the most prominent business men of the place and it is not very probable that the population of the town was materially diminished by this sweeping application of the statute. Among the list of names may be found those of James Tappan, trader; Fortunatus Prescott, painter; Nathan Storrs, clock-maker; Christopher Slack and Medad Pomeroy, yeomen; and Samuel Breck, tailor.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

MAJOR JOSEPH HAWLEY.

Birth and Ancestry. JOSEPH HAWLEY was born in Northampton, Oct. 8th, 1723. He was the son of Lieut. Joseph Hawley, and Rebecca, daughter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, second minister of Northampton. His grandfather, the first Joseph Hawley, married Lydia, daughter of the famous Capt. Samuel Marshall, who lost his life at the memorable assault upon the Narragansett Fort, in 1676. His father was a farmer and a trader, a man highly respected, and much employed in public affairs, but subject to periods of depression and melancholy, and during one of them he took his own life.¹

Early Education. Major Hawley² was indebted to the schools of his native town for his early education, and throughout life he manifested a strong interest in them, donating by will a portion of his estate for their maintenance. Dr. Samuel Mather, with whom he was afterwards associated in the transaction of much town business, taught the town school for about ten years after 1729, and to him undoubtedly, young Hawley was indebted for the rudiments of his education. The standard of the town schools had ere this been raised to a grade that rendered them competent to fit students for college. It is not certain whether Mr. Hawley depended wholly upon the town schoolmaster for his preparation for college, or supplemented those studies by the aid of his grandfather Stoddard. Certain it is, however, that he was an apt scholar, and entered Yale College in 1739, when sixteen years of age, graduating three years afterwards.

¹ See p. 79.

² The following facts concerning the life of Major Hawley have been compiled from the Judd MSS.; from the Address to the Hampshire Bar by Geo. Bliss in 1826; from the Works of John Adams; from original papers in the possession of Mr. C. L. Shaw of Astoria, L. I.; and from the Hawley papers in the Bancroft collection, in the Lenox Library, N. Y.

Chaplain at the Siege of Louisburg. Intending to devote himself to the ministry, he entered upon a course of study at Harvard College soon after graduation.

Little is known concerning his ecclesiastical education other than that he was at Cambridge in 1744. The next year occurred the celebrated expedition against Louisburg, in which, being but twenty-one years of age, he served as chaplain in the regiment commanded by his cousin, Col. Joseph Dwight of Brookfield. In this capacity he remained till the fall of the city. Major Seth Pomeroy in his journal of that campaign alludes to occupying a room, during sickness, with Chaplain Hawley within the city.

Studies Law. Whether, like his grandfather Hawley, he occasionally occupied a pulpit in some of the neighboring towns, there is no positive evidence, but like him, Mr. Hawley soon gave up preaching, and commenced the study of law under the tuition of Gen. Phinehas Lyman of Suffield. In 1749, Mr. Hawley commenced the practice of law in Northampton, soon taking high rank in his profession.

A Volunteer. In the subsequent wars between the French and English, Major Hawley was active, earning in 1754 the rank of major, by which he was afterwards designated through life. Allusion to such service will be found elsewhere in these pages. He encouraged his brother Elisha, who rose to the rank of captain during the succeeding French and Indian wars, writing to him many letters of advice and encouragement; and he sincerely mourned his untimely end.

First Public Office. In town affairs he was first called to serve as selectman in 1747, and during the next forty years his name was scarcely ever omitted from the board. He was chosen town clerk three years afterwards, and was often made moderator of town-meetings.

Opposes Rev. Mr. Edwards. Hardly had he become fairly settled in the practice of the law, when the trouble which resulted in the dismissal of his cousin, Rev. Jonathan Edwards, occurred. Mr. Hawley, young and

impetuous, threw himself into this controversy with all the earnestness and persistence of youth. Many of the details of this unfortunate affair have been rehearsed in former chapters of this work, and need no further mention. His subsequent apologies to Mr. Edwards, the first of which is given to the public for the first time in these pages, attest his nobility of character, and prove that he sincerely regretted what he considered an unjust course of conduct.

As a Lawyer.

His law practice steadily increased, and he soon reached a position at the head of the bar in this section of the state, even in competition with such men as John Worthington, Simeon Strong, and Moses and John Bliss. As a lawyer his reputation was greatly enhanced by a case which grew out of the opposition to the Stamp Act. Seth Warren was charged with an assault upon the sheriff, Thomas Williams, in the person of his deputy, John Morse, and releasing from the custody of Morse, one John Franklin. The case was tried at Great Barrington, Sept. 2^d, 1766. Warren pleaded not guilty, but was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of £3 and costs, to the amount of £4.6.8 more. Mr. Hawley was engaged to defend Warren, and he appealed the case to the next Court of Assize to be held at Springfield. The verdict was sustained. It was claimed that this decision was illegal, and a controversy arose over the case. Thomas Hutchinson was at this time Chief Justice of the Superior Court, and one of the administration lawyers attempted to vindicate the Chief Justice. This called out from Mr. Hawley a full statement of the facts in the case, which he published in the Boston Evening Post of July 6th and 23^d, in 1767. In these documents he handled the Chief Justice so severely that the latter suspended him from practice. But Mr. Hawley was a man of too much ability and influence to suffer long from such an arbitrary proceeding, and he was soon restored to his former standing.

Major Hawley was popular as an advocate, and very early in his career acquired a reputation that was almost certain to win for him employment in nearly all important trials. His fair and honorable methods of practice gained

him the favor of juries, and his style of argument, always clear, forcible and candid, ever commanded the attention of the court. Well-read in his profession, he was probably more conversant with the forms of old English law than most of his contemporaries. In connection with other eminent members of the bar, he greatly improved the methods of practice then prevailing, and the standard of pleading gradually assumed through their influence its present efficient system. His practice was not as extensive as that of Col. Worthington. He had very little to do in the Worcester courts, but he regularly attended those of Berkshire. As an advocate he was more popular with the jury than the court.

“As an advocate he was powerful and successful. He was grave and solemn in his demeanor: he was strictly conscientious, and he had an instinctive abhorrence of anything approaching deceit. Juries had confidence in his assertions; their opinion of his stern and unrelenting integrity, made them very ready to listen to him. His opinions had with them great weight.”¹

As the oldest magistrate in the county, Major Hawley occasionally presided in the Court of General Sessions. He was active and zealous as a magistrate. In 1774, he retired from general practice, but was active in town, county and legislative affairs for many years. Mr. Hawley retained to a great degree the manners and peculiarities of our puritan ancestors. He was honored, respected and feared by the younger generation, and was by far the most distinguished man in the history of his native town, up to the time of his death.

Moderate in his
Charges.

Though his reputation as a lawyer was equal to that of any of his contemporaries, he was conscientious in all his dealings, moderate in his charges, and never advocated a client whom he thought to be in the wrong. He never would take a fee when a corporation asked advice, nor from a widow or orphan. People were constantly consulting him, and he would take but a pittance for his services. Often he spent an afternoon, and charged but a few pence for his services. For a writ he charged 12½ cents, as he thought that was enough. For writing a will the price was 4s. :

¹ Geo. Bliss. Address before Hampshire Bar, p. 37.

for deeds, 8d. to 1s. ; for writing a letter, 8d. ; for labor in collecting, 6s. per day ; he charged the town for making rates, valuations, etc., 4s. for a day's work.

Member of the Leg- Major Hawley appears first as a member of
islature. the Legislature in 1751. In a private letter dated at Boston, in January of that year, he speaks of being "wholly a new member," and as having had "quite respect eno. paid me by Gentle" of the Board & Town." He was not again elected till 1754. In the meantime his reputation as a lawyer had greatly increased, and when once more he appeared as a legislator, he was recognized as a man of influence and ability. During the years which intervened from his first to his third election to the General Court, Major Hawley was not much in public life, but he was active in town affairs. It was then that the excitement relative to the Stamp Act enlisted every patriot, and awakened and encouraged that spirit of independence which eventually resulted in freedom. Though little is known of him during these years, though he was not conspicuous outside of his own town, yet he strongly opposed the oppressions of the mother-country, and nourished and considered those principles which he so fearlessly espoused when again he found opportunity to advocate them.

He was once more chosen to the Legislature in 1766, when the Stamp Act and the results of opposition to it were the all absorbing topic. Riots had taken place in opposition to it, and parliament proposed that the losses occasioned thereby should be repaid. Mr. Hawley took a conspicuous position in this debate, and startled the community by the boldness and vigor of his statements. At this period he is characterized by the historian, Palfrey, as "a patriot now first rising into notice, but scarcely surpassed by any in later years for services and talents."

A Leader. From that time and till the Revolution commenced, he was annually re-elected to the Legislature. It was during that period that Thomas Hutchinson, his lifelong enemy, wrote of him that "he was more attended to in the House, than any of the leaders, but less active out of it : he was equally and perhaps more attended to than Sam. Adams."

Friendship with John Adams. In 1768, Major Hawley made the acquaintance of John Adams. It was a friendship that lasted through life. Adams was engaged in a case at a session of the Court in Springfield, which he conducted in a manner that attracted the attention of Mr. Hawley. An introduction followed, and the two men became intimate friends.

As a Presiding Officer. Major Hawley had the rare talent of controlling men, especially in a promiscuous assembly. He was very frequently chosen moderator of town-meetings at home, and it is related of him that while a member of the Legislature, a town-meeting was held in Boston, which the moderator could not manage. Mr. Hawley was sent for, and succeeded in quelling the disorder.¹

A Statesman. Gov. Hutchinson, in 1773, endeavored to convince the Legislature and the people that Parliament had a right to make laws for America and to lay taxes. A committee was appointed by the House to answer this speech. Their report was the most elaborate state paper of the Revolutionary controversy in Massachusetts, and Hutchinson states that Mr. Hawley and Samuel Adams were the persons who had the greatest share in preparing it, assisted by John Adams, who was not then a member of the Legislature, but was consulted by the committee at the instance of Major Hawley.²

Prominent in Counsel. In the legislative struggle relative to the Stamp Act, and other antagonisms growing out of it, Major Hawley was in the forefront of the battle. Whatever the legislation in it he was prominent, and his influence was everywhere acknowledged. He was

¹ Bancroft Papers, Lenox Library.

² "The House appointed a committee to take into consideration the Governor's speech. Major Hawley, who, far from assuming the character of commander-in-chief of the House, pretended to nothing, still, however, insisted with the committee in private that they should invite John Adams to meet with them, and to take his opinion and advice upon every question. So critical was the state of affairs, that Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Thomas Cushing, and all their friends and associates, could carry no question upon legal and constitutional subjects in the House, without the countenance, concurrence, and support of Major Hawley."—Works of John Adams, vol. 2, p. 311.

a member of the Committee of Correspondence while the legislative fight was on, and his opinions were sought, and his knowledge of law relied upon in every emergency. He was also a member of the committee to "consider the State of the Province," and on the committee on the Boston Port Bill. But it is not necessary to recapitulate his duties during those years: many of them have already been mentioned in the history of the times heretofore noted. Whenever patriotism, legal ability or sound common sense were needed, there Major Hawley was conspicuous, and there his talents and accomplishments made their mark.

Member of the Provincial Congress. When Gov. Gage refused to recognize the Legislature chosen under precepts issued in his own name, and the patriots were compelled either to yield unconditionally or establish another legislative body to take its place, they chose the latter course, and Major Hawley was elected a member of the "Provincial Congress." He was present at the three sessions of that body. Here he became a leader, and influenced, encouraged and sustained the patriot cause. The records of that body prove that he was one of its most influential members, often on committees, and frequently ordered to bring in some special and important act of legislation. The duties of the Provincial Congress were mainly of preparation for the conflict, the formation and equipment of the militia, the adjustment of affairs with the governments of other colonies, and the Continental Congress. It was a time for action and not for sentiment and speech-making.

Declines an Election to the Continental Congress. When delegates were chosen to the Continental Congress, Major Hawley was among the most eligible candidates. However he declined to accept the position, and the choice fell upon his friend John Adams, but he was strongly interested in the work of that body, and endeavored to hold a consultation with the Massachusetts delegates. Just previous to its first session, Major Hawley addressed a letter to Mr. Adams, inviting the delegation on their way to Philadelphia to come to Northampton, or if that was impossible, to inform

him when they would pass through Springfield, and he would endeavor to meet them there, although he should be compelled to "wait two or three days for it." Failing to meet the delegates, as they did not pass through Springfield, he wrote again to Mr. Adams about the position of affairs, offering for the consideration of himself and colleagues certain propositions, which he denominated "Broken Hints." This document was placed before the delegation, and by them presented to the prominent men from other colonies. When the contents of that paper were made known to Patrick Henry, and he heard the sentiment, "Fight we must finally unless Britain retreats," he exclaimed, "By G—d, I am of that man's mind."

Major Hawley Declines all Office. The services of Major Hawley in the halls of legislation closed with his duties in the Provincial Congress. Not again was he a member of the House, and he steadily declined all further political honor. In 1780, he was chosen a member of the Massachusetts Senate. He declined the position, and addressed a letter to that body stating his reasons therefor. His principal objection seemed to be an unwillingness to take the oath of office required of its members.¹ Soon after he was chosen a member of the Council of Massachusetts, but he declined that position also.

Impaired Health Responsible for much of his Effacement of Self. While Major Hawley on high moral ground resolved never to accept any office or emolument from any government, it may also be believed that the state of his health had much to do with his unwillingness to burden himself with official responsibility. In fact, his unfortunate infirmity seems to have dominated his whole career. In one of his letters, previously quoted, he alludes to a certain trouble that unfitted him for active military service. But during the intervals of freedom from his malady of mind, he entered heartily into the work of sustaining the

1 "The Massachusetts constitution of 1780 compelled every member of its Legislature on taking his seat to subscribe a declaration that he believed the Christian religion. This regulation Joseph Hawley, who had been elected to the first Senate of Massachusetts, in a letter to that body, sternly condemned. * * * He called to mind that the founders of Massachusetts while church membership was their condition for granting the privilege of an elector, never suffered a profession of the Christian religion to be made before a temporal court."—Bancroft, vol. 6, p. 155.

government and counteracting the sentiment of anarchy and opposition to existing laws, at one time so prominent in this State. His influence in town and county was great, and he did much to nullify the movements of the demagogues who were endeavoring to overthrow the government. Though there were outbreaks within his own county, and scenes of violence in his own town, he urged moderation with his misguided fellow-citizens, and in some instances by his timely suggestions succeeded in averting an outbreak. Much of the detail of the work he performed will be found under the heads which treat of these disturbances, in the previous chapters of this volume.

His Home Life. Plain and simple in all his tastes, Joseph Hawley lived the life of a country gentleman, honored and respected even by his most inveterate enemies. In summer he rose at five o'clock, and in winter at six. He cared for his own stock, "did the chores" at the barn, himself, while his wife did the milking. He did not carry on his farm, but rented his meadow-land. He conducted religious services in his own family morning and evening. Twice a week he shaved, and always visited the schools directly after.

Disposition to Melancholy. An inherited disposition to melancholy tinged his whole career, and to it must be attributed much of the obscurity attending his life and public acts. During one of these attacks he burned papers that would now undoubtedly be of great value.¹ In a memorandum, written on the margin of Johnson's dictionary, he describes his sensations during one of these attacks:—

"Mem^d. This day is the ninth day of January, A. D. 1765, and ever since Tuesday the second day of October last, I have been Incapacitated to Judge in moral or religious matters, lost to all the business of my profession, to wit, of the law. The above s^d second day of October was the last day or Time when I attempted to advise or give counsel as a Lawyer and for part of that day I was incapable. But never since. I have been able since and am yet able to deal a little in figures ;

¹ "Of this remarkable man it is to be regretted that so few traces remain. Even under the pen of an enemy like Hutchinson, his character shines like burnished gold."—Works of John Adams, vol. 9, p. 342.

But lost as to all matters which are called matters of judgment. My memory extremely broken, embarrass'd about Religion, all courage, spirit, motive or spring of action or whatever it was which formerly animated me and which now keeps the world alive and in motion, absolutely exterminated. O Piteous case.

JOSEPH HAWLEY.

“No more prospect of my being restored to my former state of enjoyment & capacity for business and action than when a limb of y^e body is amputated that another will grow out in its stead.

J. H.”

During these turns he would usually “sit and muse and smoke. He smoked incessantly on such occasions, and his eye had a wild piercing look.” Occasionally when he was so depressed, Dr. Mather, Dr. Hunt, Col. Pomeroy and other friends, would come to cheer him, but rarely succeeded. They would ride with him and attempt to divert his mind, but he soon fell back into the same state. Col. Pomeroy¹ called upon him on the occasion of some advantage of our army over the enemy; he came in abruptly and said to him “Wake up you cowardly skunk, the days ours,” and finally he succeeded in getting the major laughing.

The first of these attacks occurred in 1760; he had another turn in 1764; was again under this influence in 1766, which lasted two years, and in 1784, had another turn, which continued till his death, four years afterwards. Major Hawley lived to be sixty-five years old, and during the twenty-four years which followed his second attack, he was apparently, for nearly half that time under a cloud. Though much of his trouble arose from religious melancholy, he also apprehended poverty, and weighed down by imaginary evils, he spent many of the best years of his life, unfit for the duties of his profession.

Following these seasons of depression came periods of great exaltation, during which he manifested extraordinary zeal for the cause of liberty and did much to assist and encourage enlistments. It was while thus excited that he read in the meeting-house extracts from a patriotic newspaper of the day.

1 Col. Pomeroy wore a large red cloak, and huge buckles, which descended to his son Asahel; and to the younger members of the family he presented a majestic appearance.—Judd MSS.

Personal Reminiscences. William Bolter, when ten years of age, in 1776, came to live in the family of Major Hawley; his brother Benjamin had lived there before him, and a younger brother followed. William rode with Major Hawley from Boston, and he reported that his companion was treated with great respect along the route. He says: "When it was announced that Major Hawley was coming, all was in motion to set things in order and wait upon him, and many people came to see him during the journey." In one of his gloomy turns, when he thought the British would prevail, and that he would lose his head, some person undertook to comfort him with the assertion that only a few of the leaders would suffer, such as Adams, Hancock, etc., and he exclaimed that he would be among the first to be executed. His wife was always kind and affectionate towards him, and treated him tenderly in all his despondency.

Appearance and Dress. In appearance and dress he was plain and unassuming. On Sundays he wore a checked shirt, made by his wife, and on other occasions was ordinarily clad in homespun garments. Benjamin Tappan, in 1768, then a new-comer into town, called upon him with a letter of introduction. He found the door-latch raised by a leather strap, and seeing a plain looking man in every-day working garb, inquired if Mr. Hawley lived there. "My name is Hawley, sir," was the reply, much to the astonishment of Mr. Tappan.

Marriage. Joseph Hawley was married in 1752, to Mercy, daughter of Joseph Lyman, who was a direct descendant from John, son of Richard Lyman, one of the early settlers of this town. His mother was much opposed to the match, and tried to break it off. Mercy Lyman is represented as a person of fine appearance, of excellent disposition, and "a beauty at 70." They had no children. She died Nov. 29th, 1806, at the age of 77.

Major Hawley's Gift to the Town. Major Joseph Hawley, who died in March, 1788, bequeathed to the town considerable real estate — nearly one thousand acres in all — for the "support of a school." In Belchertown there

were about eight hundred acres, and in Northampton, Easthampton and Southampton, between one and two hundred more. He gave to the "Inhabitants of Northampton my land purchased of Joseph Allen, part of Thomas Allen's home lot, from King Street to Blackpole way, 2 rods wide upon condition the said inhabitants shall continue the way and common open from Uncle Ebenezer's barn to John Clark's home lot. Also my land south of Pelham that came to me from my mother." In addition he gave to the town "the lands that were Uncle Ebenezer Hawley's." This embraced six lots in the meadows, the home lot on Hawley Street, five lots in the different divisions of the commons, and others in Easthampton and Southampton.

Ebenezer Hawley's Property. The real estate of Ebenezer Hawley came to him from his father, the first Joseph Hawley. Ebenezer gave it all to his nephews, Joseph and Elisha, and if they died without issue to the children of his brothers Samuel and Thomas. But in 1783, Major Hawley, by a process of law ("law quirk," Sylvester Judd calls it), had the entailment to his cousins set aside. Samuel Clarke demanded of Joseph Hawley the estate of his Uncle Ebenezer, obtained it, and then deeded it back to Joseph Hawley.

Lawsuit to Recover the Real Estate. Moses Hawley of Amherst, son of Samuel, and cousin of Joseph, brought suit against the town in 1788, to recover the real estate of his Uncle Ebenezer. He claimed to have been "seized of the demanded premises in his Demesne as of Fee and Right," within thirty years. The profits thereof he asserted were worth £10 per year, and he demanded damages to the amount of £1500. At a meeting, held in December, 1788, Caleb Strong, Samuel Hinckley, and Joseph Clarke, were appointed agents of the town to defend the suit. It came to trial in 1789, resulting in favor of the town.

The Town Accepts the Gift. The homestead of the first Joseph Hawley on Hawley Street was part of the property bequeathed to the town, and at the December meeting a movement was made to obtain a vote for

pulling down the old house and selling a portion of the land. A committee was chosen to sell such parts of the uncultivated lands as they should judge "would be best for the town to have disposed of," and the question of demolishing the old house was referred for further consideration. The legacy was accepted in 1791. A committee appointed to consider the matter made the following report:—

"That the Town in order to perpetuate the memory of their respectable and generous Benefactor, Do most Seriously Resolve, that the Principal of the said Legacy be considered as a most sacred deposit for the use and benefit not only of the present, but also of all future generations of the Town. And that the same be forever kept good without any Diminution thereof and that the Income arising therefrom, or so much thereof as shall be necessary, be appropriated for the Support of the Grammar School in the said Town. And that the said School be in future called & known by the Name of the Hawley Grammar School."

This report was accepted and a vote passed to carry out the recommendations it contained.

The Land Sold. The committee having the matter in charge proceeded to sell certain portions of the Hawley real estate, and in 1795, reported that they had received for it £845.12.7. The Belchertown property brought £611.8.10, and the rest, including two lots in the meadows and most of the outlying lands, was sold for £234.3.9. In 1796, part of Ebenezer's home lot was sold to Thomas Bridgman for \$77.17, and the old house was disposed of the same year for £96. There then remained unsold Ebenezer Hawley's Middle Meadow, Young Rainbow, Inner Commons and Little Division lots.

The Hawley Fund. Other portions of the property were afterwards sold, and in 1818, the amount of the fund was reported to be \$3,240. In 1824, the Hawley Grammar School was discontinued, and the income of the fund added to the general school appropriation. The donation is still intact, though it seems to have slightly decreased. It now represents the sum of \$3,000, safely invested in Savings Banks, and its income is still applied to meet the general school expenses.

Business Arrangements.

Major Hawley's business operations were not wholly confined to his profession. He seems to have been in trade with his brother Elisha and his mother, for a few years. They were in partnership in 1747, and for three or four years, for the purpose of "carrying on the trades in goods and silver." The goods were probably the remnants from his father's stock. A company, consisting of Joseph and Elisha Hawley and Seth Dwight, to carry on the leather business was formed in 1747, and continued for about three years. The Hawley brothers put in £562.16.11 each, and Dwight £661.1.8. They bought deerskins from the country round about, and in Albany. These skins were dressed by people in this town and vicinity, and sent out by peddlers about the county. Apparently they did a flourishing business for a few years.

As a Statesman.

Major Hawley struck the key-note in the uprising of the Revolution. He it was who stood in the forefront, bold and aggressive, who gave words to the thoughts that were surging in men's minds. In advance of all the men of Massachusetts, he denied the right of Parliament to make laws for America. In advance of all he proclaimed that the colonies must fight. Yet with all his boldness he counseled delay in accepting the gage of battle. Not that he hoped for a compromise, an adjustment on terms, but he saw that the fight must be to the bitter end, and he urged careful preparations. If war should be precipitated before the proper dispositions were made, before supplies were obtained or the soldiers properly drilled, defeat would be certain. He had much to do towards shaping the work of preparation in Massachusetts.

Before all others, Major Hawley advocated independence. While others were dreaming of a settlement with England, he insisted upon a union among the colonies, and suggested that a general and comprehensive plan of procedure should be adopted. He, more than any other patriot of his day, saw the true tendency of affairs. From the beginning he saw the end, and threw his whole soul into the conflict.

Aids in Recruiting.

During the struggle, Major Hawley labored diligently to inculcate patriotic principles among the people. He took a personal interest in the work

of recruiting in his native town. He would frequently address the soldiers, and when recruits were scarce, would himself follow the drum and fife through the streets, till others, awakened by his enthusiasm, joined the procession. When the first company of minute-men was enlisted in 1774, he addressed them, and that document is still preserved.¹ In it he counsels firmness, obedience, courage and patriotism, urging proficiency in drill, and he suggests to the men, first to make soldiers of themselves, to establish and maintain union in their organization, and allow no discouragements to embarrass their company.

Religious Principles. Major Hawley was a member of the church, admitted during the pastorate of Rev. Jonathan Edwards. Mr. Edwards speaks of him in a letter reviewing the controversy which ended in his dismissal, as a

“young gentleman of liberal education and notable abilities, and a fluent speaker, of about 7 or 8 and twenty years of age, my grandfather Stoddard’s grandson, being my mother’s sister’s son, a man of lax principles in religion, falling in in some essential things, with the Arminians, and is very open and bold in it.”² This statement is undoubtedly correct. Mr. Hawley in his youth was a believer in Arminianism. He says himself: “I first imbibed those wicked principles in the year 1744 when I was at Cambridge. * * * I continued strongly of those sentiments as far as I can recollect, until the year 1754, when God began to shake me * * * but it was a great while before my heart was brought wholly to renounce them.” He did finally repudiate the doctrine, and in 1762 was chosen Deacon, and served in that capacity for twenty-three years.

A well-rounded
Character.

“The extraordinary and unequalled influence of Hawley in forming public opinion for the struggle with Great Britain, has been generally acknowledged; it is not so well known, that on every topic of discussion, his voice was invariably raised, as in defence of the bereaved and oppressed; so also in favor of everything that could advance civil or religious freedom. He had the true instinct of liberty, and while he rejected public honors, was the inflexible and eloquent advocate of the rights of the people.”³ “Major Hawley

1 See Magazine of American History, vol. 22, p. 489, 1889.

2 Dwight’s Life of Jonathan Edwards, p. 410.

3 Hampshire Gazette, Oct. 2, 1833.

was a patriot without personal animosities, an orator without vanity, a lawyer without chicanery, and a gentleman without ostentation, a statesman without duplicity, and a christian without bigotry. As a man of commanding talents, his firm renunciation and self denial of all ambitious views, would have secured him that respect which such strength of mind inevitably inspires; while his voluntary and zealous devotion to the service of his countrymen, established him in their affection. His uprightness and plainness, united to his affability and disinterestedness, gave the most extensive influence to his opinions, and in a period of doubt, divisions, and danger, men sought relief from their perplexities in his authority, and suffered their course to be guided by him, when they distrusted their own judgments, or the counsels of others. He, in fine, formed one of those manly, public spirited, and generous citizens, ready to share peril and decline reward, who illustrate the idea of a commonwealth. * * * and will always be the most admired, appropriate, and noble ornaments of a free government." ²

² Quoted in Hampshire Gazette, March 5, 1823, from Tudor's Life of James Otis.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT—POST-OFFICE—FIRE-ENGINE.

The Ohio Adven-
turers.

THE Ohio company, formed for the purpose of bestowing lands upon soldiers of the Revolution, was established in 1783, and petitioned Congress for a grant between the Ohio River and Lake Erie. Three years afterwards the company was re-organized for the purchase and settlement of western lands with a capital of one million dollars, divided into shares of one thousand dollars each. The next year Rev. Manasseh Cutler and Col. Winthrop Sargent purchased by special contract with the government about 1,500,000 acres of land in parcels. One of them was for the soldiers, and the other for speculative purposes. This movement, although not as successful as its promoters anticipated, yet resulted in the establishment of settlements in the most fertile portion of the Ohio valley. The original intention of the company was to sell these lands exclusively to New Englanders, and great efforts were made to dispose of them to Massachusetts people, very many of whom were induced to invest. From an advertisement in the Gazette, urging the advantage of joining the association early, soon followed by another calling a meeting of the "Ohio Adventurers" from this section at Asahel Pomeroy's tavern, it is believed that some at least from this town determined to try their luck in the new country. Two companies of forty-eight men descended the Ohio, in April, 1788, and began a settlement at Marietta, but there were no names from Northampton among them. Reports of the healthfulness and mildness of the climate, the wonderful fertility of the soil, and the cheapness of the farms, soon spread throughout the country. Western emigration became the

absorbing topic, and it is hardly possible that Northampton escaped the epidemic. New towns sprang up like magic in this agricultural paradise, and many young men sought these new and promising fields.

St. Clair's Defeat. But the Indians, pushed backwards by these movements, claimed that their hunting-grounds were trespassed upon, and excited by the jealousy of the English and the Canadians, broke out into open warfare in 1790 and 1791. While the Creek Indians of Georgia were pacified by treaty in 1790, hostilities with the western and northwestern tribes continued several years longer. They defeated Gen. Harmar in 1790, and in the following year almost annihilated the army of Gen. St. Clair. With a force of fourteen hundred men he marched into the Indian territory, suffered a complete surprise, which was followed by a horrible massacre, and lost most of his artillery and baggage. Several men from Northampton, Westhampton and other Hampshire towns enlisted in this campaign, and five of them were killed. Among the latter were Moses Pomeroy, son of Heman; Julius Pomeroy, son of Pliny, of Northampton; Abiathar Alvord, son of Jonathan, of Westhampton; John Brown of Belchertown, an apprentice of Oliver Pomeroy of this town; and Seth Lyman Jr. of Norwich. George Hunt, son of Joel, Timothy Root, son of Eleazar, and Noadiah Alvord, son of Zebadiah, escaped. It is said that the most of the men who enlisted at this time were either very young men, or veterans of the Revolution who had fallen into uncertain habits.

Schooling Girls. The subject of the education of female children at the public expense came under serious consideration at the March meeting in 1792. Several years before, the matter had been broached, but nothing was accomplished. Strong opposition was manifested to the schooling of girls, and a bitter contest was waged for many years. Some of the most prominent men in the place decidedly objected to the measure. Dr. Ebenezer Hunt and Dr. Levi Shephard were among the most determined of its antagonists. Yet these two men were con-

spicuous in establishing a private school, where boys and girls were taught together.¹ They approved the co-education of the sexes, but were unwilling that it should be done at the public expense. Equally strenuous in favor of the project was George Blackman, the first baker in town. He was a man of good sense and fair abilities, but of moderate means. The advocates of the more liberal policy, earnest and unremitting in their work, slowly gained ground, and finally accomplished their end. At last a committee was appointed to take the subject into consideration, and a favorable report was obtained. It provided:—

“That there should be an additional school kept in Lickingwater to be opened on the first Day of May annually; and to be closed on the last day of October. At which School all the Boys in Lickingwater and Welch End, and also all the Girls within the same limits above eight and under thirteen years of age, shall be instructed in reading and writing by a Master well qualified to teach the same. Provided however, that no children shall be admitted into Said school who have not perfectly learned the letters of the Alphabet.

“That Girls in the other parts of the Town within the ages aforesaid, shall be instructed in reading and writing at the New School House. And the Selectmen for the Time Being shall take due care to have the foregoing report carried into execution.”

This report after due consideration was “passed in the affirmative by a large majority.”

The Work of Co-education Permanently Settled. Here is the first vote ever passed by the town providing for the education of females. Those in favor of giving the girls partial privileges with the boys—they were restricted to reading and writing—had won in the long contest. Provision was made for teaching them throughout the town, but they must attend the master’s school. Yet the advance once commenced, was never retarded, and in a few years female teachers were employed, and from that time forward girls and boys struggled through the elements of education side by side. It is presumed that very few girls availed themselves of this privilege, indeed it must have been quite inconvenient for those living at a distance from the center of the town to do so. This method of co-education has been continued to the present time. Generally an article was inserted in the warrant for town-meeting concerning

¹ See Curson’s School, pp. 475, 476.

the schooling of girls, but the matter was settled once for all, and no change was made. For some reason a special vote was passed, giving Joel Lyman permission to send his daughter to the girls' school.

The Arrangement Continued. In November, 1793, it was not only voted to make no alteration in regard to this matter, but the selectmen were "requested to see that the girls provide themselves with wood when at the master's school." At another meeting the schoolmasters were directed to order scholars that go to the new school-house, to bring one quarter of a load of wood each, or 1s. 6d. in money to be used in the purchase of fuel.

Other Votes about Schooling Girls. From this time there is reason to believe that girls regularly attended the town schools, and the vote requiring them to furnish wood indicates that quite a number of them availed themselves of the opportunity. Still there was something not quite satisfactory, as there was a vote passed in 1793, authorizing the selectmen to let at auction the "southerly upper room in the new school house for the purpose of teaching girls." At a subsequent meeting they were instructed to postpone action on this matter for one quarter. This probably had reference to the "proprietor's school," already noticed, and presumably nothing more was done about it for several years, when that school was permitted to use a room in the school building.

Lickingwater School-House. A slight difficulty occurred in obtaining a site for the new school-house at Lickingwater. The old site was apparently too small, and the committee were instructed to buy additional land if possible, or if that could not be done, to place the building partly in the highway. The result of these instructions is not apparent, other than that a new building was erected.

Minister's Salary Increased. Owing undoubtedly to the hard times, Rev. Mr. Williams, the minister, was in straightened circumstances, and he applied to the town for aid, in 1792. An article was inserted in the war-

rant about increasing his salary, and a committee was appointed to inquire into his needs. A report in favor of granting him aid was made, and the town voted to give him £100; a proposition to make it £160 having failed. For a number of years grants of sums additional to his salary were made, though in 1793, it was decided not to increase the salary; but subsequently a vote was passed to pay him "£65 as a free gift," towards enabling him to discharge his present debts. While the people were willing to vote an ample support to the minister, they were averse to increasing the sum originally fixed upon for his salary. Probably they were of the opinion that the then financial difficulties were only temporary, while an addition to the salary would be permanent.

Post-Office Estab-
lished.

After the Revolution postal facilities were slowly extended throughout the country; so slowly in fact that in 1799, there were only seven post-offices in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. For many years Springfield was the only postal town in this section of the State, and when an office was established here, it covered all the territory in the county on both sides of the river, north of the southern boundary of the present County of Hampshire. It was in the summer of 1792, that government extended the benefits of the postal system through this section, and a post-office was established in Northampton. Previous to that time the nearest one was at Springfield, and everybody who had occasion to visit that town, was expected to bring whatever mail-matter there was destined for Northampton or the neighboring towns. No regular means of conveyance up or down through the valley then existed, and very little correspondence was carried on by persons living in the interior towns. People in those days wrote very few letters, and did not depend on the newspapers for their home news. The Gazette had been for six years a weekly visitor, but local happenings were generally very carefully excluded from its columns. Local intelligence was usually retailed on Sunday between meetings, and on lecture days. An occasional traveler brought a few items of interest from the world at large, or an itinerant artizan, plying his trade from house to house, delighted his employers with gossip,

many times drawing upon his imagination for incidents as he proceeded with his narrative.

Mail and Stage Line. In March, the post-office department advertised for bids for carrying the mails once a week up and down the Connecticut River from Springfield by way of Northampton to Brattleboro, and from Brattleboro to Hanover, N. H. The advertisement was inserted in the Gazette of April 18th, and bids were to be handed in by the first of June. Levi Pease¹ was the successful contractor, and on the 8th of August he advertised that he "had at great expense erected a line of Stage from Springfield in Massachusetts to Dartmouth College in New Hampshire. It leaves Springfield every Monday at one o'clock, P. M. The same day a stage sets off from Dartmouth College—meet at Brattleborough on Tuesday evening, exchanges passengers, and return to Springfield and Dartmouth College, on Thursday. The stage from Springfield stops at Northampton on Monday night, dines at Greenfield, and arrives at Brattleborough on Tuesday evening. The Stage from Dartmouth dines at Windsor, and lodges at Charlestown on Monday night; leaves Charlestown on Tuesday morning and arrives at Brattleborough the same evening." The fare for passengers was 3d. per mile, with 14 lbs. of baggage. One hundred fifty pounds of baggage was equivalent to one passenger. The limitation of baggage to 14 lbs. was not deemed an inconvenience, as few people desired to carry more. Trunks had not then come into general use, and nearly everybody carried clothing, etc., in saddle-bags, portmanteaus, or valises, as they had been accustomed to do when horse-back riding was the principal mode of conveyance.

Stage Line to Boston. The next year, in July, a line of stages was established from Boston to Northampton by Patch & Draper, Worcester being the point

1 Capt. Levi Pease had been engaged in the stage business for many years, and was well equipped for such an enterprise. He was a native of Enfield, Ct., born in 1739. Throughout the Revolutionary War he served in the commissary department, and as a bearer of dispatches. After its close he engaged in staging, and established a route between Hartford and Boston. He was one of the first to organize a stock company to build and maintain turnpikes. In 1794, he was a resident of Shrewsbury.—Temple's History of Palmer, pp. 223, 224.

where passengers were exchanged. The fare from Boston to Worcester was 9d., from Worcester to Northampton 3d. per mile, and 28 lbs. of baggage was allowed. These stages stopped at Lyman's Inn on Pleasant Street. In December, the firm extended their line to Albany. This was the first line of stages from this town to Albany. Pomeroy, Hunt & Co. advertised a line of stages from Northampton to Albany in 1794, to make three trips per week in summer, starting on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and two in winter. The exchange of passengers was made at Pittsfield. It seems probable that the other line had failed. In May of the same year Pease, Hunt & Co. advertised a line of stages between Boston & Albany, to run three times a week. The fare was 3d. per mile. Northampton was the point of meeting for the exchange of passengers, and it was also one of the lodging places. Four days were occupied in the transit from one end of the State to the other.

Stage Lines Beneficial. These were the first lines of stages that passed through this town, and they must have given considerable impetus to the business of the place. While these through lines were running to the east and west, others of equal importance were in operation to the north and south, and before the advent of railroads it was no novelty to see as many as six or eight coaches, drawn by four or six horses, loaded with passengers, arrive and depart daily.

When the Post-Office Commenced. While there is nothing to show the exact date when the post-office was established here, it is but reasonable to infer that there was both a post-office and a postmaster in town when the stage commenced running. Unfortunately Capt. Pease omits to name the date when he proposed to open the route. As his advertisement appeared in the paper of August 8th, it is probable that the stage was put on within a few days, and that the post-office went into operation not far from the middle of that month.

First Postmaster. Col. John Breck, son of Robert Breck, was the first postmaster in Northampton. His first accounts were rendered to the department, March 1st, 1793, when he had undoubtedly been in office about six months. He was at that time in business with his father, under the firm name of Robert Breck & Son. They dealt in "English and Hardware Goods," and "crockery and Glass ware." The store was at the corner of Main and King Streets, near the school-house. The first list of letters was published in the Gazette of Oct. 3^d, 1792. In it were letters for persons living in Chesterfield, Deerfield, Belchertown, Granby, Southampton, Glasgow and Amherst.

Other Postmasters. Col. Breck remained in the office six years, when he resigned and Levi Lyman was appointed, January 1st, 1798. He kept the office at the Registry of Deeds office, west of the Court-House, or opposite the meeting-house. In about two years Mr. Lyman resigned, and Simeon Butler was appointed, April 1st, 1800. He removed the office to his book-store on Shop Row, where are now located S. E. Bridgman & Co.

No Method of Extinguishing Fires in Practice. No public provision for the extinguishment of fires was made in this town till the latter part of the eighteenth century. From the unsafe method of building then existing, with the huge chimney and enormous fireplaces, the exposure to conflagration must have been very great. Yet notwithstanding the fact that pumps and buckets were the only appliances for quenching them, the surviving record of houses destroyed by fire in this town is not large. The first step towards the purchase of a fire-engine was taken in 1792, when the sum of £30 was voted for that purpose at the May meeting. It was not available, however, till an equal amount had been raised by subscription. The incident that undoubtedly called attention to the need of some such provision for safety, was the burning of the malt-house of Benjamin Prescott, which occurred on the 6th of March, involving a loss of \$1000. Undoubtedly the money was promptly furnished, and the engine purchased. At any

rate an occasion occurred for its use in the following October, when a very disastrous fire took place in the center of the town, by which four buildings were destroyed. It broke out about midnight on the 12th of October, in a new block of four stores, situated a short distance east of the present Mansion House. A strong easterly wind prevailed, which drove the flames upon the house of Asahel Pomeroy, then the principal inn in town. A building adjoining, occupied by Nathaniel Blake & Co., soon caught, which was destroyed, together with the dwelling-house of Col. William Lyman. Rain had fallen during the evening and continued to fall while the fire was burning, which aided greatly in extinguishing the flames. In the newspaper account of the fire,¹ no mention is made of the engine. Had it then arrived in town, no doubt some allusion would have been made to its use. This fire, however, led to the procurement of further means of protection. At the November meeting the selectmen were ordered to procure a "suitable number of fire hooks and ladders as they shall judge necessary for the public buildings in case they should be on fire." The engine² must have been obtained during that year, for at the same meeting the first board of fire-wardens was appointed. It consisted of Samuel Henshaw, Dr. Hunt, Col. Lyman, Dr. Shephard, and Capt. Lane. During the month of March, the town voted to buy leather pipes for the engine, and in April the fire-wards were instructed "to procure an Hose for the engine at the expense of the town."

The Engine.

Fire-engines constructed at that day were simply tubs or boxes on wheels, with pumps worked by brakes, forcing the water upon the fire. They were supplied by buckets from wells or cisterns, the people forming lines and passing the pails from one to another. Where the conditions were favorable, water was pumped from wells directly into the engine reservoir. Suction engines did not come into use in this country till 1822, and none found their way into this town till many years later.

1 Hampshire Gazette, Oct. 17, 1792.

2 Dr. Hunt has a memorandum in his account-book in 1793, as follows:—"Our fire engine cost 213½ dollars in Philadelphia."

A Water Supply. When the engine was purchased there was no adequate supply of water for its use in the more thickly settled portions of the town. The only dependence was upon private wells or cisterns, and in such a fire as that just narrated they could have been of little service. An attempt was made to remedy this deficiency, and in the following year, Thomas Star, who lived on Elm Street, near the present Round Hill road, sold the springs in his pasture adjoining that of Samuel Henshaw, to Asahel Pomeroy, William Lyman, Timothy Mather, Benjamin Prescott, and Ebenezer Hunt, who formed the first aqueduct company in town. An aqueduct, consisting of logs bored through the center, the ends accurately fitted into each other, was carried across the rear of the Elm Street lots to a reservoir, built near the front line of the lot on which Mr. Alexander McCallum now lives, and thence across other lots on the same side of the street to the house or tavern of Asahel Pomeroy on meeting-house hill. Near this house a reservoir was built in the highway, which was presumably on or near the site of the one now existing there in front of the First Church. This aqueduct supplied water to the above named parties at their residences, and was in use when the present system of waterworks succeeded the old method in 1871. Another large reservoir was afterwards built at the junction of Elm and Prospect Streets, in the highway near where the fountain now is. These reservoirs were the only reliance of the town for the suppression of fires for many years. The water was supplied at the houses by smaller logs to which a "pent stock" was attached from which the water was constantly flowing.

Another Aqueduct Company. A few years afterwards a second aqueduct company was formed, and water was brought from springs on the easterly or northerly side of Round Hill. It passed down King and into Pleasant Street. In 1804, the aqueduct was in need of repairs, and the company voted that each member should pay for them in proportion to the number of "Pen Stocks" he had in use. Signed to this agreement were the following names:—Solomon Williams, two pen stocks; C. L. Seeger,

one ; Hezekiah Hutchens, one ; Noadiah Pease, two ; Lewis Strong, one ; S. Hinckley, two ; Levi Lyman, two ; and Henry Frink, two.

Division of the
County.

One of the permanent grievances of the time seems to have been the size of Hampshire County. Various attempts for its division have already been noted. The question was once more agitated in 1792, by certain persons from the northern part of the county. At the November meeting a committee was appointed "to show cause why the county should not be divided agreeably to the prayer of David Smead and others."¹ This committee made an elaborate report against the petition, which was entered at length upon the town records and published in the newspapers. It was as follows :—

"1. Because of the expence & inconvenience arising from the local situation of the Petitioners, & their distance from the places of holding the Courts, we presume, has always been & still is within their power to remedy by giving their votes to establish the Courts in a central situation.

"2. Because we are clearly of the opinion that if the ancient number of Courts were again restored to the County, & made central, all their complaints of unreasonable delays in obtaining Justice would be obviated, unless at the Supreme Judicial Court : And as the whole time of the Justices of that Court is occupied in performing their present circuits, we cannot conceive that they would derive a remedy by a division without an additional number of Justices made to that Court, who shall ride in different circuits, and in that case we believe they may be as well accommodated without as with a division of the County.

"3. Because the present form of the County is such that in case of a division, the Inhabitants of many Towns will not be at all benefitted or relieved, but many of them be less accommodated than with a central situation.

"4. Because we believe that the total amount of expenses within the two Counties will be much greater than in the present situation of the County, besides having a tendency to multiply law suits, and be-

¹ A convention of delegates from a number of towns in the northern part of the county, held in December, 1791, voted "to petition the Legislature to divide the County of Hampshire by a line running east and west, across the same, where to your Honors may seem best." This petition was signed by David Smead in behalf of the convention, and was dated "Greenfield, Dec. 29, 1791." The only reason assigned for such a division was the "very great increase of population, settlement, and improvement in the northern part" of the county. It was presented at the next session of the Legislature, and an order of notice served on the several towns, under date of June 25, 1792, returnable at the session of the following year. It was in accordance with that document that the above action was taken by the town.

cause there must also be a great increase of expense for public buildings all which the present County are completely furnished with in a central situation.

“5. Because we humbly conceive that if the Legislature should adopt some more certain method to obtain the sentiments of the several Towns within this County they would find a very great majority opposed to a division; and a very considerable majority even of the Towns within the limits of the new proposed County; as only eleven Towns joined in the Petition when the whole were called on for that particular purpose.

“6. Because we look forward to 1795, and contemplate at the time of revising the Constitution, that (if necessary) there will be a revision of all the Counties within the Commonwealth, and that any partial division at this time may interfere with the general plan that may then be adopted, or that some other measures will be concerted that shall effectually remedy the local inconveniences that many of the Counties within the Commonwealth are now complaining of.

“The foregoing report being read and unanimously accepted, and the Town Clerk directed to transmit an attested Copy thereof to the General Court.”

A Committee to Investigate.

The suggestion in the above report that a committee should be sent into the county to ascertain the sentiments of the people, was acted upon by the Legislature. In May, 1793, the town appointed Ebenezer Hunt and William Lyman, agents to appear before the committee with instructions to oppose a division and “urge the expediency and necessity of holding all the Courts in a central situation in preference to any other possible alteration.” The legislative committee met at Asahel Pomeroy’s tavern on the third Tuesday in October. Nothing resulted from this attempt to divide the county. Probably the committee found that the sentiment of the people was not yet sufficiently concentrated to render any such movement desirable.

Attempt to Increase the Schoolmaster’s Wages. Dancing.

In the warrant for the April meeting in 1793, was an article “to see if the town will encrease Master Lyman and Master Guilford’s wages” and another “to see if the Town will permit dancing in the school under certain regulations.” Was the above action owing to the admission of girls to the schools? In the first place it is but reasonable to suppose that the schoolmasters considered themselves entitled

to more pay because they had a larger number of students under their care. And then the admission of the other sex must have opened the way to the cultivation of the graces and amenities of social life. Both of these items were referred to "the discretion of the selectmen."

Dancing and Dancing Schools. Dancing, which in the early years of the colony, was considered one of the seven deadly sins, prohibited in ordinaries by law, denounced by the clergy, and frowned upon by all godly people, grew in favor as the country increased in population, and became quite a popular amusement previous to the Revolution. In this town from 1760 to 1770, it was generally practiced by the young people. There was no regular dancing hall, and balls were not common; but dancing was permitted on many occasions. At weddings, at thanksgiving time, at quiltings, and frequently at the winding up of a sleigh-ride, the young people indulged in this amusement when a fiddler could be obtained. Sleighing parties frequently carried the fiddler with them.¹ Before the Revolution, Midah, a negro employed in the tannery of Caleb Strong Sr., was the principal fiddler in town. Dancing schools were opened in Boston in 1686, and were quite common in 1774, but there is no evidence that the dancing-master invaded Northampton till twenty years after the latter date. He made his appearance just about the time the matter of dancing in the school-house came up in town-meeting. It is barely possible that the action taken at this time had reference to the use of the school-house for a private dancing school. The clerk recorded the vote as pertaining to "dancing in the school house."

First Dancing School. In this town the first dancing school of which there is absolute knowledge, was advertised in the Hampshire Gazette, March 12th, 1794, to be held in Pomeroy's Hall, so that it is probable that the selectmen were too discreet to permit the school-house to

¹ At the August Court, 1759, Joseph Hawley complained of Ebenezer Pomeroy, innkeeper at Hockanum, Hadley, because in the same month of August, he was guilty of "misrule and disorder in his house, by suffering sundry couples of young people belonging to Northampton, of the two sexes, to sing and dance and revel in his house, and there to continue one whole night next following, contrary to law."

be used for any such purpose, certainly they were not quite ready to add dancing to the curriculum of the schools. It was conducted by Mr. Griffiths, who also had another school at Amherst. These schools soon became permanent, for they were continued by different teachers at intervals during the remainder of the century. Asahel Pomeroy, in rebuilding his tavern, seems to have added a hall, and for many years these schools were held there.

Schools at Lone Town and Lower Farms. Lone Town and Lower Farms both sought better school accommodations and in each case the town voted them an allowance.

To the latter district was voted "as much money towards building a new school house, as they have paid for the new school house in the center and in Lickingwater, amounting to £14.18." The Lone Town people were allowed their proportion of the taxes for schools. Subsequently a committee was appointed to build a school-house there, and a grant of \$50 towards the expense was made.

Mill River Bridge. Lickingwater bridge was greatly out of repair, and at the December meeting an order was passed to make temporary betterments for the winter, and to build a new one the following summer. It was to be sixteen feet wide, to be covered with white pine plank, clear of sap, three inches thick and well pinned down, and to be about eighteen inches lower than the old one. Materials for the new bridge were to be obtained during the winter. At the next March meeting a vote was passed to supply the Lickingwater bridge committee with "rum for raising the same, and with nails for finishing it." This combination undoubtedly formed an "iron tonic," which guaranteed a substantial structure. Before the work was commenced, several persons were added to the committee to advise with them with regard to the place in which it should be erected. It is probable that the new structure was placed a short distance below the old one, and very nearly on the site of the covered bridge recently removed.

The Embargo. During the decade immediately succeeding the treaty of peace, both the United States and Great Britain were continually charging each other

with infractions of its provisions. These animosities were aggravated by British orders in Council, directing English cruisers to seize all ships laden with provisions bound for any French port and bring them to the British Admiralty Courts for adjudication. This meant the extermination of all trade with France and her colonies, and produced great excitement in this country. War with England was strongly advocated. But when Congress assembled retaliatory measures were adopted, and an embargo was laid for thirty days, which was afterwards continued for thirty days longer. This of course nearly interdicted all foreign trade, and so greatly increased the excitement that the question of discontinuing all trade in articles of British growth and manufacture was seriously considered. So strained were the relations between the two countries that war was thought to be almost inevitable. While this hostile feeling was at its height, measures were taken by President Washington, looking to an amicable adjustment of affairs with the mother-country, and Chief Justice Jay was commissioned to negotiate a settlement. At the same time preparations were made for a vigorous defense. Among them was the enrollment of eighty thousand militia. Jay succeeded in negotiating a new treaty with England, which, though bitterly denounced throughout the Union, was ratified by the Senate and signed by the President.

Bounty for Soldiers. In July, soon after the call for troops had been issued, Northampton voted that all who were drafted or volunteered from this town should receive \$3 per month additional pay from the town, provided they were called into actual service. Fortunately no soldiers were needed, but Northampton manifested her patriotism and hearty determination to support the government in its hour of need. The quota of Northampton was filled from the enrolled militia, and numbered forty-three men, who were organized under the command of Capt. Shubael Wilder, and went into training. On the muster-roll they were called "minute-men." They trained one day at Hatfield, and in 1797, the town voted to pay them each \$1 "for their extra service in training one day."

Treasurer's Account-
Books Burned. Either by accident or design, one or more of the Town Treasurer's account-books were burned in 1794. A committee was appointed to investigate the affair, and their report was accepted and placed on file. No vestige of that document has come to light, and it is not known how serious was the loss occasioned by the conflagration.¹ The accident happened early in the year, before the annual meeting, and caused considerable excitement in town, resulting in the election of Samuel Hinckley as Treasurer in March. Mr. Clark had served satisfactorily in that capacity for thirteen years.

First Town Map. During this year the first map of the town, of which there is any record, was made. The General Court ordered that every town in the State should prepare a map and forward it to the State-House. A committee was appointed to attend to this duty, and the map which is reproduced in this volume² is now on file in the State-House, together with the others which were prepared in accordance with the Resolve.

Music Teacher Pro-
vided. A number of citizens, "singers," the warrant calls them, presented a petition praying that a teacher of music might be employed at the public charge. At the September meeting the selectmen were directed to confer with the petitioners and "if they think necessary to hire a singing master at the expense of the town." This indicates that either singing-schools had been discontinued or that they had been carried on by private subscription. Very likely there had been none for several years. The selectmen were also instructed to supply the pulpit when the pastor was absent, and they were recommended to keep regular books containing all the business transacted by the selectmen and assessors.

¹ Mr. Judd in his diary has the following allusion to this affair: "Mr. Joseph Clark has had his desk on Fire, and the Town Book of Treasury is burnt up. Much talk about it."

² Copies of these maps of all the Towns in Hampshire County may be found at the Forbes Library.

School-Committee
Appointed.

In March 1795, a committee was instructed to "report a plan of education comports with the law & calculated to diffuse a general and equal instruction of children throughout the town." At a subsequent meeting this committee reported that they had concluded not to recommend a system of education, but suggested the establishment of a school-committee consisting of the selectmen and four other persons, who should be authorized to control all educational matters in the town. They reported :—

"That it shall be the Duty of the School Committee to provide Instructors, to apportion the Scholars to the different Schools, to determine on School hours, to alter if they see fit the time and manner of instructing Girls, and in general, to inspect & regulate the Schools according to their best discretion. Provided, however, that it shall not be in the discretion of the Committee to violate any law respecting Schools, nor to expend a greater Sum annually than the said 830 Dollars. And that the Town may know the situation of their Schools, the Committee shall report at the March meeting annually a general Statement of the Schools, setting forth the number of Scholars in each the Branches of learning taught in each, and the Sum given to each Instructor."

This report was accepted, and Samuel Henshaw, Capt. Ebenezer Lane, Mr. Solomon Stoddard Jr., and Dr. Ebenezer Hunt, were appointed members of the school-committee. Undoubtedly the arrangement for a school-committee, made a few years previous, had been discontinued. This at any rate was the first provision made for an annual school report. No allusion to such a report has been found upon the records. It is possible that it consisted of a verbal statement made at the appointed time.

Monument to Major
Hawley.

A movement was made this year towards erecting a monument to the memory of Major Hawley. It was high time the town should show in some way its respect for the distinguished citizen who had so freely given such a large portion of his estate to the municipality. But no very great sentiment of generosity towards the memory of its benefactor prevailed in town at that time, for a committee appointed to consider the matter, reported that in "their opinion Mr. Joseph Clarke, his principal Heir, will erect one." There

the matter rested, and no further action was taken. Eventually Mr. Clarke did erect such a monument, which may still be seen in the Bridge Street cemetery.

A Memorial from the Minister. Rev. Mr. Williams presented a memorial to the town concerning his financial affairs, and the committee to whom it was referred, reported that his debts amounted to £203.19.3½, and they also stated :—

“That it is not in their power to point out any eligible plan by which Mr. Williams can possibly discharge his existing Debts and that He is, therefore, necessitated to throw himself on the mercy and generosity of the town for relief, and should they withhold their needed aid, He must be compelled to sell his little real Estate to pay his debts; and then starve before our eyes; or else quit the Town in search of a happier situation; and whether it would comport with the feelings, the Honour, or even the Interest of the Town to compel him to adopt either alternative is left by the Committee to their serious consideration.”

The town met this proposition in the following manner : “After cool & candid consideration of the Subject, voted, That there should be delivered to the Rev. Solomon Williams, & for his use and benefit, Town notes, not appropriated, or in notes of the Town Treasurer, or both, to the amount of £203.19.3½, the transfer and delivery to be under the direction of the selectmen.” It was also voted to pay him £30 per year instead of fire-wood. This last proposition was afterwards accepted by Mr. Williams.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS—CANALS—SCHOOLS.

Revision of the Constitution.

WHEN the constitution of the State was adopted in 1780, it was proposed that a convention should be called in fifteen years for the purpose of revising or changing that instrument, should such a course be deemed necessary. The expediency of such a revision was submitted to the vote of the several towns in the State, in 1795. A special meeting was held in Northampton on the 6th of May, to “vote on the proposed revision of the constitution in order to amendments.” The clerk’s record of the action of this meeting reads:—

“And after the Subject was duly considered, the Selectmen called on those who were in favor of a revision to rise—but no one rose. They then called on those who were against a revision to signify it—whereupon 125 voters declared against a revision.”

The Constitution Satisfactory.

Similar action was taken by a great majority of other towns throughout the Commonwealth, and no convention was held for the purpose of revising the constitution for a quarter of a century. When the provisions of the document came into good working order, it was found to meet all requirements in a most satisfactory manner. Having become reconciled to its demands and growing prosperous under them, the people began to regard it with reverence, and were unwilling to submit it to the uncertainty of a general overhauling. The discontent that prevailed soon after its adoption, had subsided, and the machinery of government was running so smoothly that no one cared to tinker the constitution. No farther movement was made in this direction till 1820, when a convention was held and the instrument was very thoroughly and carefully revised.

Singing-Master Employed. Elias Mann was employed by the town to teach singing-school, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday evenings during the months of December and January. He was paid \$26 for his services and was to lead the singing on the Sabbath.

Guide-Posts Erected. A series of guide-posts was erected about town by the selectmen in accordance with the law, and the list placed on file. These had reference to the direction and distances to other towns, and not to the streets of Northampton.

Funerals in the Meeting-House. The custom of holding funerals in the meeting-house seems to have prevailed, for a vote was passed that "no corpse shall in future be carried into the meeting house in the time of public worship, on the Sabbath." Several cases of contagious disease appeared in town about this time, and this undoubtedly was the reason for such a vote.

The New Treaty Opposed. The treaty with Great Britain, negotiated by John Jay was strongly antagonized even before its provisions had been promulgated. The great opposition manifested towards it throughout the country was mainly political, and for that reason was all the more vehement and bitter. Meetings in opposition to it were held in the large cities. In Boston so intense was the feeling that riots occurred. Certain government officers were insulted, and in one instance assaulted. Notwithstanding this opposition the treaty was ratified by the Senate.

Memorial to Congress. In the National House of Representatives in 1795, came up the question of an appropriation to carry out the provisions of the treaty. It was feared that the prevalent hostile feeling would ensure the defeat of any bill for that purpose. Consequently an attempt was made to influence the action of Congress by petitions and memorials from the rural districts. A meeting of "a respectable number of Free holders and other Inhabitants of Hampshire County," was held at Northampton, April 27th, 1796, at which it was voted

“that the treaty lately negotiated with Great Britain, ought to be carried into immediate effect.” Samuel Henshaw, Ebenezer Hunt of Northampton, William Pynchon of Springfield, Ebenezer Mattoon of Amherst, William Coleman of Greenfield, Jonathan E. Porter of Hadley, and Warham Parks, were appointed to draft a petition to the National House of Representatives. This document was prepared, adopted by the convention, and a vote passed requesting “the Grand Jury of the county to forward to each town in the County of Hampshire a copy of the Petition, together with a circular letter desiring their immediate attention to this momentous subject.” That body at once acceded to this request and dispatched the desired letter and petition to the several towns.¹

The Town Approves. On the second of May the letter from the Grand Jury and the accompanying petition came before the town, when it was unanimously voted “that the Circular Letter from the Grand Jury of this County together with the Petition to Congress, praying that provision might be made to carry into effect the Treaty lately negotiated with Great Britain, as mentioned in the foregoing warrant should be read.”

“Whereupon after two several readings Voted unanimously to accept the same.” Subsequently it was voted “unanimously, that the said Petition is expressive of the Sentiments of this Town and that it should be delivered to Ebenezer Hunt and by him sent to Sam'l Lyman, Esq., requesting him to lay the same before the House of Representatives, now in Session at Philadelphia.”

Approved by the County. On the 11th of May, meetings had been held in most of the towns in the county and votes passed approving the petition. The meetings were uncommonly full and unanimous upon the subject. Petitions from fifteen towns in this neighborhood were forwarded to Congress by mail on the 6th of May.²

1 This letter may be found in the Hampshire Gazette, May 4, 1796.

2 Hampshire Gazette, May 4, 1796.

Approved by the Militia. A strong feeling in favor of carrying out the provisions of the treaty pervaded the county and manifested itself on all public occasions. At most of the May trainings of the militia, at which it was customary for the soldiers to dine together, patriotic toasts and speeches were made in favor of the treaty.

Geese not to run at Large. In December a by-law to restrain geese from going at large in the streets, was adopted. It provided that all such animals found upon the highway within a mile and a half of the Court-House, were liable to be killed, the animal to be forfeited to the person killing the same.

A Pest-House. In the following January, a movement was made to build a "Hospital," which was simply a polite name for a pest-house. It was to be one story high, and to be built on town land near where the former "Hospital" stood. In March the purchase of a small piece of land on which to place the building was authorized. About this time Mrs. Hannah Murray sued the town for the use of her house in a case of smallpox. A committee reported that the expense should be paid from the estate of the deceased, but under the circumstances the town might with propriety pay one half the bill. Probably this was the case of Abner Barnard, who died of that disease in January.

Protection against Fires. This year a committee was appointed to report concerning the best method of preventing fires, and they seem to have confined themselves wholly to school-houses. They recommended

"That the present and all future Selectmen make it an indispensable Condition with the Preceptors who are or may be improved in the Several Schools that they shall every night see that the Fires in their respective Schools be wholly extinguished and that no Preceptor be improved who will not engage so to do & Practice, and that in default thereof they be dismissed, and that each School be furnished with a Pail."

The selectmen were also authorized to "contract with some Person living near the Center School House and a per-

son living near the School House in Lickingwater, whose duty it shall be to take care of the Buildings and see that the Preceptors obey the orders of the Town respecting Fires." They were also instructed to procure two stoves for the Center School-House. The scholars had been heretofore warmed by huge fireplaces, and no doubt they were very uncomfortable in cold weather, and the building was liable to take fire from carelessness or neglect. There is no indication that either of them had suffered in this respect, but some danger from that source was feared, else these special precautions had not been taken.

Other Precautions to
Subdue Fires.

In November of the same year still farther precautions were taken. The fire-wardens were directed to "fasten ropes to the Fire Hooks, and they are also to be vigilant and alert at all times in conveying them to any part of the Town where a Fire may happen." At the same time the wardens were ordered to procure four ladders, to be placed "one on the Plain [upper part of Bridge Street], one in Lickingwater, one in New Boston [upper Elm Street], and the other in the center of the town, and in care of some Persons with Instructions not to lend them, except in Cases of Fire." The selectmen were also empowered to procure a dozen leather buckets for the use of the engine to be deposited and kept with the machine.

No Visible Reason
for Activity about
Fires.

Some special reason must have existed for all these additions to the fire-department. Towns do not usually wake up so thoroughly and appropriate money for any such object unless there is some exciting cause. Yet nothing appears to have occurred in this town to call attention to the need of more and greater safeguards against fires. The newspapers may be searched in vain for anything bearing upon this point. They were not in the habit of publishing local news. Everybody knew what was going on at home, and as every local item was published at the expense of so much foreign news, or of some aged item from Boston, Philadelphia or New York, it is vain to look for anything of the kind.

Another Fire-Engine. The following year an effort was made to obtain another fire-engine, and the town agreed to pay one half the cost, the other half to be raised by subscription. An order for \$150 was to be drawn by the selectmen, when a like sum had been provided by the citizens. That this sum was speedily forthcoming is very probable, though nothing positive appears on the records for several years, indicating that two fire-engines were in use here. The new one was of course of the same type as the other, that being the approved standard of its day. The brakes by which these machines were operated were placed at each end at right angles with the apparatus, and not parallel with it as in those that were built a few years afterwards. The appropriate and suggestive names of "Whale" and "Damper" were attached to them and they did excellent service till other and improved machines out-ranked them. Though fire-wardens had been provided, no organized fire-department was then in existence, no fire-companies had been formed, and the "tubs" were managed and operated by those who first gathered when an alarm was given. Every person was a fireman, and two lines of men were formed to the nearest and most convenient water supply, at which buckets were filled, passed from hand to hand and the water poured into the machines, the other line passing back the empty buckets. Then the brakes were manned, and the stream forced where it would do the most good. When the "old church" was built, in 1812, it was placed so high upon the under-pinning as to form a large and commodious basement. This was used for storage purposes, and the entire fire apparatus was kept there for many years. These machines were both small, and could be handled by a few men. No one received any pay for his labor on such occasions; the abatement of poll-taxes to such as served in the fire-department came in after the formation of regular fire-companies. Though there was nothing to influence people in favor of either of these engines, they very naturally became interested in one or the other of them, and a brisk competition sprang up. In 1804, it became so pronounced that the town was asked to offer a premium to the one that first reached the fire.

Better Machines
Substituted.

It was not till 1822 that suction engines came into use and were substituted for the older styles. Fire-companies had been formed some years previous, and with new and improved machines more men were needed. The "Torrent" was the first of these that was purchased, and it did good service till steam fire-engines came into use. In a few years the "Deluge" was added to the town's equipment, and for a long time these two in connection with the "Hook & Ladder" company, constituted the fire-department of the town.

Destruction of Crows. The destructiveness of the thieving crow was again recognized and a bounty of 2s. placed upon his head. This resulted in the death of fifty-five of these pests at a cost of \$18. Many of them were the young taken from the nests. In 1801, there was another slaughter of crows. The bounty was twenty-five cents for old ones and twelve and a half cents for the young. The whole number of these birds killed during that year, young and old, was one hundred twenty-eight, at a cost of \$27.12½. The animals seemed to increase notwithstanding the deadly war waged against them.

Canal at South Had-
ley Falls.

One of the most important engineering feats that had been undertaken in the county, and certainly the most important in this section of the country, was the construction of the canal around the Falls at South Hadley in the closing years of the eighteenth century. While it benefited Northampton not more perhaps than other towns in the valley, it occasioned much distress and discomfort here for many years, and therefore it may not be deemed inappropriate to enter somewhat in detail upon the inception and subsequent fortune of the enterprise.

Connecticut River
the Great Water-
way.

From the time of the first settlements in the valley, Connecticut River served as the great waterway for the transportation of goods and supplies from all parts of the world, and it was as well the principal carrier for the products of the fields and forests throughout all the region it traversed. Navigation was slow, difficult and tedious, and attention was

early called to methods for its improvement. It was not, however, till this town had seen nearly a century and a half of existence that the efforts to that end met with any measure of success.

River Navigation much Interrupted by Rapids and Falls. Above Springfield the passage of the river was interrupted by numerous rapids, shallows and falls. The greatest of these obstructions were the falls at South Hadley and those at Montague, known as Turners Falls. Around them both all freight moving in either direction, had to be transported. Northampton from its settlement had a landing-place in Springfield, afterwards West Springfield, and now the thriving city of Holyoke. In settling the boundary between Northampton and Springfield, a special agreement was made by which the former town was allowed access to the landing-place on the river, within the territory of Springfield. This was below the rapids at what is now Willimansett. From this point upward bound freight was carted to its destination, if for Northampton or adjoining towns, or to the landing-place above the falls at South Hadley if intended for further transportation on the river. Much of the land-carriage around the falls was done on the west side of the river, from the Northampton landing in Springfield to a convenient place on the river above the falls. This was in the vicinity of Smiths Ferry, below the "Bates House." Boats bound up the river came to this point for their loads. There seems to have been a place in Northampton where West India goods were delivered, that was called "Newport." Probably it was above the falls and may have been at the landing-place at Smiths Ferry. The distance between the two landing-places, from that above South Hadley Falls to a point below Willimansett, was six miles, and the price for cartage either way was 5s. per load. A team sometimes made two trips each way in one day.¹

Canals decided upon. As settlements multiplied, the demand for improved facilities for transportation became more and more imperative. For many years the question of surmounting these difficulties was in contem-

¹ Judd MSS.

plation, but it was not till 1792, that the enterprise of building canals around the falls at South Hadley and Montague took definite shape. On the 23^d of February, the Legislature incorporated "the Proprietors of the locks and Canals on Connecticut River," for the purpose of rendering the river navigable for boats and other things from the mouth of Chicopee River to the northern boundary of the State. The corporators named in the act consisted of twenty-one of the prominent business men of Hampshire County. Among them were Caleb Strong, Robert Breck, Samuel Henshaw, Ebenezer Lane, Ebenezer Hunt, Benjamin Prescott and Levi Shephard of Northampton.¹ Christopher Collis of New York made the preliminary surveys, and subsequently the work was put in charge of Benjamin Prescott, as chief engineer. The canal at South Hadley was to be completed in four years, that at Turners Falls in six years.

Specifications.

Engineer Prescott had no precedents in this country to aid him in the planning or execution of the work. It was the first canal constructed in New England, and the first of any importance finished in the United States. The capacity of the locks was to be equal to the transportation of boats or rafts twenty feet wide and sixty feet long. Toll was fixed from the mouth of Chicopee River to the mouth of Stony Brook. For every ton in weight it was to be 4s. 6d. ; for one thousand feet of boards the rate was the same, and for other lumber in rafts or otherwise, in the same proportion. In the following year the Legislature empowered the company to assess the proprietors in order to obtain money to carry on the work, and to sell the shares of all who refused to pay. The cost of the undertaking bid fair to exceed the estimates, and money was hard to be obtained. These financial troubles very nearly wrecked the enterprise. Money sufficient for its needs could not be obtained in this country, and the scheme was laid before the financiers of Holland.

¹ The corporators named in addition to the men from Northampton were Hon. John Worthington, Samuel Lyman, Jonathan and Thomas Dwight, John Hooker. William Smith of Springfield, Theodore Sedgwick of Stockbridge, David Sexton and John Williams of Deerfield, Samuel Fowler of Westfield, Justin Ely of West Springfield, Dwight Foster of Brookfield, Simeon Strong of Amherst, and William Moore.

Considerable stock was disposed of in that country, and sufficient capital to complete the construction was obtained there. Unexpected difficulties were encountered in its prosecution, and the Legislature of 1793 modified the charter by reducing the capacity of the canal, so that boats or rafts only sixteen feet wide and forty feet in length could pass through. In the following year the corporation was divided by the Legislature, and two companies formed. The old company, the original proprietors, had jurisdiction of the lower locks and canal, and the new one was constituted to carry forward the work at Turners Falls. The latter was known as the "Proprietors of the Upper Locks and Canal on the Connecticut River."

The Lower Canal. The work of constructing the canal in South Hadley was commenced early in the summer of 1793. About two hundred fifty workmen were employed the first year, and nearly two hundred more were added the following season. It was two and one half miles long, and for nearly all of that distance was excavated through a bed of sandstone rock, "too hard to be easily dug, and too loose to be blown."¹ In depth it varied from sixteen to thirty feet, and its width was twenty-five feet. In connection with the canal and in order to deflect the current of the river into it, a dam was thrown across the river. Its construction was part of the original design. The first advertisement of the proprietors invited proposals for building this dam so as to raise the water seven feet. This structure was built obliquely across the river from the mouth of the canal to within one hundred or one hundred fifty feet of the west bank, and for the rest of the distance it went straight. Its entire length was 1130 feet, its height about eleven feet and it raised the water four feet above the common level.² This dam was the cause of considerable trouble to people living in Northampton, and was the occasion of not a little litigation.

Method of Passing. In moving through this canal the boats, during the years immediately following its construction, were raised and lowered to the proper level

¹ Dwight's Travels, vol. 1, p. 323.

² Dwight's Travels, vol. 1, p. 322.

by means of an inclined plane, overcoming a height of fifty-three feet within a distance of two hundred thirty. Over this the boats were carried in an immense car or carriage, which was run on three sets of wheels, the second and third sets being so much larger than the first as to keep the carriage level. Boats or rafts were floated into a lock, and as the water was allowed to escape, they settled down upon the car. This car was attached by ropes at first, and afterwards by chain cables, to a huge drum at the top of the canal, which was operated by an overshot wheel at each end, sixteen feet in diameter. When the boat or raft was passed through the canal, the water from the river above was turned onto these wheels, and they were easily and safely carried in either direction.

The Canal Opened. This work was completed in the fall of the year 1794, when the canal was opened by an apparently impromptu celebration, in a most informal manner. A boat load of people, consisting of the President, Directors, Stock-holders, and a number of others, ladies and gentlemen, to the number of sixty or seventy persons, were carried through the canal in both directions. The proprietors gave it the name of the "Hampshire Machine," and the "company then gave three decent and joyous cheers, on beholding so pleasing, ingenious and useful a novelty in this country."¹ This structure was for many years a great point of attraction for all the country round about. It was resorted to by parties of young people, and by older people, who often remained at the tavern there over night. "It was the lion of this section," and was the first attraction that drew crowds of sight-seers. These visitors nearly all traveled on horseback. The tavern frequented by them was in the village of South Hadley Falls.

High Water in Northampton Meadows causes Sickness in the Town.

The dam raised the water so much above its ordinary level as to effect the height of the stream for ten miles or more. Consequently the water set back upon the Northampton meadows in times of freshets, leaving stagnant water where no water remained before, as it receded,

1 From newspaper reports.

and causing much sickness in town. Fever and ague, which had been unknown here for sixty years or more, became prevalent. In South Street, in particular, almost every family had one or more of its inmates sick with this disease. It spread also in other parts of the town, and occasioned much excitement in the community. The matter was brought before the town, and in November, 1798, for some undiscovered reason, it was voted not to petition the General Court to remove the dam. In May, 1799, the matter again came up, and a committee was appointed to consider it and report. They stated that the prevalence of the fever and ague was caused by the water of Connecticut River "being thrown into our ponds and meadows, by the lower canal dam, and being there confined till a putrid exhalation poisons the neighboring atmosphere. It was then voted to confer with the proprietors and directors, and assure them that unless they take immediate measures to remedy the same, the town would petition the General Court "to interfere in behalf of the Lives and Health of the Inhabitants of this town."

Attempts to Remedy the Evil. This committee reported that they had "conversed" with the proprietors and found them disposed to remedy the defects complained of, and that they would consider the question at their next meeting. This seems to have been the first action taken by any one for the purpose of obviating the evils thus brought upon the community. Northampton people were in earnest, and instructed the committee to attend the meeting of the directors. Nothing satisfactory seems to have been accomplished at this time, and the difficulty remained without remedy for two years longer. At the May meeting in 1800, the selectmen were ordered to petition the General Court to remove the dam, and similar action seems to have been taken by the town of Easthampton. Satisfied that these two towns were determined to take efficient measures for their own protection, the company at a meeting held in October, proposed that they would "as soon as conveniently practicable in the ensuing season, lower the dam three feet, or would remove it entirely and erect one at some other place, which shall not be

so high as the present dam by three feet, or make some other material alteration in their works, so as to remove all grounds of complaint, should the Government see fit to afford them such aid as will enable them to accomplish such alterations." A petition for aid was to be sent to the Legislature, and the two towns were requested "to assist the proprietors by instructing their Representatives to coöperate with them in obtaining such assistance from the Legislature." Northampton voted to act in accordance with this suggestion, but stipulated that it would not "sanction the right of obstructing the waters by erecting a dam in any way that may be injurious to said towns."

The Towns Petition
for Relief.

Northampton and Easthampton petitioned the Legislature in 1801, in regard to the sickness occasioned by the locks and canals, praying that some remedy might be devised. A committee of that body visited the towns during the same year. They took testimony in regard to the complaints about fever and ague, made an examination of the works and of the state of the fisheries. Their report to the Legislature was made early in the session of the next year. A lottery to raise \$20,000 to make the needed changes was granted to the proprietors, and they were also ordered to make compensation to those who had suffered loss from sickness or otherwise in consequence of the dam. It took some time to realize the money from this lottery, and not till 1804 was anything done. In October of that year a meeting of the sufferers was held at Asahel Pomeroy's tavern to devise some method of distributing the money assigned by the proprietors as compensation for the losses sustained by the citizens by sickness or otherwise.

Alleged Lawsuits on
account of the Dam.

In the various accounts of this undertaking that have been published from time to time, the statement is reiterated that the company had been indicted for maintaining a nuisance on the complaint of several of the inhabitants of Northampton, and ordered by the courts to remove their dam. It is alleged that in consequence of this verdict all but the oblique portion of the structure had been taken

away. A careful investigation of the court records here reveals no such trial.¹ From the town records quoted above it appears that up to 1800, the dam remained intact, and that the company made no effort to change the works till after the application to the Legislature for pecuniary aid.

The Canal Improved. These troubles had a depressing effect upon the stock, and the Dutch holders sold out at a sacrifice, so that the shares came eventually into the possession of a few men. With the sum realized from the lottery, the company went forward with their proposed improvements. Their object was to dispense entirely with the necessity for a dam by lowering the bed of the canal four feet throughout its length. This expedient was successful and the change was completed in 1805, the work being done under the supervision of Ariel Cooley. The inclined plane, car and cables were abandoned, and the ordinary canal locks substituted. Mr. Cooley entered upon a contract with the company to keep the canal in repair, survey the craft that passed through, and collect the tolls for fifty years, for one quarter of the gross receipts. In a few years it was found necessary in order to increase the facilities of the canal to extend another dam across the river. This one was built in 1814, and but partially completed when winter set in, and during the freshets of the following spring it was swept away. Another dam was erected the next year which stood for nine years, when it was carried away. Mr. Cooley having died in the meantime, his administrators "rebuilt the dam which still stands and is marked by a slight ripple where the water joins with the dead water set back by the great dam of the Hadley Falls Company." These dams were indicted under the nuisance act on account of their obstruction to the fisheries on the river. Mr. Cooley, however, built a fishway, through which the shad were enabled to pass up the river. This canal remained in operation till the establishment of the

1 The above statements undoubtedly had their origin in the following paragraph from Dwight's Travels, vol. 1, p. 323:—"Agitated by these disastrous events, several of the inhabitants instituted suits against the proprietors of these works, under the law concerning nuisances. During the trial of one of these suits, the dam was declared to have been erected illegally. The proprietors were, therefore, liable to an endless train of prosecutions, of the same nature."

Hadley Falls Company, by whom it was purchased. Navigation constantly decreased till the railroad usurped the freighting business, and the canal was used solely for manufacturing purposes.¹

The Rapids at Willimansett.

The act of incorporation empowered the company to improve the navigation of the river from the mouth of Chicopee River in the town of Chicopee to Stony Brook in South Hadley. This of course included the rapids at Willimansett, which are situated about a mile below those at South Hadley. They could not be passed except at certain stages of the water, unless some improvement should be made. Nothing shows that this company did any work there, but in 1805, they were passable. A canal had been built a mile long, about twenty feet from the east bank of the river. At this point there is a fall of sixteen feet, and two locks were found necessary. "A sort of dam" was built in order to fill the canal.² It is hardly probable that this work had been done previous to the incorporation of the above company. No allusion was made to it in any advertisement of the company, and it may be that those rapids were considered but a continuation of the falls at South Hadley.

Illegal Voting Suppressed.

In 1798, a vote was passed directing the selectmen, and it was especially enjoined upon them, to challenge any person who should attempt to vote in town-meeting, unless he was qualified according to law. Illegal voting it would seem could not have been very extensively practiced in those days without immediate detection, as everybody knew all about everybody else, and in many instances knew more about his neighbors than they knew about themselves.

School-House in Easthampton and Roberts Meadow. Singing-Master Hired.

Medad Strong and others built a school-house at Easthampton, and requested the town to pay part of the cost. The town, however, voted not to grant any money to the parties, but committed the matter to the selectmen.

¹ For authorities consult Judd MSS.; Dwight's Travels, vol. 1, p. 331, etc.; Holland's Western Massachusetts, vol. 1, p. 306, etc.

² Morse's Geography, ed. 1805.

What the selectmen were to do is not clear. If no money was to be given towards the payment for the school-house, it is difficult to see what there was for the selectmen to do in the premises. They were not ordered to report. At the same meeting \$20 was granted towards the erection of a school-house at Roberts Meadow; the money was to be paid when the house was completed. This application fared better than the preceding one, probably because it was a portion of Northampton, while Easthampton had been set off into a separate district. The Roberts Meadow school-district was to extend from Thomas Cole's house to Williamsburg. Mr. Mann was again hired to conduct the singing-school two days in a week from November to May, for which he was to be paid \$50.

Rev. Mr. Williams Petitions for an Increase of Salary. Rev. Mr. Williams again came before the town with a request for more salary, based on the hard times and the high price of provisions. The town, however, refused to pay him anything additional. A proposition to allow him \$100 more was negatived. He was still persistent and at a subsequent meeting presented an address concerning his financial affairs. But the town was not then in a generous mood, and would not consent to consider the matter in any form; a proposition to appoint a committee to confer with him was promptly voted down.

No Change in Boundary. Grant to Israel Rust. An attempt was made to change the boundary between the Hatefield and the Lovefield divisions of the commons, but the decision was that the line should remain where it was laid in 1751. At the December meeting an order was passed to re-enclose the pound. About this time Israel Rust was given permission to erect a building on town land, at the brick-kiln, so as not to interfere with the highway. He lived at that time on Meeting-House Hill, and this location must have been near the lower end of South Street, as the brick-yard, laid out near Meeting-House Hill when the town was settled, had long been abandoned.

A Pauper Propo- A proposal came before the town in re-
sition. gard to a contract to keep Thomas Starr, a
pauper, during life. This was not quite in
keeping with the method of caring for the town poor,
then in practice. The people were not ready to make a life
contract of that nature, so the suggestion found no favor.

South Street Reduced South Street) was reduced in width.
in Width. Land on each side of the highway was
sold to the abutters at the rate of £25 per acre. To what
extent the roadway was narrowed is not shown, but appar-
ently every resident was ready to buy. The names of six
persons are recorded as purchasing on the north side and
eight on the south side of the street.

In November, the usual vote to hire a singing-master,
this time for two months, was passed. The next month no
less than eleven persons were ordered out of town, to de-
part within fifteen days.

Preserving Order on In March, 1800, the tithing-men were di-
the Sabbath. rected to complain to a Justice of the Peace
of any disorderly persons on the Sabbath,
and instructed to prevent boys from leaving their seats
until the service was ended. The authority of the tithing-
men seems to have been set at naught. Boys, always rest-
less and uneasy, anxious to escape from the tiresome and
tedious exercises, stampeded before the last amen had been
uttered, greatly to the disturbance of all sober and deco-
rous worshippers. All attempts, however, to discipline
them seem to have failed. Throughout the history of the
town down to the commencement of the present century,
there is constant reference to disorderly youth, particularly
in the meeting-house. Many stringent votes were passed,
and not a few by-laws adopted for the purpose of correct-
ing this evil, but apparently without avail. All through
this history, attempts to subdue the irreverence of children
during religious services on the Sabbath, have been re-
peatedly noted. The youth of those days were incorrigible.

A New Street Re-jected. An unsuccessful attempt was made in 1801, to lay a road from Lickingwater bridge across the home lots of Dr. Hunt and Samuel Hinckley. Undoubtedly this was a road from South Street bridge to Pleasant Street, nearly parallel with, but considerably to the north of the present River Street. Dr. Hunt owned the lot bounded west on old South Street, extending from Mill River to Main Street, and Mr. Hinckley that on Pleasant Street, which in more recent years has been known as the Kirkland homestead.

Schooling Girls. The subject of schooling girls came before the town again at the April meeting in 1801. Coupled with it was the question of dividing the town into school-districts. Girls had been allowed to attend the town schools for a number of years, and doubtless many availed themselves of the privilege. The town was pretty evenly divided upon this question, as the votes in different years seem to indicate. Girls were not admitted to the town schools every year after permission was first granted. In 1799, the town refused to make any appropriation for schooling them.

Girls' Schools. During the latter part of the eighteenth century, schools for girls, taught by females, were plenty. The best of them were not of very high grade, and a majority of them were for the tuition of very young children. Five or six such schools are mentioned in Mr. Judd's interviews with old people, held in 1852 and 1853. They were kept in private houses, though some of them were held in rooms hired for that purpose. Not many of these schools were commenced, however, till after the private school taught by Isaac Curson, already described, was established, and they flourished a number of years, till the town took the matter in hand and engaged female teachers. Many of the teachers, previous to 1800, were residents of the town, daughters of some of the first citizens, who kept school at their homes, but only during the summer months. Most conspicuous among them in point of ability, were Miss Sally Hill and Miss Sumner of Boston. Miss Hill was engaged by Mr. Joseph Clarke. She began her la-

bors in 1791 and kept four years, most of the time in Mr. Samuel Clarke's house. She is represented as a strict disciplinarian, and inclined to be severe, ferruling the children for the slightest breach of the rules. At last some of the principal citizens became dissatisfied, especially Judge Henshaw, and she left in 1795. Miss Sumner took her place the same year, and was employed for some time. In these schools not only were the rudiments of education obtained, but also the first elements of needlework. Reading, spelling, and sewing comprised the curriculum, though some of the older scholars were taught to write, but arithmetic was an unknown quantity. In Miss Hill's school Perry's Spelling-Book was used, as she was not in favor of Webster's. The Psalter and Bible were also in use, and a book of reading lessons, mostly religious. Sewing was one of the most important branches taught in these schools. It is reported that one young girl about six years old, made a Holland shirt as part of her school work.¹

Schoolmistresses Em-
ployed by the Town.

When the question of schooling girls came before the town, it was referred to a committee, who reported in substance as follows: That schoolmistresses should be provided for female children under the age of ten years, for five months, from the first of May to the first of October, one mistress to thirty scholars or thereabouts; that a committee should be appointed by the town to employ such mistresses, and apportion the scholars among them; that female children between the ages of ten and fourteen should have liberty to go to the town schools under the direction of the selectmen for three months in the year, to wit, from the first of May to the first of August, for the purpose of being instructed in writing and the higher branches of education. No

¹ The following statement from Mrs. Luther Hunt, who was born in 1776, shows how and by whom some of these schools were carried on:—"When four or five years old she went to school one summer to Hannah Parsons, daughter of Jacob, at his house; one summer to Rachel Parsons, daughter of Isaac, at his house. After this she went several years to Prudence Parsons, daughter of Josiah, at his house. Prudence kept school 10 or 12 summers, not in winter. She had 20 or thirty scholars, who each paid her 6^d per week. When Mrs. Hunt went to her, they read in the testament, and the smaller ones in the spelling book, and had no other reading books. She does not recollect using a psalter or Dillworth's. They spelt also daily and repeated a portion of the catechism once a day. Much of the time was spent in sewing, that was an important object of the school."—Judd MSS.

recommendation about school-districts was made. They did not come for five years.

The Report of the Committee under Consideration. This proposed change in school matters was not accepted, apparently, without opposition. The Committee appointed at the April meeting reported in May. Their recommendations were not accepted at this meeting, but were placed on file. The questions involved were not again considered till the following year, when the report was accepted and the recommendations adopted. About the same time the selectmen were instructed to employ Mr. Lane of Farmington to take charge of the Hawley Grammar School at a salary of \$400 per year. He accepted and remained at the head of that institution for several years.

Other School Matters. The above was the first vote on record for employing schoolmistresses, but the names of none of them have been preserved. From this time onward girls have had an equal chance with boys in the town schools. The above vote was repeated in 1803, and thereafter the school-committee was annually appointed. Within two years another report was made in favor of doing something for the remote sections of the town, including Farms (South), Lonetown, Roberts Meadow, and Horse Mountain. The proposition was to divide the school money among them according to the number of polls in each section. At the same time the last paragraph in the foregoing report in reference to schooling girls from ten to fourteen years of age in the town schools, was rescinded, and the matter left to the discretion of the school-committee. The question of forming school-districts was not again broached till the year 1807, when two districts were formed at Lonetown.

School-Districts. Until this year, the center of the town had comprised a single district. In it were two hundred sixty-five children between the ages of four and twelve years, and it was voted to divide the territory into four districts. They were composed as follows:—First District, Hawley and Pleasant Streets; Second, Plain or

Bridge Street, and a portion of Back Street (probably North Street) ; Third, part of King Street, part of Market Street, Black Pole and Round Hill ; Fourth, Elm Street or New Boston, Welch End (West Street), part of Abner Hunt's Lane, and north end of South Street. Licking-water or South Street had for many years been a district by itself. A report was also made recommending the sale of the old school-house and ground, and the building of a new grammar school-house on town land, and the erection of four school-houses in the several districts, but it was not accepted. One thousand dollars was raised by taxation in addition to the Hawley fund. Out of this sum the Hawley school was to be continued throughout the year and the remainder was to be divided among the districts according to the number of scholars between the ages of four and fourteen years. The next year the four districts were altered in some respects, and named Center, Plain, King Street, and Hill, and a school-house ordered to be built in each. In 1810, a member of the school-committee was appointed from each district.

CHAPTER XL.

EXECUTION OF DAILEY AND HALLIGAN.

The Trial. IN April, 1806, occurred in this town the trial of Dominic Dailey and James Halligan for the murder of Marcus Lyon at Wilbraham, on the 9th of the preceding November. Lyon formerly lived in Connecticut, and was on his way from Cazenovia, N. Y., to his home in that State, when he met his death. The prisoners were Irish, young men who had been tramping from Boston, apparently without specific aim, and their motive was plunder. The case was tried before Hon. Theodore Sedgwick and Samuel Sewell Esq. Though the evidence was entirely circumstantial, the trial resulted in a verdict of guilty, and a sentence of death. The trial seems to have been fairly conducted, and the verdict just. The men were strangers in this section ; certain parties believed the prisoners innocent, and in after years attempted to throw the blame of the adverse verdict upon the inexperience of their counsel.

The Convicts Seek After the trial, which occurred on the
Religious Conso- fourth Tuesday of April, the prisoners
lation were remanded to jail, and the execution
was to take place on the 5th of the following June. During this short interval the prisoners, who were Catholics, sought the consolations of their faith. As there were no Catholic clergymen in this section of the State they addressed a letter to M. Cheverus, a Catholic priest at Boston. "We are solicitous," they say, "only about our salvation, it is in your hands, come to our assistance." It was the custom then on all occasions of capital punishment, for a clergyman to preach a sermon just before the execution,

and they sent a second letter to M. Cheverus, requesting him to deliver the discourse. They earnestly desired him to confer this favor upon them, and not reduce them "to the necessity of listening, just before we die, to the voice of one who is not a Catholic."

M. Cheverus Accedes
to their Request.

M. Cheverus was not deaf to their entreaty, and came promptly to their aid.

At that time there was no sympathy with Catholicism in Northampton, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the priest could find a lodging place. So great was the prejudice against the sect that no one would receive him. "He passed many days in the prison with the unhappy convicts, he compassionated their condition, and persuaded them to look on death, in the light of the gospel, as an entrance upon a better life and the gate of true happiness." In a word he converted them, and administered to them the final consolations of the church.

And Preaches the
final Sermon.

When the fatal day arrived he accompanied the prisoners to the church. "There the Protestant ministers wished to pronounce the usual discourse; but M. Cheverus opposed this with force and energy. The will of the dying he said, was sacred; they have desired to have no one but myself, and I alone will speak to them." He immediately ascended the pulpit and casting his eyes upon the immense crowd that surrounded him, and beholding a great multitude of women who had come from every direction, he felt himself animated with holy indignation against the curiosity which had attracted to that mournful scene such a crowd of spectators. "Orators," cried he, in a loud and stern voice, "are usually flattered by having a numerous audience, but I am ashamed of the one before me. * * Are there then men, to whom the death of their fellow beings is a spectacle of pleasure, an object of curiosity? * * But you especially, O women! what has induced you to come to this place? Is it to wipe away the cold damps of death that trickle down the face of these unfortunate men? Is it to experience the painful emotions which this scene ought to inspire in every feeling heart? No it is not for this. Is it then to behold their

anguish, and to look upon it with tearless, eager and longing eyes? Oh! I blush for you, your eyes are full of murder * * you boast of possessing sensibility, and you say it is the highest virtue in women, but if the sufferings of others afford you pleasure, and the death of man is an inviting entertainment for your curiosity, I can no longer believe in your virtue. You forget your sex. You are a dishonor and a reproach to it." The execution took place immediately after this discourse, but not a woman dared appear at it. All retired from the church ashamed of themselves, and blushing for the inhuman curiosity that had brought them there.

The Priest Interests
the People.

The citizens of Northampton, being interested in the discourse of M. Cheverus, wished to hear him again. He preached several times, he conversed with them in private, and took every opportunity to remove the prejudice against Catholicism. Many, struck by the spectacle presented by the Irishmen recently executed, and deeming it incredible that guilty men should possess such a modest and calm appearance in the presence of death, begged M. Cheverus to tell them, as he must have ascertained through their confession whether the men were really guilty. He agreed to give them the only reply it was possible for him to make to the question. Thereupon he treated in his next discourse of the doctrine of the church respecting confession, its important advantages, and the inviolable secrecy forced upon the confessor.

M. Cheverus Requested
to Remain here.

So greatly were the people pleased by these discourses, and with the interesting character of his private conversation, that they wished him to remain with them, and he found almost as much difficulty in parting from them as he had in procuring shelter on his first arrival.¹

¹ Cardinal Cheverus was born in France in 1768, was appointed Bishop of Boston in 1808, and was made Archbishop of Bordeaux in 1826.—The above facts are from a life of M. Cheverus, published in 1839.

The Picture Highly
Colored.

The above statement, evidently highly colored by the imagination of an ardent Catholic, is undoubtedly intended to give a fair representation of the position of affairs at that time. But when the strong anti-catholic spirit prevailing at that time is considered, it is evident that the biographer of M. Cheverus made the most out of the facts at his command. Very probably the opposition to Romanism, implanted among the first settlers in the wilderness, had before this become tinged by a more liberal feeling, yet it is easy to conceive that even then the great majority of the people, including Parson Williams, who was then pastor of the church, would consider the pulpit contaminated by the presence of a Catholic priest within its sacred precincts.

The Execution.

Tuesday, June 5th, 1806, was a day of great excitement in Northampton. On that day the prisoners suffered the penalty of their deeds. The largest crowd probably ever gathered here up to that time, assembled, it being estimated that 15,000 people were present. The services were held in the third church (built in 1737), in which Jonathan Edwards preached, or it may be that the preacher spoke from one of the upper windows of the edifice, to the crowd assembled in the street. No such crowd could have been accommodated within the building. This certainly, as far as known, was the first public appearance of a Catholic priest in Northampton.

CHAPTER XLI.¹

CALEB STRONG.

Birth and Descent. It is a fact of no little significance that the name of Strong, which in the person of Elder John Strong represents one of the most prominent figures in the settlement of Northampton, and occupies so important a place upon the first pages of this work, should, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the end of the first one hundred fifty years of the town's history, stand for the most illustrious of all her sons, the Hon. Caleb Strong, Governor of Massachusetts. Caleb Strong was born in Northampton, Jan. 9, 1745, being a direct descendant in the fourth generation from Elder John Strong. His father, Lieut. Caleb Strong, and his mother, whose maiden name was Phebe Lyman, "were both distinguished by an original strength of mind, a sound judgment, and a prudent, pious, and exemplary christian deportment."² From such a line of ancestry, and in such favoring surroundings as were presented by his native town, were produced the judicial calm, the far-sighted sagacity and the unflinching integrity which constituted the character of the man, and fitted him to guide the Ship of State through the troubled waters which led to the new era of peace.

Education. Being an only son, Caleb enjoyed every educational advantage which was then to be had. He was fitted for college by the Rev. Samuel Moody of York, Maine, an eminent teacher of the day, who recognized the ability of his pupil and gave him not only

¹ This chapter is compiled from notes and references found among the papers of the late James Russell Trumbull.—Ed.

² Appendix to funeral sermon delivered by Dr. Joseph Lyman at the interment of the Hon. Caleb Strong.

sound instruction, but also sage advice. In 1760 he entered Harvard, pursuing his course with marked ability, and graduating in 1764 with the highest honors of the institution. Immediately after the close of his college course he fell a victim to smallpox, which left him with an affection of the eyes from which he never fully recovered, and for several years he was almost wholly deprived of the use of them. This affliction delayed his entering upon his chosen pursuit, the study of the law. A less courageous spirit would have been utterly disheartened, but the determination of the man, together with the unselfish devotion of his father and sisters, who read aloud to him such works as were necessary to his profession, overcame this seemingly insurmountable difficulty.

“His father * * * read to him, it is said, the whole of the treatise of Coke upon Littleton, in folio. The degree of patience and affection, which such a task required, can only be estimated probably by gentlemen of the profession, who know something of the obscurities of the book and its barrenness of interest to everyone but a lawyer.”¹

Thus slowly and with the most careful thought were gained that accurate knowledge of the details of law and that habit of calm consideration for which he was distinguished; while his acquaintance with the practical application of the principles of law was acquired in the office of Joseph Hawley, “the leading patriot of Western Massachusetts.” In this way eight years passed after his graduation, and not until 1772 was Caleb Strong admitted to the bar. A short time before, its members had decided not to receive any more applications for such admission, but the patience and perseverance of this young man under so great difficulties appealed to them in such a way that they were constrained to yield to his request.

As a Lawyer.

His profession thus entered upon was pursued with diligence and unusual success. His practice, though somewhat delayed by the interruption of the courts in 1774, was, after their re-establishment in 1778, more extensive than that of any one else in the county. He was accustomed to attend the courts in Worcester and Berkshire, as well as in his own county, and diligence and

¹ Appendix to funeral sermon by Dr. Lyman.

industry enabled him to fulfill his manifold political duties without interference with his profession. The Hon. George Bliss says of him :—

“ It was astonishing how much business he would accomplish, without any noise or even the appearance of extraordinary engagements. His mind was uncommonly versatile : he would resume a subject, after attending to some important business, as though nothing had intervened. His draughts and forms were uncommonly accurate. It was rare, indeed, that any defects or mistakes were discovered. Being peculiarly skilled in draughting, he was much employed in this branch of business. Many of the statutes of the United States and of this Commonwealth were formed by him. His pleading was, among professional men, always received as good authority. He was a very successful advocate to a jury. His address was pleasing and insinuating. He commonly began in a very low tone of voice, talking to the jury in a very familiar manner, but so as to gain their attention. Whether others heard, or not, he was not concerned. Not unfrequently, before those he addressed, or any one else suspected it, he had gained his point. I have frequently heard it observed, by one who had been called to practice in all the counties in the State, that he found no man he so much feared, as closing counsel, as Caleb Strong. The public had great confidence in him. Juries placed great reliance on his assertions. His eloquence was not destitute of force, but its predominant feature was that of persuasion. He was the favorite advocate when the rights of humanity were to be vindicated. He early took a decided part in favor of the negroes.”¹

In 1775 he was appointed Justice of the Peace and Register of Probate for Hampshire County, and the next year to the office of County Attorney, which he occupied twenty-four years. Twice was a seat upon the bench of the Supreme Court offered to him, but on account of the small salary he was obliged to decline.

Offices of Trust in the Gift of the Town. Caleb Strong early manifested an interest in public affairs, and in 1772, he was chosen selectman and served on the board nine years. His life was from this time on, passed mainly in the public service. On account of his defective sight he was not able to do the active work of a soldier in the Revolutionary War, but his patriotism was none the less sincere and his service no less effective. In September, 1774, he was chosen upon the first Committee of Correspondence, and when in November, 1775, this committee was consoli-

¹ Address to the Members of the Bar, September, 1826, pp. 56-59.

dated with the Committee of Inspection, the name of Caleb Strong Jr. appears upon the list of members of the joint committee. In this office, whose duties were to secure ammunition and clothing for the soldiers, he continued to serve as long as it lasted.¹

In 1776 Mr. Strong represented Northampton in the General Court of Massachusetts. In the State Convention called in 1779 to adopt a constitution, as delegate from this town, he took a prominent part, being one of the four members upon the committee that drew up the instrument which remained for forty years the fundamental law of the State.

Larger Public Service.

In 1780 he was appointed a member of the Governor's Council and was also chosen delegate to the Continental Congress, but declined the latter office. After the adoption of the State Constitution in 1780, he was elected State Senator for that and the following nine consecutive years. In 1787 he was sent as a delegate to the national convention at Philadelphia, held for the purpose of framing the Constitution of the United States. Of his connection with that convention, Mrs. M. J. Lamb, in an article on "The Framers of the Constitution," says:—

"The quartet from Massachusetts were strong mentally, morally and politically. Caleb Strong * * * was admirably fitted for the important constructive work before the august body. He was a statesman of inflexible adherence to principle, and a man of spotless private character."²

Though he was one of the younger members of the convention, his part in it was by no means unimportant. The firm patriotism and the democratic principles with which

1 How effectively these duties were discharged, as well as the persuasive wit of the man, are illustrated by the following anecdote, related by Rev. Edward S. Dwight in an article entitled "Caleb Strong," which appeared in the Congregational Quarterly for 1860: One day he called with two other members of the committee upon a wealthy widow of the town to ask for a contribution of blankets for the soldiers. She was not in sympathy with the patriots, and she informed them she had no blankets. Nothing further was said upon that subject and the conversation passed to other topics. The afternoon wore away and still the visitors stayed. At last the housewife put on the tea-kettle and began her preparations for tea, expecting her guests to take the hint and depart. But instead they merely expressed pleasure in the anticipation of a cup of tea for supper, which was then not very plenty. Finally in desperation she brought out her blankets, saying: "Here, take them, I would rather you should have them than to stay any longer."

2 Magazine of American History, vol. 13, p. 334.

he was so thoroughly imbued, as well as his clear legal understanding, were shown in his decision upon every question. He saw plainly the necessity for a more central government and a firmer bond of union between the States ; being willing for this end to make the concession to the smaller States, involved in the compromise which allowed representation of the States as such in the Senate. He favored the annual election of representatives ; and believed that the Senate and the House should stand upon the same footing both as to rank and mode of election. He objected to the electoral college and advocated the choosing of the President by the Legislature. He recognized the necessity for keeping the three departments of government separate, and hence resisted the Virginia plan to give the judges a part in the revision of the laws.¹

In August, before the completion of the work of the convention, he was called home by illness in his family, and was thus deprived of the privilege of affixing his name to the constitution ; but as a delegate from Northampton to the State Convention, held in 1788, for the purpose of its ratification, "he was able to render yeoman's service to the cause of a more perfect union by defending and explaining the Constitution."² This was a delicate and difficult task, for a general impression prevailed that the framers of the Constitution had sought to gain a central government at the expense of state rights ; and any ambiguity in the proposed Constitution was attributed to a desire to hide this intent. Mr. Strong combated this idea, saying :—

"For my part, I think the whole of it is expressed in the plain common language of mankind. If any parts are not so explicit as they could be, it cannot be attributed to any design ; for I believe a great majority of the men who formed it were sincere and honest men."³

Such testimony from a man who possessed the public confidence so entirely and had had abundant opportunity to know whereof he spoke, could not fail to exert a powerful influence, and no doubt contributed largely to the final acceptance of the Constitution in Massachusetts.

1 See *Studies in History*, by Henry Cabot Lodge, pp. 235-236.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Congregational Quarterly*, vol. 2, p. 165.

United States Sen-
ator.

Upon its adoption he was elected a Senator of the United States, and served in that capacity for six years, being re-elected at the close of his first term, but resigning before the expiration of the second.

“Mr. Strong was an active and useful member of the Senate. He appears to have been recognized as one of the leading lawyers in that body, and most of the committees on which he served were those whose duties would now be assigned to the Judiciary Committee. His most important service was on the committee which drafted the famous act to establish the judiciary, which passed at the first session, and which has had an importance and an effect equal to almost any measure ever enacted by Congress.”¹

During the whole of this period he was a principal confidant and close friend of Gen. Washington. It was with reluctance that he had accepted this office, and when he resigned in 1796, he undoubtedly felt that his retirement to private life was final, and that he had earned the right to indulge his taste for the quiet enjoyment of home.

Governor of Massa-
chusetts.

But again he recognized in the voice of the people the call of duty. In the year 1800 Caleb Strong was nominated Governor of Massachusetts, and “one of the most beautiful moral pictures ever displayed to the eye, was exhibited at that election;”² for, although party feeling ran high, not a single vote was cast against him in the seven or eight towns of which Northampton is the center. “In the very scene of his professional labors, in which, if anywhere, causes of jealousy and discontent must have existed, not a man could be found whispering anything to his dishonor.”³ These were indeed “times that tried men’s souls.” The unanimity that had existed during the administration of Washington had given place to strong partisan feeling, and party lines were more definitely drawn from year to year as the storm of war raged in Europe between England and France. Of these two parties, the republicans or democrats sympathized heartily with France, regarding her struggle as a defense of the same principles of democracy

¹ Studies in History, pp. 238, 239.

² American Quarterly Register, vol. 12, p. 12.

³ Ibid.

which she had so recently assisted the United States in maintaining ; while the federalists viewed with distrust the increasing power of Napoleon and looked upon England as the conservator of such principles of law and order as are essential to the well-being of any nation ; being disposed to forget the recent injustice which the mother-country had shown them. It was as a representative of the federalist party that Caleb Strong was elected chief magistrate of his native State, and as such he served her interests until 1807. In that year the opposition party had become so strong that he was defeated, though by a small majority. Mr. Strong hailed this defeat as a welcome release from the "storm and stress" of public life ; and in 1812, it was with the greatest reluctance, and only at the urgent solicitations of his friends, who recognized that his was the only hand in all the party, firm and steady enough to guide the helm through these troubled seas, that he consented once more to serve the Commonwealth.

In the summer of 1812 he was confronted with the painful necessity of deciding as to which of two conflicting claims made upon him was paramount. The feeling against England had grown until, on the 18th of June of that year, war was declared against her. Six days previous to this declaration came a call from the President to the Governor of Massachusetts for troops to be subject to the requisition of Maj.-Gen. Dearborn. Governor Strong turned to the federal constitution, which declares that :—

"Congress shall have power to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions."— and also "to provide * * * for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers."

The Governor argued that no one of the three exigencies, under which the State militia might legally be called out by the President, here existed ; and furthermore that Maj.-Gen. Dearborn, as an outsider, could not be placed over State troops ; hence that in complying with this demand of the President, he would be acting contrary to his duty to the State. In this decision the Supreme Court of Massachusetts fully sustained him, and he refused to obey the command. This interpretation of the constitution has

since been decided as erroneous, but it is an entirely possible construction, acquiesced in by many able men; and Gov. Strong's action was endorsed by three fourths of the people of New England. The possibility that it was an act of partisanship or anything else but an error of opinion, is precluded by the whole course and character of the man. When war had actually been declared, Gov. Strong showed his readiness to sustain the President and protect the State against foreign invasion by placing the whole of the military force of the State in array under an able commander of the Revolution, Gen. Brooks.

After occupying the Governor's chair for four years, the first two of which were full of strife and the last two quiet and harmonious, Gov. Strong refused further nomination and retired in 1816 to private life.

Family and Residence.

In November, 1777, Mr. Strong married Sarah Hooker, daughter of the Rev. John Hooker, pastor of the church in Northampton. They had nine children, three of whom died in infancy, and two, Edward and Julia, at the ages of twenty-three and twenty-five respectively. Four children, two sons and two daughters, survived their parents. The wife of Caleb Strong.

"with whom he lived in wedlock for 40 years was a lady of pleasing aspect, strong good sense, fervent piety and remarkable sweetness of disposition. Their home was full of sunshine and of the peace and presence of God."¹

It was situated on Main Street, extending from what is now Pleasant Street as far as Hawley Street, then known as Pudding Lane. The house, which was unusually large and fine for the times, was built by Gov. Strong's father. It was afterwards moved to Pleasant Street, where it still stands, having been for many years the home of the late Dr. Charles L. Knowlton.

Religious Life.

Caleb Strong became a professing christian in 1772, and was during the remainder of his life not only an efficient member of the church but also "a member of almost all the literary, benevolent, and

¹ History of the Strong Family by Benjamin W. Dwight, vol. 2, p. 1188.

religious societies in the Commonwealth.”¹ Upon the establishment of the Hampshire Missionary Society, he was chosen its president and held that office ten years, while for two years he was president of the Hampshire Bible Society. He was also one of the founders of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a member of the Historical Society of Massachusetts. In his religious views he was a mild Calvinist. The moderation and broad charity which were a part of the man, showed themselves in the tolerance, for that day unusual, with which he regarded those who did not accept his own religious belief. In the last years of his life he spent much time in the study of the scriptures.

Death and Funeral. He died at Northampton, Nov. 7th, 1819, at the age of seventy-four years, of heart disease. His funeral was attended with unusual ceremony. In the words of the Hampshire Gazette of Nov. 16th, 1819, which was draped in full mourning:—

“Thro’-out the town, business was suspended and the offices, stores and shops, were closed. The spontaneous homage which was paid in the undissembled grief of the thousands present, was the most consolatory demonstration of respect for the memory of the deceased, and the most honorable testimony to his worth. The Court of Common Pleas, which was sitting in Franklin, on motion of Mr. Allen, adjourned; and two of its members, with most of its officers, attended.”

Here follows the order of march of the procession, including all the town officers, “Gentlemen of the Bar,” Judges, Sheriff of Franklin County, and the clerk and county treasurer. Dr. Joseph Lyman of Hatfield preached the funeral sermon, and the Rev. Mr. Woodbridge of Hadley and Rev. Samuel P. Williams of Northampton, assisted in the services.

Personal Appearance. In person Gov. Strong was rather tall, erect, compactly built and of graceful carriage. According to the well-known portrait by Stuart, which gives a good idea of his countenance, he had a somewhat large head, an oval face, hair lightly powdered falling loosely over a broad, high brow, and singularly beautiful blue eyes, with an habitual expression of quiet dignity. A writer of 1806 thus describes him:—

1 Appendix to Dr. Lyman’s Funeral Sermon.

“He is the delight of all his acquaintance, for the urbanity of his manners, and for his easy, condescending affability to people of every rank.” He possessed from his youth “an unassuming modesty and courtesy of manners,”¹ which were, however, “marked rather by the simplicity of one bred in the country than by the polish of a man who had mixed much with the world.”²

Private Character. The moral purity of Caleb Strong’s character was such that there was never the slightest suspicion of slander attached to his name through all his public career. He had an unusual degree of common sense and ability to distinguish between right and wrong. These qualities, together with a sound judgment, made him a valuable advisor for his friends, and procured for him the confidence and esteem of everyone who came in contact with him.

“His temperance in word, thought, and action, combined with high character and great amiability, was the secret of his personal popularity, which enabled him to retain high office at periods when, it may be safely said, not one of his party friends could have commanded an election.”³ According to Dr. Lyman, “few have rivalled him in literary attainments; fewer still have reached his eminence in a thorough acquaintance with practical wisdom.”

At an early age he was honored by Harvard College with the degree of Doctor of Laws. The following anecdote, related in the *Life of Samuel Adams*,⁴ illustrates his fine courtesy: At the time of his first inauguration in 1800, the procession passed by the house of the venerable Samuel Adams, who was standing at his doorway. Gov. Strong immediately stopped the procession, alighted from his carriage and advanced with uncovered head to shake hands with the aged Patriot of the Revolution. The fact that Adams’ political views were at that time directly opposed to those of Gov. Strong made this act particularly impressive.

Mr. Strong’s long intercourse with prominent men and his tenacious memory placed at his command a store of information and anecdote, which, added to his natural good spirits and kindly wit, made him a most delightful and entertaining man.

1 Funeral Sermon.

2 *Studies in History*, p. 257.

3 *Studies in History*, pp. 260-261.

4 *Life of Samuel Adams*, vol. 3, p. 369.

Character as a Pub- Of his public life, Hon. Henry Cabot
lic Man. Lodge says :—

“ It is as a type of the New England Puritan and Massachusetts Federalist that Caleb Strong is most interesting at the present day. A man who could adhere strictly to the doctrines of the most rigid Federalism and yet have such a hold upon the people and pass through years of difficult public service without a quarrel and without becoming the subject of unmeasured invective is an interesting study. * * * The fact is that the combination of firmness and moderation, of calm sense and absolute devotion to conviction, so conspicuous in the character of Caleb Strong, made him a thorough representative of the class which formed the strength of the Puritans both in Old and New England. In times of great excitement the extremists always come to the front, and leave the deepest mark upon the events in which they take part. But it falls to the lot of the quieter, more moderate, and more commonplace men to furnish the backbone and sinew of every great and successful movement. The leaders in this class are of a vast importance, and any man who represents them is well worth our consideration.”¹

The centennial number of the Hampshire Gazette thus sums up the character of this eminent son of Northampton :—

“ Gov. Strong lived in a remarkable time. It was a time of great agitation, of governmental chaos, of revolution and war, of reconstruction—a peculiarly formative period. It was a time of great opportunities. Gov. Strong was the man for the period. He combined conservatism with radicalism in proper measure, and met all the requirements made of him successfully. He was eminently a practical man of affairs,—a statesman of the highest and best type. He is not, and will not be in the years to come, so widely known as Jonathan Edwards, the theologian and metaphysician, but the work that he did in shaping public affairs at a time when to steer the ship of state aright was to send it on its mission of usefulness for centuries, will live long after his own name shall be forgotten, and be a blessing to mankind forever.”

A history fails to accomplish one of its highest ends, if it does not fill its readers with a just pride in the character and achievements of the heroes of the past, and foster in their sons a determination to contribute each his share toward the maintenance of those institutions to which we owe, liberty, prosperity and happiness. Especially ought the citizens of Northampton, and the descendants everywhere of such men as Stoddard, Pomeroy, Hawley, Ed-

1 Studies in History, pp. 224-226.

wards, Strong, take pride in the records of their lives, and find in them an incentive toward noble effort. Oliver Wendell Holmes has said :—

“Happy is the child whose first dreams of Heaven are blended with the evening glories of Mount Holyoke, when the sun is firing its tree-tops and gilding the white walls of that mark, its one human dwelling.”

And we may add : thrice blessed is the man whose high privilege it is here in this historic city to build upon the foundations laid by those mighty men of old.

APPENDIX.

A.

FATHER RÂLE'S WAR.

Pages 15-32. Upon the Muster-Rolls from 1722 to 1725 may be found the following names:—

Nathaniel Alexander.			
Thomas Alexander.	1722, 12 weeks.		
Noah Allen,			
Samuel Allen.	1725, 17w.		
Benjamin Alvord, Drummer,	1722, 17w.		
Benjamin Avery,			
Ezekiel Bascom.	1722, 17w.	1725, 33w.	
Samuel Bedortha, Servant to Thomas Sheldon,	1722, 17w.		
Orlando Bridgman, Serg't.	1722, 17w.	1724, 26w.	1725, 33w.
William Clark,	1722, 17w.		
Joseph Clesson, Lt.,	1722, 17w.	1725, 17w.	
David Coombs,	1725, 24w.		
Ebenezer Corss,	1725, 17w.		
Daniel Dwight, Chaplain.	1725, 26w.		
Timothy Dwight, Capt.,	1722, 11w.	1724, 16w.	1725, 26w.
Samuel Hannum.	1725, 17w.		
Benoni Hill, apprentice to Daniel Nash,	1722, 9w.		
John Hill.	1722, 12w.		
Jonathan Hunt, Clerk,	1722, 12w.		
Nathaniel Kentfield.	1725, 26w.		
John King,	1724, 23w.		
Josiah King, Serg't,	1722, 26w.		1725, 33w.
Medad King.	1725, 17w.		
Ebenezer Kingsley,	1725, 18w.		
Samuel Langton,	1722, 7w.	1725, 33w.	
Benjamin Lyman,	1725, 17w.		
Joshua Lyman, Corp.,	1725, 33w.		
Nathan Lyman,	1725, 25w.		
Ebenezer Miller,	1722, 17w.		
John Miller,	1722, 12w.	1725, 17w.	
Ebenezer Parsons, Capt.			

Gideon Parsons,	1725, 17w.		
William Parsons, Lieut.			
Joseph Phelps,	1725, 17w.		
Elisha Pomeroy, Capt.			
John Pomeroy, Lieut.,	1722, 17w.	1724, 14w.	1725, 33w.
Josiah Pomeroy,	1725, 17w.		
Simeon Pomeroy,			
James Porter,	1722, 17w.	1724, 26w.	1725, 33w.
Elisha Searl, Lieut.,		1724, 27w.	1725, 26w.
Thomas Sergeant,	1722, 6w.	1724, 25w.	1725, 13w.
Asahel Stebbins,	1724, 26w.		1725, 33w.
Joseph Stebbins,	1722, 13w.		
Josiah Stebbins, Serg't,	1722, 17w.	1724, 24w.	
Nehemiah Strong,			1725, 7w.
Waitstill Strong, Serg't,	1722, 3w.	1724, 7w.	1725, 7w.
Benjamin Wait,	1722, 10w.		
John Wait,	1722, 9w.		
Joseph Wait,	1722, 7w.		1725, 17w.,
Benoni Wright, Serg't,	1722, 17w.		1725, 26w.
Eldad Wright,		1724,	
Samuel Wright,	1722, 12w.		

B.

KING GEORGE'S WAR.

Pages 112-146. Names of soldiers engaged in the attack upon Louis-
burg in 1745:—

Timothy Baker, ²	Gideon Parsons, ¹ Serg't.
Elkanah Burt, ¹	Medad Parsons, ¹
Noah Clapp, ¹	Martin Phelps, ¹
Stephen Clark, ¹	Elisha Pomeroy, ¹ Clerk.
William Clark, ¹	Seth Pomeroy, Major.
Joseph Cook, ³	Simeon Pomeroy, ²
Samuel Edwards, ¹	Benjamin Sheldon, ³
Joseph Hawley, Chaplain.	Elisha Strong, Drummer.
Jonathan Janes, ¹	Ebenezer Wait, ¹ Serg't.
Samuel King, ¹	Reuben Wait.
Jonathan Lancton, ¹	Daniel Warner, ³
Elias Lyman, ³	Aaron Wright, ¹ Serg't.
Medad Lyman, ³	Josiah Wright, ²
William Lyman, ¹ Lieut.	Nathaniel Wright, ²
Josiah Nash, ¹	Selah Wright, ¹
Benjamin Parsons, ³	

¹ These names are found upon Major Pomeroy's muster-roll.

² Enlisted under Capt. Williams.

³ Northampton names found upon Capt. Williams' muster-roll and no place of residence given.

Pages 147-164. Names of soldiers in the service after the fall of Louisburg :—

Samuel Allen. ¹	Haines Kingsley. ¹
John Alvord Jr. ¹	Gideon Lyman. ¹ 1748.
Elisha Baker, 1748.	John Lyman. ¹ Serg't, 1748.
John Baker, Capt.	Moses Lyman Jr., Capt.
Aaron Bartlett.	Noah Lyman, ¹ 1748.
Preserved Bartlett.	William Lyman, Lieut., 1748.
John Birge, 1754.	Samuel Lynde, Corp.
Orlando Bridgman, 1741.	John Marchants.
Partridge Bull. ¹	Joseph Marchants, 1748.
David Burt. ¹	Abraham Miller.
Samuel Cahoon. ¹	Gideon Parsons. ¹
Nathaniel Church Jr. ¹	John Parsons, Lieut.
Ebenezer Clapp, 1748.	Noah Pixley, Drum.
John Clapp, Ens.	Nathaniel Phelps, Lieut.
Noah Clapp, Serg't.	John Pomeroy, 1748.
Roger Clapp, Capt.	Oliver Pomeroy. ¹
Samuel Clapp, Lieut.	Seth Pomeroy, ¹ Lieut.
Ebenezer Clark, Lieut.	Philip Richardson.
Gershom Clark. ¹	Joseph Root, 1748.
John Clark, Capt.	James Searl, ¹ 1748.
Samuel Clark.	Ebenezer Sheldon, Ens.
Samuel Clark Jr. ¹	Elijah Smith, Serg't, 1748.
Silas Clark, 1748.	Hezekiah Smith, Corp., 1748.
William Clark. ¹	William Smith, Serg't, 1748.
Edward Coats.	Thomas Starr, 1748.
Joseph Cook. ¹	John Stebbins, Ens.
Robert Danks.	John Stoddard, Col., 1748.
Zadoc Danks, 1748.	Bela Strong. ¹
David Darby, Drum.	Belzaleel Strong, ¹ 1748.
Joseph Dwight, Capt.	Caleb Strong.
Timothy Dwight, ¹ Clerk, 1748.	Elisha Strong, ¹ 1748.
Benjamin Eastman.	Ithamar Strong, 1748.
Nathaniel Edwards, 1748.	John Strong.
Isaac Goodale.	Jonathan Stoon (Strong?).
Ebenezer Harvey, 1748.	Nathaniel Strong, Lieut.
Elisha Hawley, Lieut., 1748.	Waitstill Strong.
Joseph Hawley, ¹ Corp.	Asa Upson, 1748.
John Heard Jr. ¹	John Wait, Corp.
Elijah Hunt. ¹	William Wait.
Samuel Janes.	Elisha Warner, 1748.
Asahel Judd.	John Warner.
Nathaniel Kellogg, Lieut.	Richard Wilde, Corp., 1748.
Samuel King. ¹	Bildad Wright, 1748.
Titus King. ¹	Medad Wright. ¹
Ebenezer Kingsley, Serg't.	Noah Wright, ¹ Serg't.

¹ Names of men who went to Deerfield in August, 1748.

C.

FRIENDS OF MR. EDWARDS.

Page 234. The following list of names of persons who are supposed to have been friends of Rev. Jonathan Edwards was prepared by Rev. Solomon Clark, author of "Antiquities, Historicals and Graduates of Northampton":—

"Daniel Clark, born 1713, son of Increase, married, 1739, Experience Allen, daughter of Dea. Samuel, and sister of Joseph, both friends of Mr. Edwards.

"Simeon Clark, born 1720, son of Increase, married by Jonathan Edwards, Nov. 1749, to Rebecca, second child of Nathaniel Strong, a friend of Mr. Edwards. In 1750, Simeon Clark moved to Amherst; chosen deacon there.

"Increase Clark, father of Daniel and Simeon, married in 1710.

"Capt. John Baker, one of the most influential men of Northampton; of an active, vigorous mind, thoroughly religious. His wife, Rebecca Clark, was sister of Increase Clark, both married and built their dwellings the same year. Rebecca Clark was aunt of Daniel and Simeon. Capt. John Baker had a number of sons, all over six feet high, all averaged over 82, all pious men. The John Whittelsey house was built and occupied by Capt. John Baker. Daniel Clark lived above on the same side of the street. In 1739, it was the western most house in town. The Bakers and the Clarks on Elm St. kept up a family prayer meeting for a great many years.

"John Baker, Jr., son of Capt. John, born in 1712, married in 1741, his own cousin, Abigail Clark. Her father, Ebenezer, lived to be almost 100, was one of the six sons of the first Dea. John, also a brother of Increase. His house stood near the residence of Prest. Seelye.

"Two sons of this Ebenezer Clark, viz. :—Ebenezer, Jr., married in 1740, and William, married in 1746, were also counted among the friends of Mr. Edwards. William lived opposite Capt. John Baker's, and Ebenezer, Jr. lived a little beyond, known now as the Jared Clark place. Mrs. John Baker, Jr., was a sister of the two brothers, Ebenezer, Jr., and William. The three were cousins and near neighbors of Daniel Clark, who settled before them in that immediate vicinity. Whose house stood for some years the farthest limit of civilization on Elm St. William Clark, and Daniel Clark, cousins, were neighbors 58 years.

"Capt. Roger Clap, not the commander of Castle William in Boston harbor, but his grandson, the same style of man, also much like his own father, Elder Preserved Clap, described as a good instrument and a great blessing to the town of Northampton. In the absence of direct evidence it would be safe to insert on this list of Mr. Edwards' friends, the name of Capt. Roger Clap.

“Major Jonathan Clap, son of the foregoing. Born on South St., he settled in 1735, in what long afterwards became Easthampton. It has come down by tradition that the people in that part of Northampton, four miles from the center, now Easthampton, sympathized with Mr. Edwards.

“In the same locality, the owner of the Grist Mill at the falls of Mauhan River for 35 years was Joseph Bartlett, a prominent name there, a relative of Phebe Bartlett, converted at four years of age, described by Edwards in his narrative of Surprising Conversions in Northampton, in the year 1735.

“Not without good reason Joseph Bartlett’s name stands on the list of Edwards’ adherents and friends in the time of his trial.”

D.

FOURTH FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

Pages 252-253. Names of soldiers who served in the company commanded by Capt. Elisha Hawley, in 1755:—

Elisha Hawley, Capt., wounded Sept. 8, died Sept. 24.	
Daniel Pomeroy, Lieut., killed Sept. 8.	
Elijah Smith, Ens., Belchertown, promoted to Capt. Sept. 24.	
Gideon Clark, Clerk, Southampton.	
Nathaniel Searls, Serg’t, promoted to Ensign, Sept. 24.	
Samuel King, Serg’t, promoted to Lieut. Sept. 24.	
Stephen Alvord, 1759.	Elisha Janes, 1758.
Thomas Alvord.	Moses Kanard, 1756.
Nathaniel Bartlett, 1756.	Daniel Kentfield, 1759.
Thomas Billings.	Elijah King, 1756, 1758. Serg’t,
Asahel Birge, 1756. Serg’t, 1758.	1759.
Elijah Clap, 1757.	Ebenezer Kingsley, killed.
Joel Clap, 1757.	Jonathan Kingsley.
Supply Clap, Serg’t.	Ebenezer Knap.
Asahel Clark, 1758.	Peter Ladue (Negro).
Jehiel Clark.	Jonathan Langton.
Phineas Colfax.	Joseph Little.
Ebenezer Crowfoot.	Samuel Lyman.
Samuel Fairfield.	Samuel Marshall.
Thomas Fairfield, 1756.	Elnathan Phelps.
John Frost.	Aaron Pomeroy.
John Hannum.	Eleazer Pomeroy.
Nathaniel Harvey, 1757.	Elijah Pomeroy.
Edward Higgins.	Stephen Pomeroy.
Joel Hunt, promoted to Corp.	Titus Pomeroy.
Sept. 24.	James Powers.

Aaron Searls, 1759.	Andrew Turner, died.
Ebenezer Searls.	Thomas Wait, killed.
Edward Selfrage, Corp.	Daniel Wells, Deerfield, killed.
William Selfrage.	Benoni Wright Jr.
Benjamin Stebbins, Drummer.	Eliakim Wright, Corp., killed.
John Sterns, Corp., promoted to Serg't Sept. 24.	(Perhaps Elkanah.)
Joel Strong, 1758, 1759.	Joseph Wright, 1759.

Several of the above do not appear to be Northampton men. The names in this roll are copied from a list in the Hawley MSS., in the Bancroft collection, at the Lenox Library, New York City. The official rank and promotions are added from a muster-roll, made by Capt. Elijah Smith, in the Judd MSS.

Pages 244-299. Soldiers in the Seven Years' War, and years in which they served : —

Abner Alexander.
 John Alexander, 1756.
 Miles Alexander, 1756.
 Joseph Allen, 1755, Serg't 1758, 1759.
 Nathan Allen, 1758-1760.
 Nathaniel Allen, 1758, 1759.
 Samuel Allen, 1758, 1759.
 Sammel Allen Jr., 1759.
 Benjamin Alvord, 1755.
 Medad Alvord, 1755-1757.
 Stephen Alvord, 1759, 1760.
 Thomas Alvord, 1756, d.
 Simeon Bacon, 1757.
 Abner Bailey, 1759, 1760.
 Aaron Baker, 1758, 1759.
 Elijah Baker, 1755.
 Stephen Baker, 1757.
 James Ball, 1758.
 Joel Bartlett, 1755-1759.
 Nathaniel Bartlett, 1756, 1757.
 Preserved Bartlett, 1759.
 Samuel Bartlett, 1758.
 Simeon Bartlett, 1755, 1757-1759.
 Elijah Bascom, S. H., 1756.
 Elisha Bascom, S. H., 1756-1760.
 Ezekiel Bascom, servant Abner Barnard, 1759.
 Phinehas Beaman, 1756.
 Jesse Beaman, servant Gideon Clark, 1758, 1759.
 Asahel Birge, Serg't 1756-1759.
 John Birge, 1755.
 John Birge Jr., 1758.

Simeon Birge, 1755, 1756, 1758, 1759, Drummer 1761.
 Nathaniel Blanchard, 1759.
 Robert Bradford, 1758.
 John Bridgman, 1759.
 John Brown, Corp. 1758-1760.
 Rufus Brown, 1758.
 Justus Burk, 1760.
 Seth Burk, 1755, 1756, 1758, 1759.
 Joseph Burt, substitute Eleazar Burt, 1758.
 Noah Burt, 1754.
 Oliver Burt, 1758, 1759.
 John Cade, 1760.
 Samuel Calhoun, 1761.
 Jonathan Carver, Corp. 1756.
 Samuel Chatham, 1762.
 Samuel Child, 1759, 1760.
 Abner Clapp, S. H., 1759, 1760.
 Benjamin Clap, 1757.
 Joel Clapp, S. H., 1758, 1759.
 John Clap, S. H., 1758-1760.
 Jonathan Clap, 1755.
 Supply Clap, Serg't 1755.
 Timothy Clapp, S. H., 1758, 1759.
 Aaron Clarke, 1755.
 Aaron Clarke, S. H., 1759.
 Asahel Clark, 1758, 1759.
 Elihu Clark, 1756, 1758.
 Gad Clark, 1755.
 Gershom Clark, 1755, 1759.
 Israel Clark, 1755.
 Joel Clark, 1755.
 John Clark 2^d, S. H., 1758, 1759.
 Jonathan Clark, S. H., 1759, 1760.
 Noah Clark, Serg't 1756.
 Samuel Clark, Ens. 1758.
 James Clough, 1760.
 Stephen Coats, 1759.
 Joseph Cook, Serg't 1755, 1757.
 David Corliss, 1760.
 Daniel Crevey, 1760.
 Asahel Danks, 1758, 1759.
 Samuel Danks, S. H., 1758, 1759.
 Nathaniel Day, 1757, 1759.
 Nathaniel Day Jr., 1757.
 Abner Dickinson, 1756.
 Joel Dickinson, Serg't 1756.
 John Drake, S. H., 1759.
 John Dumbleton, servant Timothy Dwight, 1761.

Samuel Dwelly, 1756.
 John Eastman, Serg't 1756.
 Medad Edwards, 1756, Corp. 1757.
 Nathaniel Edwards, 1755.
 Noah Edwards, 1759.
 Daniel Ehmer, 1755.
 Thomas Fairchild, 1756.
 Nathaniel Foster, S. H., 1760.
 Elisha Frary, Drummer 1756.
 John French, 1758.
 Noah Gould, 1756.
 Benjamin Graves, 1756.
 Benoni Graves, 1756.
 Samuel Graves, 1756.
 Simeon Graves, 1756.
 James Griffin, S. H., 1762.
 Josiah Hadlock,¹ 1756, 1757.
 Simeon Hall, 1759, 1760.
 John Hamnum, S. H., 1759.
 Philip Harriman, 1758.
 Paul Hawks, 1759, 1760.
 Joseph Hawley, Major.
 Snek Hecon, 1758, d.
 John Hooker, 1756.
 Nathaniel P. Howard, 1756, Drummer 1758, 1759.
 Seth Howland, S. H., 1760.
 James Hulbert, 1759.
 Jonathan Hunt Jr., Ens. 1757.
 Elisha James, 1758, 1759.
 Samuel Judd, 1759.
 Dan. Kentfield, 1759, 1760.
 George Kentfield, 1758, 1759, 1761.
 Shem Kentfield, 1759, 1760.
 Apollos King, 1756-1758, killed.
 Eleazar King, 1759.
 Elijah King, 1755-1757, 1759, 1760.
 Paul King, 1755.
 Samuel King, Ens. 1755, Lieut. 1756, 1757.
 Silas King, 1754.
 Simeon King, Ens. 1755, 1756.
 Supply Kingsley, Capt.
 Moses Kinnard, 1756, 1757.
 Noadiah Leonard, 1756.
 Noadiah Lewis, 1758.
 Nathaniel Loomis, S. H., 1757-1760.
 Benjamin Lyman, 1755-1757.
 James Lyman, Capt.

1 Mr Judd says he came from Hatfield.

John Lyman, 1756.
 Joseph Lyman, Corp. 1755.
 William Lyman, Capt. 1756.
 John Marshall.
 Samuel Martindel, S. H., 1758.
 Samuel Mattoon, 1756.
 Peter Milbe, S. H., 1759-1762.
 John Miller, 1758, 1759.
 Benjamin Mun, 1755, 1757, 1758.
 Oliver Mun, substitute Joseph Hutchins, 1758, 1759.
 David Murray, 1756.
 Phinehas Nash, 1755.
 Artemas Newton, S. H., 1759, 1760.
 John Norton, 1757, 1760.
 Jonathan Old, 1759.
 Asahel Parsons, 1759.
 Charles Parsons, 1759, 1760.
 Elisha Parsons, 1755.
 Moses Parsons, 1759.
 Oliver Parsons, 1755.
 Timothy Parsons, 1755, 1758, 1759.
 Lemuel Phelps, 1756.
 Samuel Phelps, 1755-1757, 1759.
 William Phelps, 1759.
 Aaron Pomeroy, S. H., 1758, 1759.
 Caleb Pomeroy, S. H., 1759.
 Daniel Pomeroy, 1759.
 Elijah Pomeroy, S. H., 1758, 1759.
 Elisha Pomeroy, Capt. 1758.
 Heman Pomeroy, 1756, 1757.
 John Pomeroy, substitute Seth Pomeroy, Capt. 1758, 1759.
 Joseph Pomeroy, 1759.
 Lemuel Pomeroy, 1759.
 Pliny Pomeroy, Drum. 1758.
 Seth Pomeroy, Col.
 Shamah Pomeroy, 1754, 1757.
 Titus Pomeroy, 1760.
 John Porter, substitute Samuel Clark, 1758-1760.
 Caesar Prut,¹ substitute Josiah Chauncey, 1758.
 Oliver Richmond, S. H., 1760.
 Philip Richmond, S. H., 1760.
 Isaac Robbins, 1758, 1759.
 Isaac Robbins Jr., 1758.
 Orlando Root, 1754, 1759.
 Simeon Root, 1759.
 Hezekiah Russell, 1759.

¹ Reported from Hadley.

Elijah Rust, 1755, 1759.
 Israel Rust, 1759.
 David Sabin, substitute Pliny Pomeroy, 1758, 1759.
 Benjamin Sawyer, 1756, 1757.
 Samuel Scott, 1756.
 Aaron Searl, S. H., 1759.
 Abijah Searle, S. H., 1759.
 Gideon Searle, S. H., 1759.
 Zopher Searle, S. H., 1759.
 Rufus Sergeant, 1759.
 Martin Severance, 1756.
 Ebenezer Sheldon, S. H., 1759, 1760.
 Josiah Sheldon.
 Noah Sheldon, S. H., 1759.
 Jonas Sheppard, 1760.
 Philip Smith, 1756, 1757.
 Samuel Smith, Lieut. 1755, 1757, 1759.
 Elah Southwell, 1759.
 Elisha Southwell, 1756, 1758, 1759.
 Thomas Spring, 1759.
 Thomas Star, 1757-1760, 1762.
 Thomas Star Jr., substitute John Miller, 1758.
 Israel Stoddard, 1760.
 Benajah Strong, 1759.
 Joel Strong, 1758-1760.
 John Strong, S. H., 1759.
 Jonathan Strong, 1756.
 Nathan Strong Jr., 1757.
 Noah Strong, Serg't 1754, 1757-1759.
 John Tass, S. H., 1759.
 Elijah Temple, 1759.
 Amos Tute, 1759, 1760.
 Downing Warner, 1759.
 Elihu Warner, 1756.
 Elisha Warner, 1757.
 Nicholas Welch, 1756.
 George Wheeler, 1759.
 Salmon White, 1756.
 Consider Williston, substitute Samuel Alvord, 1756, 1758, 1759.
 Elihu Williston, substitute Pliny Pomeroy, 1758, d.
 Aaron Wright, Lieut. 1758.
 Charles Wright, 1756.
 Elihu Wright, Clerk 1755.
 Elkanah Wright.
 Joseph Wright, 1759.
 Noah Wright, 1755-1757.

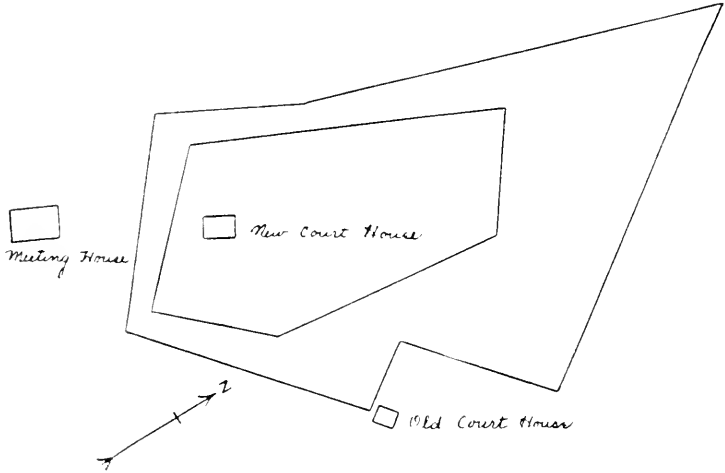
Timothy Wright, 1755.
 Nathan Yearns, 1758, 1759.
 John Green, servant to John Pomeroy, 1759.
 John Porter, servant to Samuel Clark, 1759.
 Thomas Quinn, servant to Selah Wright, 1759.
 John Cade, servant to Simeon Parsons, 1759.

Last four names did not pass muster.

E.

Page 320. Old Homelot on Meeting-House Hill. Saul Alvord sold this to Elisha Alvord and removed to Bolton about 1762 or 63. The old house stood N. W. of the old well (now remaining) and had a small door yard before it. The well was near the front fence and southerly of the house—not in front of the house. The front door of the house was directly opposite the front or end door of the porch of the old meeting-house, or opposite the middle of the steeple. The front or south fence ran from the corner a little east of the well nearly straight to the west corner, about two rods from Samuel King's fence. This last corner was where the cellar of Whitney's (now Savings Bank building) now is. The line of this fence struck King's fence a little north of King's well (now in Whitney's cellar) [this well was in the northwest corner of the cellar] and King's house was the whole of it north of this line, King's well was close to the fence—could draw water and stand in the street—the house two or three rods N. of the well. The road between Samuel King's homelot and Saul Alvord's was about 2 rods wide. The East line of Saul Alvord's lot went down near the Elm trees [these two trees stood in the present highway, the most southerly of them, very nearly on a line with the rear of the First National Bank building], perhaps between them. The north end of the lot was somewhat circular. Saul Alvord's shop was on the East line, and a few rods below the well. The barn was on the west line, or near it, not at the corner but below it, there was a garden at the corner. The barn was sold to Abner Lyman, about 40 feet long. The house was two story, had two front rooms and a kitchen back, the roof went down to one story on the back side. It was an old house when Elisha Alvord lived in it, was taken to pieces when sold. Elisha Alvord was an infirm man, was a clerk in Elisha Pomeroy's store, and after Pomeroy's death began to trade in Saul Alvord's shop. In 1767 or 68 he sold this homestead to those who wanted it for a Court House, or rather they purchased for him Elisha Pomeroy's place (now Eben Hunt's) [from and including Crafts Avenue and all the land east of it to South

St.] of Guernsey and exchanged with him. He traded there until he failed."—From an interview with Eleazar Alvord by Sylvester Judd, about 1840, in Judd MSS.



F.

REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS' TERMS OF SERVICE.

Pages 340-449. 1 refers to minute-men; 2, to Canada; 3, to Ticonderoga; 4, to Bennington; 5, to New London; 6, to Claverack Tour; 7, to Saratoga.

	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
Adams, David	3m.						
Alexander, Daniel							
Allen, Daniel				9m.			
Allen, Elijah ²			39d.				
Allen, Elisha ¹⁻⁴	4m.		3m.				
Allen, Jonathan, ¹ Capt.	3m.	1y.		3y.			
Allen, Solomon ¹⁻⁴	15d.	3m.	7d.			6m.	
Alvord, Daniel ¹			8w.	9m.			
Alvord, Ebenezer					9m.		
Alvord, Eleazar ⁵					6w.	6m.	
Alvord, Eliab ¹⁻²	3m.	1y.					
Alvord, Elijah ²		1y.	3y.				
Alvord, Elisha ⁴	3m.		8d.	1m.			
Alvord, Jehiel ⁴			7d.				
Alvord, John							6m.

	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
Alvord, Jonathan ¹	3m.		7d.				
Alvord, Medad ¹			7d.				
Alvord, Perez ²		1y.					
Alvord, Phinehas ⁵		6m.	3m.		6w.		
Alvord, Sannel ¹	3m.		39d.				
Alvord, Timothy ³			3y.				3m.
Alvord, Zebediah		3w.	2w.				
Angell, Augustus, ¹ S. H.			7d.	3m.			
Arvin, Joseph ¹	3m.						
Babcock, Benjamin				9m.			
Babcock, Elias, Corp.			3y.				
Baker, Abner ²⁻⁴		1y.	3m.				
Baker, Hollister ¹⁻²⁻³⁻⁷	6w.	1y.	10w.				
Baker, John, Capt.							
Baker, Stephen ⁴⁻⁵			7w.		6w.		
Baker, Thaddeus ⁵					6w.		
Baldwin Josiah, W. H.							3y.
Ball, Eusebius ⁵					6w.	3m.	3m.
Ball, Noah, Serg't				6m.			
Barnard, Abner, Capt.			5m.				
Barnard, Israel ⁵		3m.			6w.		
Bartlett, Benjamin							
Bartlett, Cornelius			3y.				
Bartlett, Elihu	3m.		4m.				
Bartlett, Elijah, ⁴⁻⁷ S. H.			5w.		6w.		
Bartlett, Jonathan ³			2m.				
Bartlett, Moses, ⁴ S. H.			7d.			3m.	
Bartlett, Silas ⁵					6w.	3m.	
Bartlett, Simeon							
Eascom, Elisha, S. H.		Lt.					
Bates, Aaron, S. H.				3m.		3m.	
Bates, Caleb						6m.	
Bates, Lemuel, ⁴⁻⁷ S. H.	3m.		5w.				
Bellews, Elihu ¹	3m.		3y.				
Bemis, John	1m.						
Berry, James							3y.
Bevins, John	1m.						
Bibbins, John, ¹ Fifer	13d.						
Bisby, John	3m.						
Black, John ¹⁻⁴	8m.		7m.				
Blackman, John	3m.						
Blackman, Samuel					9m.		
Bonner, Isaac						6m.	
Brackett, John			3y.				
Breck, Robert							
Breck, Samuel ¹			3m.				
Brewer, Barzilai ³	3m.	5m.	7d.				

	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
Brewer, Bildad							
Bridgman, Elisha ^{3,4}		6m.	3m.	8m.			
Bridgman, Erastus ⁷					9m.	6m.	3m.
Bridgman, Noah ⁴			7d.				
Briggs, Zadock ⁴			7d.				
Brooks, Nathan, S. H., in service							
			6y., 4m.				
Brown, Elisha ³		3m.	2m.				
Brown, John ^{1,6}		3m.	11m.		5w.		3y.
Brown, John, ⁶ E. H.					3m.		
Brown, Rufus							
Brown, Silas		3m.	4w.				
Bruce, Joseph			3y.			4m.	
Bugbee, William, S. H.		3m.					
Bullard, John ¹		3m.	2m.				
Burk, Justus			3y.		9m.	6m.	
Burk, Seth		3m.					
Burns, Patrick			3y.			1y.	
Burt, David		3m.	3m.				
Burt, Elkanah							
Burt, Henry ^{3,4}			4m.				
Burt, Joel, ⁴ W. H.			3m.		6m.		
Calder, William ¹		3m.	3y.			1y.	3y.
Caswell, Joseph			3y.				
Celley, Levi						6m.	
Chapman, David, ⁵ E. H.					6w.		
Chapman, Willet ⁴				7d.			3y.
Chillson, Elihu		3m.					
Chilson, Joseph							
Choate, William ³			2m.				
Claffin, Abner ⁴			7d.				
Clapp, Aaron, ³ S. H.			7d.				
Clap, Asahel ⁴		3m.	7d.				
Clapp, Asabel Jr., ^{1,4} Serg't		3m.	7d.				
Clap, Azariah ^{1,3}		26d.	39d.				
Clapp, Chester ^{3,4}			2m.				
Clapp, Ebenezer							
Clapp, Eliakim		1y.	3y.				
Clapp, Eliphaz							
Clapp, Elisha				1m.			
Clapp, Joel, ³ S. H.			7d.				
Clapp, John, S. H.			3y.			6m.	
Clapp, Jonathan							
Clapp, Joseph, ⁶ Capt., E. H.				Maj.	resigned		
					Cont.	4m.	
Clapp, Levi, S. H.			30d.				
Clapp, Noah ^{3,5}			2m.		6w.	3m.	
Clapp, Oliver							
Clap, Paul ^{1,2}		3m.	1y.	3y.			

	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
Clapp, Perez, ^{1,2} S. H.			35d.		6w.	3m.	
Clapp, Quartus ⁷							3m.
Clapp, Roger, S. H.			2m.				
Clapp, Seth ³			6w.				
Clapp, Simeon, ^{3,5,6} Capt.		3m.	3m.		9m.	1y.	
Clapp, Simeon Jr.						6m.	
Clapp, Solomon ²		1y.	3y.				
Clapp, Stephen, S. H.	3m.						
Clapp, Supply							
Clapp, Timothy, S. H.	32d.				9m.	6m.	
Clark, Abner, S. H.	3m.					3m.	
Clark, Asahel ¹		3m.	8d.				
Clark, Benjamin ⁴			7d.				
Clark, Daniel				3y.			
Clark, David			6m.				
Clark, Ebenezer ¹ 3 ⁴			7d.				
Clark, Eliakim ²			6w.	8m.	9m.	6m.	
Clark, Elijah ³		Lt.	7d.				
Clark, Enoch		2m.					
Clark, Ephraphras							
Clark, Ezra ³			6d.				
Clark, Ezra Jr. ⁴			7d.				
Clark, Gideon			2m.				
Clark, Giles			3m.				
Clark, Isaac ⁵		3m.	3m.		6w.	6m.	
Clark, Ithamar Jr. ^{1,3}	26d.		7d.			6m.	
Clark, Job ^{1,2,3,4}	9m.	5m.	2m.	5m.			
Clark, Joel ⁴			7d.				
Clark, Jonas ^{1,4,5}	9m.		1m.	2m.	6w.		
Clark, Jonathan Jr., ² S. H.		1y.	30d.				
Clark, Joseph					3y.		
Clark, Josiah		28d.	1m.				
Clark, Justus ^{1,1,7}	9m.		5w.				
Clark, Lemuel ⁷							3m.
Clark, Lyman ^{1,2}	3m.	1y.					
Clark, Matthew			2m.		6m.		
Clark, Medad ⁴		3m.	5w.				
Clark, Moses, ^{1,2,5,7} S. H.	3m.	1y.	30d.		6w.		
Clark, Nathan ⁷			28d.				
Clark, Nathaniel ⁴			7d.				
Clark, Noah, S. H.						3m.	
Clark, Obadiah							
Clark, Oliver ⁴			7w.				
Clark, Paul ^{3,7}	3m.		10w.		9m.	6m.	
Clark, Perez ^{3,4}			2m.	3m.		3m.	
Clark, Philip		Capt.					
Clark, Phinehas			3y.				

	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
Clark, Richard ¹⁻²	3m.	1y.					
Clark, Russell ¹⁻²⁻⁷	3m.	1y.	3y.				3m.
Clark, Samuel, ⁴ Capt.			4w.				
Clark, Selah, ² S. H.		1y.				9m.	
Clark, Seth		2m.					
Clark, Silas							
Clark, Solomon, ⁴ Serg't			7d.				
Clark, Solomon ⁴		3m.	3m.			3m.	
Clark, Stephen ¹	26d.		6w.	1m.			
Clark, Thomas ³⁻⁵⁻⁶			8w.	9m.	4m.	3m.	
Clark, William						3m.	
Clark, Zenas ²⁻⁴⁻⁶			39d.		3m.	3m.	
Coats, Elijah			3y.			9m.	
Coats, Joseph ¹	3m.					3m.	
Coats, Stephen ⁴			7d.				
Cole, Barnabas				9m.			
Coleman, Samuel, ³⁻⁴⁻⁷ S. H.			5d.				3m.
Cook, Aaron							
Cooke, Asahel ⁵			1m.	2m.	6w.	6m.	
Cook, Daniel							3m.
Cook, Elisha ⁴			7d.				
Cook, Elisha Jr.							6m.
Cooke, Joseph ⁵		Capt.	30d.		6w.		
Cooke, Justin ⁵⁻⁶					9m.	6m.	
Cook, Justus							
Cook, Moses			3y.				
Cooke, Noah ¹⁻²	3m.	1y.	3y.				
Cox, Benjamin						6m.	
Craig, Thomas ³		2m.	6w.				
Crocker, Daniel			3y.			3m.	
Curtiss, Zacheriah, ⁴ W. H.			3y.		5m.	1y.	
Dada, Timothy ¹⁻²	3m.		3y.			6m.	
Dada, William, ² S. H.		1y.					
Dady, Nathaniel, S. H.	3m.		38d.				
Damon, Peter						6m.	
Dana, Daniel, ³ S. H.			3y.				
Danks, Asahel ⁶			3m.	3m.	3m.	3m.	3y.
Danks, Eli		3m.		3m.	6w.	3m.	
Danks, Eliakim, S. H.			38d.			6m.	
Danks, Ephraim Jr., ⁴			8d.				
Danks, Samuel, S. H.	3m.		8d.	9m.			
Danks, Zadock, E. H.			30d.	6m.			
Davis, John, S. H.	3m.						
Davis, William			9m.				3y.
Day, Nathan						3m.	
Day, Nathaniel ³			2m.				
Day, Nathaniel Jr.		2m.			3m.	3m.	

	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
Day, Simeon ⁷			6w.		6w.	3m.	
Dewey, David, ²⁻³⁻⁴ S. H.	3m.	1y.	2m.	9m.		1y.	3y.
Dewey, Ezra					9m.	6m.	3y.
Dewey, Noah			1m.	9m.			
Dewey, Samuel, W. H.			3m.				
Dewey, Solomon ³⁻⁵⁻⁷			10w.		6w.		
Dickinson, Josiah, ¹ Serg't	9m.						
Dody, Nathaniel, S. H.	3m.						
Dunphy, Thomas	3m.						
Durkee, Benjamin				3y.			
Dwight, Erastus							
Edwards, B. Alvord ¹⁻²⁻⁴	3m.	1y.	3m.				
Edwards, Benjamin ²			6w.				
Edwards, Benjamin Jr.				1m.			
Edwards, Daniel		2m.					
Edwards, Eli ⁶					9m.	6m.	
Edwards, Elisha ⁵			38d.		6w.	3m.	
Edwards, Justin ¹⁻²	26d.		3m.				
Edwards, Medad				1m.			
Edwards, Nathaniel ⁴			7d.				
Edwards, Nathaniel Jr.							
Edwards, Noah, ³⁻⁶ Serg't, W. H.			2m.		3m.		
Edwards, Oliver ¹⁻²	3m.	1y.	3y.			3m.	
Edwards, Samuel, S. H.	3m.						
Edwards, Simeon ¹⁻³⁻⁵	9m.		2m.		6w.		
Edwards, Solomon ⁴			7d.				
Edwards, Thaddeus ⁷							3m.
Edwards, Timothy ¹⁻³⁻⁷	26d.		5w.				
Egleston, Abner, S. H.	3m.						
Elliot, Francis, S. H.			3y.				
Elliot, John	3m.			9m.	6w.		
Elwell, Moses ¹⁻²	26d.		7d.				
Erving, Joseph ¹	9m.	1y.					
Fanning, Cyrus ¹	3m.						
Farnum, Elisha ⁶ E. H.				1w.	3m.	3m.	
Farnum or Farnham, Jared ⁷			3m.				
Farnum, Josiah ⁴			7d.				
Farr, Jessial			3m.				
Farr, Salmon ⁴			7d.				
Fellows, Parker, S. H.						3m.	3y.
Ferry, Solomon ³⁻⁷			1m.				
Fisher, John ³⁻⁷	3m.		36d.				
Fisher, Jonathan		3m.					
Fowle, Nathaniel ⁴			7d.				
Frary, Obadiah, S. H.			3m.				
Freeman, Josiah	3m.	1y.	3y.				
French, Abiathar, ²⁻³⁻⁷ W. H.		1y.	6w.				

	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
French, Ebenezer, W. H.			3m.				
French, John					9m.	6m.	3m.
French, Nathan, W. H.				3m.		3m.	
French, Samuel, ² S. H.			1m.				
Frisbee, Nathan, S. H.	2m.			9m.		6m.	3y.
Frost, Jonathan, ^{1,2} W. H.			3w.			3m.	3y.
Gains, Ebenezer					9m.		
Gardner, Thomas							3y.
Gee, Ebenezer, ¹ S. H.	3m.	Quebec					
Gorham, George, S. H.					9m.		3y.
Gorham, Jabez, W. H.							3y.
Graves, David ²		1y.	30d.				
Guilford, Simeon			3y.			6m.	8m.
Guilford, Timothy ⁵			3m.		6w.		
Gun, George	3m.		3y.				
Hall, Benajah, S. H.					3y.		
Hall, John, S. H.				5d.			3y.
Hannum, Asahel, S. H.	7d.		7d.				
Hannum, Bennoni, S. H.						6m.	
Hannum, Joel					3m.		
Hannum, Seth, S. H.	3m.		38d.		6w.		
Hannum, Timothy, ³ S. H.			3m.				
Haze, Pliny, S. H.			3m.				
Hendrick, Israel	3m.		3m.				
Hendrick, Moses ⁴			3m.	4m.			
Hendricks, James ²			2m.				
Hill, Primus			3m.	6m.	17d.	6m.	
Hinds, Phinehas, S. H.						6m.	
Hodeley, Philemon, S. H.			3m.				
Holliday, Jonah, S. H.	3m.						
Holmes, Benjamin ⁵					6w.		
Homes, Benjamin ⁶					3m.		
Hooker, Seth ³			2m.				
Howard, Benjamin, W. H.				1w.	9m.	6m.	
Howard, Noah ⁴			5w.				
Hubbard, Stephen ⁴			7d.				
Hudson, Zenas						6m.	
Hulberd, Stephen ⁴		1w.	7d.				
Hulbert, Seth						3m.	
Hunt, Ebenezer							
Hunt, Elijah		Capt.					
Hunt, Jared			39d.	3m.			
Hunt, John			10w.				
Hunt, Jonathan							
Hunt, Samuel			30d.	9m.			3m.
Hunt, Seth, ^{1,2,4} Lient.	2m.	1y.	1m.		Capt.		
Hutchens, Joseph			2w.				

	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
Hutchins, Hezekiah ¹	9m.		3y.				
Janes, Elisha			1y.				
Janes, Jonathan			5w.				
Janes, Obadiah					6w.		
Janes, Samuel			30d.		6m.		
Janes, Samuel Jr.		6m.					
Jones, Giles			3y.				3y.
Jones, William			3y.			1y.	
Judd, Asabel		5m.	5m.				
Judd, Samuel							
Judd, Samuel Jr.					6m.		
Judd, Simeon ¹⁻³	9m.		3m.				
Judd, William							
Keeling, Robert			3y.			3y.	1y.
Kellogg, Chester ¹	9m.		3y.				
Kellogg, Eli						6m.	
Kellogg, Levi ³⁻⁴			3m.	3m.	9m.	6m.	3m.
Kelly, Hugh					3y.		
Kelton, John ¹	9m.				9m.	3m.	3y.
Kendrick, James							
Kenfield, Nathan						6m.	
Kentfield, Dan.	26d.					6m.	3y.
Kentfield, Dan. Jr.					9m.	6m.	3y.
Kentfield, Gad							3m.
Kentfield, Naphtali, ⁵ E. H.					10m.	6m.	3y.
Kentfield, Noah ¹	26d.			6m.			
King, Elihu ⁴			6w.		9m.		
King, John		Lt.	7d.				
King, Medad			26d.				
King, Phinehas, S. H.						6m.	
King, Samuel, ⁴ Ens.			7d.				
King, Samuel Jr.							
King, Silas					6w.		
King, Thaddens ⁴			3m.		6m.		
King, Titus							
Kingsley, Enos			2m.				
Kingsley, Haines				1m.			
Kingsley, Moses			7d.	1m.			
Kinney, John, S. H.			3y.				
Lane, Abraham, S. H.							
Langford, George ¹⁻³⁻⁴⁻⁶	3m.	3m.	3m.		3m.		
Langton, George							
Legg, John ¹⁻²⁻⁶	9m.	1y.	30d.	9m.	9m.	6m.	
Lewis, Cato							3y.
Lomer, Charles, S. H.			3y.				
Lucas, Amaziah, S. H.					6w.	3m.	3m.
Lucas, Asa				9m.			

	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
Lucas, Asabel				9m.			
Luddington, Daniel, ^{1,2} S. H.	3m.	1y.					
Lyman, Abner, ^{1,2} Serg't	9m.	1y.	30d.	Lt.			
Lyman, Benjamin, S. H.			30d.			3m.	
Lyman, Cornelius ⁴			5w.			3m.	
Lyman, David		Lt.	8d.				
Lyman, Elias				2w.			
Lyman, Elias Jr.			6w.	1m.			
Lyman, Elijah		Lt.	9d.				
Lyman, Elisha							
Lyman, Joel				Lt.			
Lyman, John		Lt.					
Lyman, Jonathan			3w.				
Lyman, Joseph, Capt.		5m.					
Lyman, Lemuel							
Lyman, Luke ^{1,4}	9m.		5w.				
Lyman, Oliver, ^{1,4} Lieut.	9m.	4m.	4m.				
Lyman, Seth ^{1,2}	3m.	1y.					
Lyman, Seth Jr. ⁴	2m.		3y.				
Lyman, Thomas ^{1,6}	9m.	4m.	5m.		5w.		
McDonnel or Donald, Michael ¹	9m.	1y.	3y.			1y.	3y.
McMasters, Daniel							
Majory, John, S. H.							3y.
Marshall, Ethan		3m.	7d.				
Marshall, Hiram							
Masters, Daniel, ⁵ E. H.					10m.	6m.	
Mather, Elisha			30d.				
Mather, Timothy							
Matterson, John			3y.				
Mayher, Isaac						6m.	
Meacham, John			3y.				
Meriam, Hezekiah, ⁴ W. H.			5m.		9m.	3m.	
Miller, Jacob			3m.		9m.		3m.
Miller, John			2m.				3m.
Miller, Roger, ¹ S. H.	3m.						
Miller, Zebadiah, ² S. H.		1y.	30d.	3m.			3y.
Morgan, Judah			2m.				
Morse, Thomas, W. H.			3m.				
Murrey, Matthew							3y.
Nutting, John					9m.		
Nutting, Saul					9w.		
Osborn, Jacob							
Otis, Jonathan, S. H.	3m.						
Page, Jonathan, S. H.			5w.				
Pardee, Aaron ⁴			7d.				
Parks, Asa ⁴			7d.				
Parsons, Asabel			6d.				

	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
Parsons, Azariah			30d.			3m.	
Parsons, Bela							
Parsons, Elisha			6w.				
Parsons, Ephraim				1m.			
Parsons, Isaac			5d.				
Parsons, Israel ²			2m.				
Parsons, Jacob							
Parsons, Joel ⁴			5w.	Lt.			
Parsons, John ¹ Jr.			2m.				
Parsons, Jonathan		28d.	28d.				
Parsons, Joseph ²		1y.			6w.		
Parsons, Joseph ¹ Jr.	9m.		3y.				
Parsons, Josiah							
Parsons, Medad		served	3y.				
Parsons, Moses							
Parsons, Nathaniel						3m.	
Parsons, Noah ¹	9m.		5w.				
Parsons, Oliver ¹		3m.	3m.		9m.	6m.	
Parsons, Phinehas			7d.	1m.			
Parsons, Samuel ²			3m.	Lt.			
Parsons, Simeon ¹			7d.				
Parsons, Seth ⁴			2m.		6m.	3m.	
Parsons, Sylvanus			3y.				
Parsons, Timothy ⁴			7d.				3y.
Parsons, Warham			2m.				
Patis, Jonathan, S. H.	2m.						
Pechar, Israel, S. H.							3y.
Peter, Prince							3y.
Phelps, Cadwell							
Phelps, Ebenezer			7d.			3m.	
Phelps, Elijah			4m.		9m.	6m.	
Phelps, Eliphalet ⁴			7d.	9m.			
Phelps, Enoch ^{1,3,4}	9m.		3m.			6m.	
Phelps, Israel, S. H.	3m.						3y.
Phelps, Jacob						6m.	
Phelps, John							3y.
Phelps, Jonathan ⁴			7d.				
Phelps, Joseph			3y.				
Phelps, Josiah							
Phelps, Martin			3m.	1m.			
Phelps, Nathaniel ¹ Jr.	9m.		7d.	9m.			
Phelps, Samuel ¹	9m.		7d.				
Phelps, Seward ⁵					6w.		
Phelps, Spencer ^{1,4}	9m.		5w.		6w.		
Phelps, Timothy		3m.	8d.				
Phillips, Caldwell							
Pierce, Christopher						3m.	
						6m.	

	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
Pomeroy, Abner, ¹ Capt., S. H.	3m.		3m.	3m.	6w.		
Pomeroy, Asahel, ¹ Lieut.	9m.		3m.				
Pomeroy, Benjamin			2m.				
Pomeroy, Caleb			2m.				
Pomeroy, Daniel, Capt.			3m.	4m.			
Pomeroy, Ebenezer, ³ S. H.			5w.				
Pomeroy, Enos, ³⁺⁴ S. H.			2m.		9m.	6m.	
Pomeroy, Gad, S. H.						6m.	3m.
Pomeroy, Gaius ⁴			7d.	9m.	1m.		
Pomeroy, Gersham, ¹ S. H.	8m.		30d.				
Pomeroy, Heman, S. H.			7d.	9m.		6m.	
Pomeroy, Ira, S. H.			5d.			3m.	
Pomeroy, Isaac			2m.			3m.	
Pomeroy, Jacob, ¹⁺³ S. H.	9m.	2m.	5w.		6w.		3m.
Pomeroy, John			1y.	3y.			
Pomeroy, Jonathan ¹⁺²⁺⁴	9m.	1y.	5w.	9m.	3y.		
Pomeroy, Jonathan ⁴			3y.				
Pomeroy, Joseph, ³ S. H.			5w.				
Pomeroy, Josiah							
Pomeroy, Lemuel ¹			Lt.				
Pomeroy, Luther ¹⁺²	9m.	1y.	3y.			3y.	
Pomeroy, Oliver, S. H.					9m.	6m.	
Pomeroy, Phebus							3y.
Pomeroy, Pliny ¹⁺⁴	9m.		3y.			3m.	
Pomeroy, Quartus							
Pomeroy, Simeon ¹⁺⁴	9m.		2m.	4d.	8m.		
Pomeroy, Solomon, S. H.			5w.				
Pomeroy, Timothy ⁴			3m.				
Pomeroy, William							
Pond, John				9m.			
Porter, Abel ⁴	8m.		7d.				
Porter, Ezekiel ⁵⁺⁶		3m.		9m.	3m.	6m.	
Porter, Dr. Hezekiah ⁴			7d.	1m.			
Post, Levi			3m.		6w.		
Powers, Avery ⁴			7d.				
Pratt, Daniel ⁴	3m.		2m.		9m.	6m.	
Proser, Thomas, S. H.			3y.				
Pumpilly, Bennet						6m.	
Ramsdel, Kimbel, S. H.			3y.				
Rathbun, Josiah, S. H.							3y.
Richardson, Humphrey ¹⁺²	9m.	1y.	3y.			3m.	
Riley, John		5m.					
Rissney, Asahel, S. H.				9m.			
Rogers, Jonathan				9m.			
Root, Ebenezer					9m.		
Root, Eleazar ¹⁺⁵	8d.	4m.			3m.	6m.	5m.
Root, Eleazar ⁶ Jr.				9m.	5w.	6m.	3y.

	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
Root, Elias ^{1*}	9m.	1m.			6w.		
Root, Elihu, ^{1,2} Corp.	9m.	1y.	3y.				
Root, Joseph							
Root, Simeon			39d.	3m.	9m.	6m.	
Root, Timothy							3y.
Roth, Joseph, S. H.						3m.	
Russell, Daniel						6m.	
Russell, Hezekiah, ⁴ Lieut.			7d.				
Rust, Daniel ¹	9m.		6m.				
Rust, Ebenezer, S. H.						3m.	
Rust, Elijah				1m.			
Rust, Israel ¹ Jr.			7d.				
Rust, Lemuel, ¹ S. H.	3m.		30d.				
Sage, Simeon							3y.
Sampson, Daniel ¹	3m.						
Sauford, Ephraim	8m.						
Searl, Aaron, S. H.						6m.	
Searls, Bildad, S. H.			3m.				
Searls, Darius, S. H.				6m.			6m.
Searl, Elisha							
Searles, Nathaniel, S. H.			5w.			3m.	
Searles, Simeon, S. H.						3m.	
Shaw, Stephen			3m.				
Sheldon, Abner, S. H.					9m.		
Sheldon, Caleb						3m.	
Sheldon, Ebenezer, Capt., S. H.			5w.			3m.	
Sheldon, Elias							
Sheldon, Joseph							
Sheldon, Josiah			5w.				
Sheldon, Pliny, S. H.	3m.		30d.				
Sheldon, Simeon, S. H.			3y.				
Shephard, James, ^{1,5} Lieut.	9m.				6w.		
Smith, Edward						6m.	
Smith, Jared						3m.	
Smith, Jedediah ¹	3m.						
Smith, John ⁴			7d.				
Smith, Simeon			3y.				
Smith, Thomas ⁵					6w.	3m.	
Smith, William						3m.	3m.
Southwick, Benjamin			28d.				
Sprague, Oliver ¹			3m.	9m.			
Squire, Ephraim, S. H.	3m.						
Squires, Noble				8m.			
Starr, Thomas ⁴			7d.				
Stearns, Ebenezer, W. H.			2m.			3m.	
Stearns, Jonathan, ^{1,5} Serg't	3m.		Capt.		6w.		
Stoddard, Solomon							

	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
Strong, Aaron, S. H.	3m.		5w.				
Strong, Amasa ⁴			5w.				
Strong, Asahel, S. H.	3m.		5w.				
Strong, Bela ²⁺⁴		3m.	2m.			3m.	
Strong, Benajah			3m.				
Strong, Benjamin			7d.				
Strong, Caleb							
Strong, Daniel ¹⁺²	9m.	1y.					
Strong, David ⁴⁺⁵			1m.		6w.	3m.	
Strong, Ebenezer, Capt.			7d.				3m.
Strong, Eleazar, ¹⁺⁴ Serg't	3m.	1y.	3m.			3m.	
Strong, Elijah			5w.				
Strong, Eliphaz			39d.				
Strong, Ithamar ⁶	3m.			1m.	9m.	6m.	
Strong, Ithamar ¹⁺²⁺⁶ Jr.	3m.	1y.	3m.	9m.	5w.	6m.	
Strong, Jerijah							
Strong, Joel							
Strong, John	3m.		2m.		6w.		
Strong, John, Drum., W. H.	26d.		3w.			3m.	
Strong, Jonathan, Ens.			7d.				
Strong, Jonathan Jr.			1w.	1m.			
Strong, Joseph							
Strong, Levi							
Strong, Medad ⁴			1m.				
Strong, Nathan ¹⁺²⁺⁵⁺⁶	3m.	1y.	3m.	9m.	3m.	3m.	
Strong, Noah			3m.			3m.	
Strong, Roswell, S. H.					9m.	6m.	
Strong, Simeon Jr.						6m.	
Strong, Solomon, ¹ S. H.	20d.		8d.				
Strong, Theron	9m.						
Strong, Timothy ¹	26d.		5w.			3m.	
Strong, Titus ¹			3y.				3m.
Tappan, Benjamin			28d.				
Tappan, Samuel ³⁺⁴			2m.				
Taylor, James ¹⁺²	3m.	1y.	3y.				
Taylor, Reuben			3y.				
Thayer, Ahaz, W. H.					6w.	3m.	
Thayer, Asa		3m.	7d.				
Thayer, Elias ¹⁺²	3m.	1y.					
Thompson, James							3y.
Thrall, Giles ¹	3m.				3y.		
Tilson, James.						6m.	
Tollman, Ebenezer			3y.				
Trumble, John	3m.						
Turner, Adam						6m.	
Turner, David						3m.	
Tyrrell, Arad			2m.				

	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
Vaughn, John			3y.				
Vinton, Nathaniel			3y.				
Wait, Abijah ⁴			7d.				
Waite, Augustus					9m.		
Wait, Josiah ⁴			7d.				3m.
Wales, James				8m.	6m.	6m.	
Wales, Jonathan, Capt.	3m.		5w.				
Wales, Jonathan Jr., ³ W. H.			5w.				
Wales, Samuel			3m.	3m.	9m.	6m.	
Warner Daniel							
Warner, Joseph			7d.				
Warner, Joseph, Jr.		Capt.					
Warner, Mark							3m.
Warner, Silas, ² W. H.		1y.					
Warner, Warham ^{1,3}	18d.		3m.				
Welch, John			3y.				
Welch, Sampson ⁵					10m.	3m.	
Wells, John, S. H.						3m.	3y.
Welsh, William ⁴			3y.				
Wheaton, Ephraim							3y.
Wheeler Samuel							3y.
Whitby James							3y.
Wier, John ⁴			2m.				
Wilder, Peter						6m.	
Williams, Roswell, S. H.						3m.	
Willys, William ¹	3m.						
Winter, Daniel, S. H.						3m.	
Wood, Daniel, S. H.				3m.	9m.		3y.
Wood, David, ² S. H.		1y.			9m.	6m.	
Wood, Ezekiel, S. H.	3m.						3y.
Woodward, John, S. H.					9m.		
Woodward, Oliver ¹							
Wright, Aaron							
Wright, Aaron Jr.							
Wright, Asa			2m.	Lt.			
Wright, Asahel ^{1,6}	4m.	5m.	2m.		3m.		
Wright, Augustus					9m.		3m.
Wright, Bildad			3y.				3y.
Wright, Charles, S. H.						3m.	
Wright, Daniel ⁴			7d.	9m.			
Wright, Ebenezer							
Wright, Eleazar							
Wright, Elihu			3y.				
Wright, Elijah, ⁶ Serg't, E. H.	3m.		5d.		5w.		
Wright, Eliphaz, ^{1,2,5} Serg't	3m.	1y.		4m.	6w.		
Wright, Elnathan							
Wright, Ephraim		2w.	4d.				
Wright, Joel ⁴			2m.				

	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
Wright, John							
Wright, Moses							
Wright, Nathaniel ¹		1m.	7d.				
Wright, Oliver				3m.	6w.	3m.	
Wright, Phinehas ¹		Col.	3m.				
Wright, Reuben ³⁻⁴			5w.	1w.	6m.		
Wright, Selah							
Wright, Seth			4m.	9m.			
Wright, Solomon							
Wright, Stephen, S. H.						6m.	
Wright, Timothy	3m.						

G.

EPHRAIM WRIGHT'S EXPENSES TO BOSTON.

Page 427. 1780. "The Town of Northampton to Ephraim Wright, Dr., for his expenses to from & at Convention in Boston Jan'y, 7, 1780.

Lodgeings, Horse Keeping Supper & Breckfast at Belcher	5.	2.0
Horse Baiting &c at ware	.	0.18.0
Dinner &c at Chadwicks	.	2.02.0
Expences at Brookfield from thursday till tuesday	36.	3.0
Lodgeing at Dunbars &c	.	6.10.0
Expences at Worcester	.	8. 8.0
Horse Baiting at Shrusbury	.	0.12.
Dinner &c at Northbury	.	2.14.0
Lodgeing at Sudbury	.	8. 4.0
Shaving	.	0.12.0
Horse Keeping at Boston,	.	60. 0.0
To Sending my to charlestown	.	1. 4.0
to Horse Keeping at Do 7 Nights	.	23. 2.0
Shaving in Boston three times	.	1.16.0
Horse Baiteng &c at Cambridge	.	1.10.
P ^d Mr Ray for my Board Eight Days	.	34. 6.
Shaving at Watertown	.	0.12.0
Lodgeing at Westown &c	.	6.12.0
at Sudbury	.	0.18.0
Breakfast & Baiting at hows	.	3.
Dinner &c at Shrewsbury	.	2. 2.0
Lodgeing at Worcester	.	4.16.
Baiteng at Spencer	.	0.18.0
Dinner at Brookfield &c	.	2. 8.0
Lodgeing &c at Chadwicks	.	6. 0.0
Bating at Ware	.	0.12.0
Dinner &c at Belcher	.	2. 8.0

£169. 9.0

to Horse hire to Boston 100 miles at 4s. per mile

20.

To his att^{ce} &c at Convention 51 days @ 48s.

122. 8.

£311.17."

H.

CAPTAIN ALLEN'S MOB ROLL, MAY AND JUNE, 1782.

Page 463. A list of the men that voluntarily turned out to support government Against the insurgents who endeavored to overturn it:—

Solomon Allen, Capt.,	Elijah Bartlit,
Solomon Clark, Lt.,	Reuben Wright.
Thomas Starr, Lt.,	Seth Wright.
Eleazar Wright, Clerk,	Thadden King,
Samuel Phelps, Serg't,	Meddad King.
Paul Clark, Serg't.	Joel Burt,
Medad Clark, Serg't.	David Turner,
Elijah Allen, Cor ^l ,	Cadwell Phelps,
Simeon Pomroy, Cor ^l ,	Ebenezer Rust,
Elihu Wright, Cor ^l ,	Shubael Wilder,
Jared Hunt, Cor ^l ,	Wm. Liffingwell.
Gaius Pomroy, Drum.,	Samuel Wales,
Elisha Allen,	William Gun,
Thaddeus Baker,	Elisha Cook Jr.,
Justus Clark,	Asahel Cook,
Abner Clark,	Daniel Cook,
Will Clark Jun ^r ,	Warham Cook,
Elijah Clark Jr.,	M ^r Elisha Cook,
Rusell Clark,	Moses Bartlet,
Samuel King Jr.,	Silas Hemingway,
Elihu King.	Elisha Burt,
Samuel Lyman,	Elijah Taller,
Enoch Phelps,	Benj Clark Jr.,
M ^r Benj Clark,	Joseph Hunt Brick.
Ebne ^s Phelps,	Seth Persons.
Moses Wright,	Israel Clapp.
Wenford Helmer.	Eleaz ^r Alverd.
M ^r John King,	

I.

CAPT. SOLOMON ALLEN'S PAY-ROLL, SEPT., 1786.

Page 474. A Pay Roll of the Officers and Men belonging to the 1st Comp. 2^d Reg^t of the County of Hampshire, commanded by Capt. Solo. Allen, who voluntarily turned out in Sept. 1786, to support the Supreme Judicial Court then holden at Springfield:—

Capt ⁿ Sol ^o Allen,	Serj ^t W ^m Welch,
L ^t Tho ^s Starrs,	Serj ^t Eb ⁿ Phelps,
L ^t Sol ^o Clark,	Serj ^t Cor ^o Lyman,
Serj ^t Ja ^s Wales,	Cor. W ^m Clark,

Cor. Reub. Wright,
 Cor. Enoch Phelps,
 Cor Hen. Porter,
 Drum^r G. Pomeroy,
 Fif^r R. Heminway,
 Sam^{el} Lyman,
 Elihu King,
 Ralph Pomeroy,
 Maurice Dwight,
 Benj^a Clark,
 Elisha Burt.
 Elisha Baker,
 Seth Parsons,
 Jared Clark,
 Jo. H. Breck,
 Nath^a Welch,
 Dan^{el} Parsons,
 Moses Parsons,
 David Cowen,
 Eben^r Phelps Jr.,
 Ezra Moody,
 Tim^o Root,
 Ariah Coots,

Luther Clark,
 Justus Clark,
 Gaius Burt,
 Sam^{el} King,
 George Hunt,
 Elijah Clark,
 Tim^o Jewet,
 Seward Phelps,
 Joel Burt.
 Tho^o Bridgman
 Jn^o Breck,
 S. Hemingway,
 Jo. Phelps,
 Sam^{el} Breck,
 Jn^o Kelton,
 Levi Lyman,
 Seth Hulburt.
 Israel Bridgman.
 Dan^{el} Warner,
 Eleaz^r Wright,
 W^m Pomeroy,
 Sim. Pomeroy,
 Aaron Wales.

J.

CAPT. RUSSELL'S PAY-ROLL, JAN., 1787.

Page 503. A Pay Roll of the Officers and Men belonging to the 2^d Companys Reg^t, County of Hampshire, commanded by Capt. Hez. Russell, who marched from Northampton to Springfield in Jan. last by order of Maj^r Gen^l Shephard, to defend the Arsenal: —

Capt. Hez. Russell,
 L^t Jonas Clark,
 L^t Tho^s Starr,
 Ens. Hez. Hutchins,
 Ben. A. Edwards, Clerk,
 Shub. Wilder, Serg^t,
 Seth Parsons, Serg^t,
 Eli Edwards, Serg^t,
 Sam. Breck, Serg^t,
 Reub. Wright, Corp.,
 Joel Burt, Corp.,
 Will. Clark, Corp.,
 Jno. Danielson, Corp.,
 Hez. Russelle Jr., Fifer,
 Elijah Sprague, Drumer,

Dan^{el} Strong,
 Noah Clapp,
 Jno. Breck Treat,
 Sam^{el} Stiles,
 Tho^s Clarke,
 Vester Edwards,
 Benj^a. Clark,
 Edward Burt,
 Seward Phelps,
 Asahel Wright,
 Luke Day,
 Will. Sheldon,
 Israel Bridgman,
 Tho^s Hamilton,
 Perez Wright,

Daniel Phelps,
O. Pomeroy,
John Breck,
Tim^o Root,
Phin^s Bartlet,
W^m Bolter,
Tho^s Bridgman,
Eben^r Brown,
Jn^r Hughes,
Ezra Moody,
David Wheaton,
Justin Parsons,
Asa Wright,
George Hunt,
Sol^o Bartlet,
Jona. Parsons,
Eli Clark,
Luther Clark,
Elisha Baker,
Ariah Coots,
Jared Clark,
Joseph King,

Clark Bridgman,
Elisha Nash,
Darius Clark,
Patrick Welsh,
Darius Grant,
Eben^r Phelps,
Noah Moody,
Moses Parsons,
Darius Loomer,
Aaron Wales,
Dan Kentfield,
Henry Phelps,
Silas Hemingway,
Elijah Taylor,
Moses Tyler,
Israel Wright,
Fred Loomer,
Henry Porter,
Erastus Lyman,
Thad. Pomeroy,
Sam. Mather.

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