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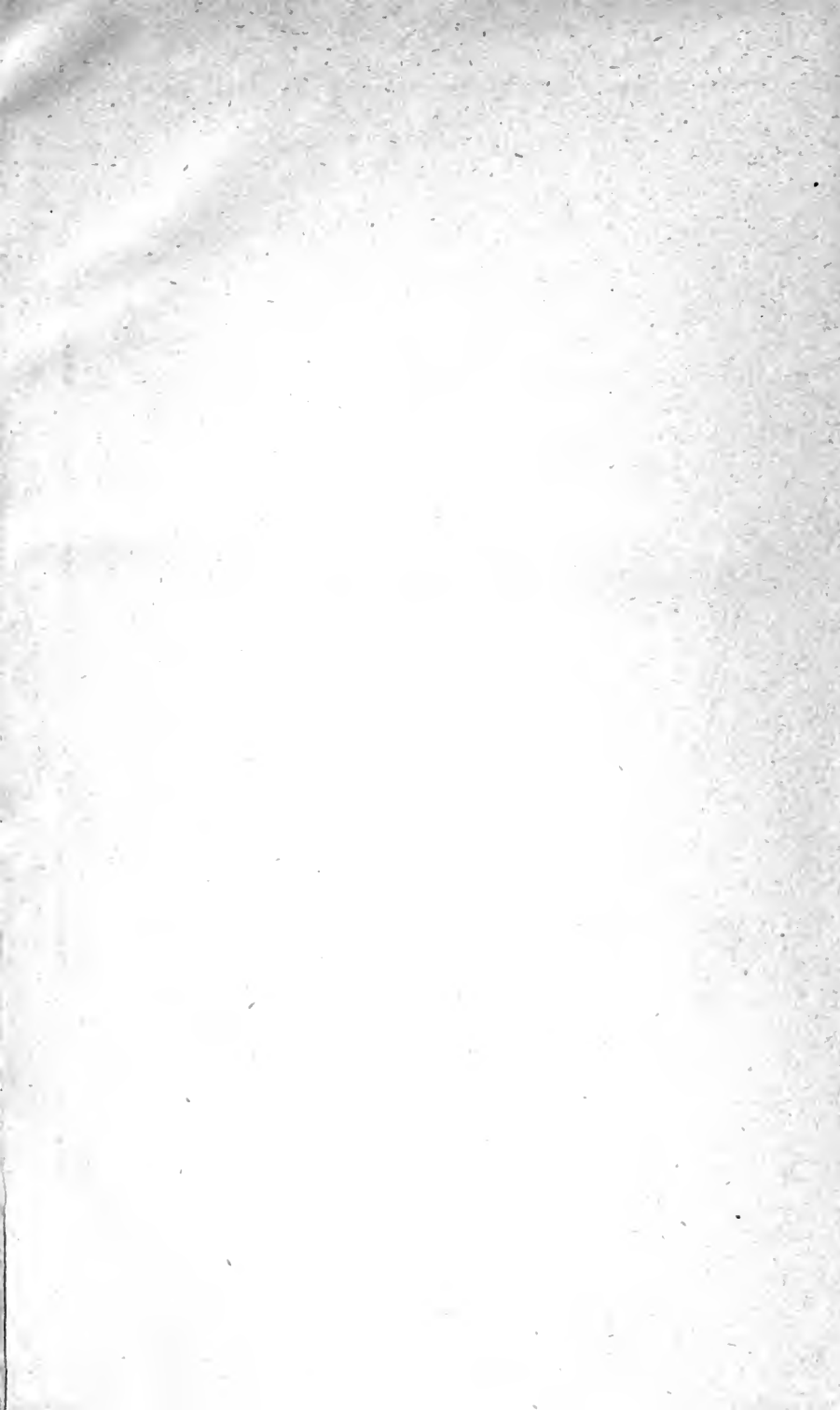
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# COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS

HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

*For the Year 1794.*

VOL. III.

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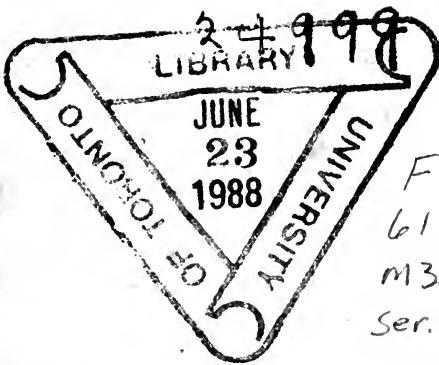
BOSTON :

PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1794.

RE-PRINTED BY MUNROE & FRANCIS, NO. 4 CORNHILL,

Printers to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

1810.



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# COLLECTIONS

OF THE

## MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME III.

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### DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF MIDDLEBOROUGH, IN THE COUNTY OF PLYMOUTH. WITH REMARKS.

**M**IDDLEBOROUGH is bounded S. by Rochester and Freetown, W. by Freetown and Taunton, N. by the river which divides Middleborough from Raynham and Bridgewater, and by Halifax, E. by Plympton, Carver and Wareham.

This place, before the said town was incorporated, went by the name of Namaskett, which was an ancient Indian name, and was formerly plentifully inhabited by the Indian natives, who were governed by the noted sachem Tispacan. But when the town was incorporated, and began to be settled by the English, the natives began to scatter and decrease; but there is now a settlement of them which descended from the ancients of Namaskett, which inhabit a part of said town, known by the name of Betty's-neck (which place took its name from an ancient Indian woman by the name of Betty Sasemore, who owned that neck) where there is now eight Indian houses and eight families. The general number of the Indians, old and young, that live there, is between thirty and forty. Their houses are poor, they own some land, they live imprudent—are very fond of liquor. They till their land, which produces good crops of corn and rye, which they trade off for spirituous liquors, with any retailer that is so destitute of principles as to trade with them, so that by the middle of the winter, their corn and grain is generally gone. Then, by their baskets and brooms (which they make) they purchase it to supply immediate necessity. They are very subject to hectic complaints, for more than half that are born are carried off young with consumptions.

In this town is one whole Congregational precinct, where the Rev. Joseph Barker is settled as minister. One precinct, containing part of

Middleborough and part of Taunton, where the Rev. Caleb Turner is their settled minister. One precinct, containing part of Middleborough and part of Bridgewater, where the Rev. Mr. Gurney is settled. One other precinct incorporated in March last, containing part of Middleborough, part of Rochester, and part of Freetown. There are also three Baptist societies in said town; one of them destitute of a settled teacher; one under the charge of the Rev. Isaac Backus, the other under the charge of the Rev. Ebenezer Hinds.

This town is now very attentive to schools to educate their youth.

This town is remarkable for a large range of ponds, that lie mostly therein. It is remarked that the pond lying in the southerly part of Rochester, known by the name of Snipatuct pond, being about four miles in circumference, has two streams issuing therefrom, the one running southward, and empties itself into the sea, at Rochester, at a place called Mattapoissett harbour; the other stream, by running about three quarters of a mile, empties into the east Quitiquos pond, which mostly lies in said Middleborough, which unites with the other ponds, from whence Namaskett river ariseth: So that the alewife-fish come into Snipatuct pond from both streams.

This town is natural to corn and rye, which it produces well: Not poor for grass. A number of good mills, and iron works have been erected. The ponds produce large quantities of iron ore, which is used to great advantage, together with several sorts of fish.

There is on the easterly shore of Assawampsitt pond, on the shore of Betty's-neck, two rocks which have curious marks thereon (supposed to be done by the Indians) which appear like the steppings of a person with naked feet, which settled into the rocks; likewise the prints of a hand on several places, with a number of other marks; also, there is a rock on a high hill, a little to the eastward of the old stone fishing wear, where there is the print of a person's hand in said rock.

LONGEVITY.] Mrs. Hope Nelson, was born in May, in the year 1677, in the town of Barnstable, or some other town near thereto, on the Cape; she died the 7th of December, 1782, being one hundred and five years and seven months of age, and was the widow of Thomas Nelson, of said Middleborough. She was a member of a Baptist church, in said Middleborough, and partook of the sacrament with the members of said church, after she was an hundred years of age. She was rational, and possessed of memory and faculties, after she was an hundred, equal to what is common at sixty. Eight years before her death, her living children, or persons which descended from her, amounted to two hundred and fifty-seven, and by the best accounts that have been yet obtained, at her death, her living descendants amounted to about three hundred and thirty-seven.

EMPLOYMENTS.] The most common and general employment of the inhabitants of said town is agriculture, which seems to be increasing; though there are a number of mechanicks. Nailing, or the business of making nails, is carried on largely in the winters, by the farmers and young men, who have but little other business at that season of the year.

**SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS.]** The use of spirituous liquors does not prevail in this town, to that degree it does in many other towns, although there are several persons who have ruined their characters, their families, and property, by the excessive use of spirituous liquors, which have served to destroy their own constitution. The effect that spirits seem to have on the bodies of those sots, seems to deprive them of their natural activity, throws them into a kind of stupor, relaxes their nerves, and sets them into a continual tremor—those are the certain consequences of excessive use of high spirits.

There are three or four neighbourhood libraries, which contain fifty or sixty volumes in each.

There is a society formed by a covenant, for the purpose of gaining in knowledge; their meetings are stated quarterly. They commonly have at each meeting a publick dispute, by two or three members on each side, which are chosen at a meeting before, when the subject of dispute is agreed upon. There are a great number of questions given out by one member, to another, at an early period, to be answered at a future meeting; by which proceedings, the members of said society make considerable proficiency in husbandry, mathematicks, philosophy, astronomy, &c. The foregoing is presented to the Historical Society, by their humble servant,

NEHEMIAH BENNET.

*Middleborough, June 14th, 1793.*

REV. DR. BELKNAP.

This account was accompanied with an excellent draft, which could receive no improvement, but from a delineation of the roads.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

IN the year 1763, Mr. Shubael Thompson found a land turtle in the north-east part of Middleborough, which by some misfortune had lost one of its feet, and found the following marks on its shell, viz. I. W. 1747—He marked it S. T. 1763, and let it go. It was found again in the year 1773, by Elijah Clap, who marked it E. C. 1773, and let it go. It was found again in the year 1775, by Captain William Shaw, in the month of May, who marked it W. S. 1775. It was found again by said Shaw the same year, in September, about one hundred rods distance from the place where he let it go.

It was found again in the year 1784, by Jonathan Soule, who marked it J. S. 1784, and let it go. It was found again in the year 1790, by Joseph Soule, who marked it J. S. 1790, and let it go. It was found again in the year 1791, by Zenas Smith, who marked it Z. S. 1791, and let it go; it being the last time it was found; 44 years from the time the first marks were put on.

Presented to the Philological Society, by  
NEHEMIAH BENNET.

True copy. THOMAS BENNET, *Recording Secr'y.*

The above is obtained and presented to the Rev. Dr. Belknap, Corresponding Secretary to the Historical Society by their humble servant,  
NEHEMIAH BENNET.

## Bill of Mortality in Hartford,

BILL OF MORTALITY. WITH REMARKS ON THE HISTORY OF THE  
TOWN OF HARTFORD, IN CONNECTICUT, BY NOAH WEBSTER,  
JUN. ESQ.

BILL OF MORTALITY, in the first and second parishes in HARTFORD,  
for ten years, beginning March 6th, 1783, and ending March 6th,  
1793.

Ages.	No.	Ages.	No.	Ages.	No.	Under 1 year,		113
Dead born		34	3	70	2	Bet. 1 year & 2		28
under one		35	5	71	5	2 & 5	35	
year old,	113	36	2	72	2	5 & 10	12	
1 year old	28	37	1	74	2	10 & 15	6	
2	22	38	4	75	2	15 & 20	17	
3	8	39	1	76	3	20 & 25	18	
4	5	40	5	77	4	25 & 30	20	
5	5	41	3	78	4	30 & 40	29	
6	1	42	7	80	5	40 & 50	30	
7	3	43	4	81	1	50 & 60	31	
8	3	44	4	82	2	60 & 70	35	
11	2	46	2	84	1	70 & 80	24	
13	2	47	3	85	2	80 & 90	16	
14	2	48	1	86	1	90 & 100	4	
15	3	49	1	87	1	100	1	
16	5	50	4	88	2			
17	4	51	5	89	1			
18	3	52	5	91	3			
209 one half		53	4	96	1			
19	2	54	1	100	1			
20	6	55	2			Under a year more		
21	1	56	4		45	than $\frac{1}{4}$		
22	2	57	4		112	Under 2 years $\frac{1}{3}$ and a		
23	4	58	1		262	fraction.		
24	5	59	1			Under 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ .		
25	6	60	5	Total	419	Above 70 $\frac{1}{9}$ and a frac-		
26	1	61	3			tion.		
27	8	62	5			Above 80 1-20th near-		
28	2	63	5			ly.		
29	3	64	3			Above 90 1-84th.		
30	4	65	2					
32	5	66	3					
33	4	67	6					
		68	3					
	262							
			112					

THE two parishes have contained, on an average, the ten years past, 2500 souls. The deaths then are to the number of inhabitants, as 1 to  $59\frac{2}{419}$ , or 42 a year, nearly.

By comparing this bill of mortality with Dr. Holyoke's bills of mortality in Salem, for 1782 and 1783, the result will be much in favour of the healthiness and longevity of the inhabitants in Hartford, unless some epidemick disease prevailed in Salem during those years. Salem was supposed to contain 9000 souls, at the time these bills were made:—The number of deaths in 1782 was 175, and in 1783, 189—total 364. If Salem contained 9000 souls at this time, then in two years the number is 18000, out of which died 364, which is at the rate of 1 to 49, which makes a difference of one sixth in favour of Hartford. Or thus; total number of inhabitants in Salem for two years, 18000; total number in two parishes of Hartford for ten years, 25000. Deaths in Salem, 364: Then 18000: 364 :: 25000:  $505\frac{10}{18}$  the number of deaths in Hartford to be proportioned to those of Salem. But the real number is 419—difference 86, in favour of Hartford. The difference in favour of Hartford is greater, if the deaths of old people only, be taken. Number of deaths in Salem, of persons above seventy years of age, 21; ditto in Hartford 45. But 25000: 45 :: 18000:  $32\frac{10}{3}$  the number in Salem to be in proportion to those of Hartford.

In the third parish in Hartford, there have died, in the last eighteen years, 71 persons above seventy years of age. That parish has contained, on an average, 1250 souls, or perhaps 1300. This gives 1 to 312 that live to seventy years of age and upwards. But in Salem, according to the bills for 1782 and 1783, only 1 in 857 arrives to seventy years of age.

It is however to be observed that two years are not sufficient to determine the longevity of the inhabitants of any town or country; and it is probable that more accurate accounts, kept through a series of years, may make a material difference in calculations of this kind.

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## REMARKS,

### GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL.

HARTFORD was settled by a company of English people in the year 1636. A few persons from Massachusetts seated themselves at Weathersfield in 1635, but the next year, a congregation from Newtown, now Cambridge, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Stone, removed with all their effects and settled themselves at Hartford. In 1637, New-Haven was planted: About the same time Windsor, Guilford, and Milford, were also settled. From the names of the proprietors of the town of Hartford, now on record, together with traditional accounts, it appears that about one hundred families settled in this town and about the same number in New-Haven, Guilford, Milford, Weathersfield, and Windsor. If we suppose five souls to a family and one hundred families in each of these six towns, the original stocks from which have sprung all the

present inhabitants of Connecticut, and the emigrants from the State, consisted of three thousand souls. The present inhabitants are about two hundred and thirty-eight thousand ; but the western parts of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Vermont, and the northern and western parts of New-York are mostly peopled by emigrants from Connecticut. These are estimated at one hundred thousand souls, at least ; three hundred and forty thousand souls, therefore may be considered as the population proceeding from the original stocks of three thousand. The inhabitants therefore have doubled, notwithstanding a long war, and epidemick diseases, once in twenty-four years.

Hartford, since a late division of the town, lies on the west bank of Connecticut River, having Windsor on the north, Weathersfield on the the south, and Farmington on the west. Its extent is six miles square. The population in 1791 was four thousand and ninety, which gives one hundred and thirteen to a square mile. The population of the whole state is fifty-one to a square mile.

No very remarkable occurrences with respect to the Indians, are related in the records of Hartford. The natives in and near the town seem to have been of a pacifick disposition ; but mention is made of fortifications erected in different parts of the town, in 1689 and 1704, rather, it should seem, to guard against distant tribes, than through fear of the neighbouring Indians. The records of the town mention, volume I, folio 5, a purchase of the land from Sunckquasson, the sachem and proprietor, about the year 1636. But the evidence of this purchase being imperfect, a new purchase was made, July 1, 1670, of the Indians ; the deed, which is still on record, counting upon the former purchase.

A patent from the general assembly of the colony of Connecticut, after the union with New-Haven, was made ratifying the purchase and confirming the title of the town, A. D. 1685.

At the time the English settled in this town, the Dutch had a fort and trading house, at the confluence of Mill river and Connecticut river. The Dutch soon relinquished this settlement, and in 1653, all their lands were confiscated by virtue of a commission from the Commonwealth of England to Captain Underhill, and sold. A point of land, which formed a part of their possessions, is still called Dutch point.

*Hartford, May, 1793.*

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF YORK, BY THE HON. DAVID SEWALL, Esq.

**T**HE town of York, in the county of YORK, in the district of MAINE, (forty-nine miles from Portland, nine from Portsmouth, and seventy-two from Boston) is a maritime place, bounded south-westerly on the town of Kittery, north-westerly on said Kittery, and the town of Berwick, north-easterly on the town of Wells, and south-easterly by the sea, or Atlantick Ocean, to which it adjoins, ex-



tending about seven miles. This being the shire-town of the county is accommodated with a court-house and gaol. There are two inlets or harbours for vessels in this place, one called York, and the other Cape Neddick ; at four miles distance from each other. York River is principally salt water, which flows up six or seven miles from the sea, in a north-western direction ; in which vessels of two or three hundred tons burthen may enter, but the entrance being narrow and crooked, renders it rather difficult of access to strangers. This harbour is five or six miles north-east of Piscataqua.

Cape Neddick is navigable but a mile, or less, from the sea, and at full tide only, for vessels of any considerable bulk, it having a bar of sand at its mouth ; indeed at an hour before and after low water, this rivulet is generally so shallow, as to be fordable within a few rods of the sea.

There is another small inlet between this town and Kittery, and which makes the boundary at the sea, called Brave Boat harbour. This is a salt water creek, which shallops and small boats only ever make use of ; it adjoins Cutt's island in Kittery (formerly called Champernoons) at the north-east end. When the tides are full, at the top of the tide, there is a communication from this inlet on the north-west side of the island, to the river Piscataqua, sufficient for floating canoes, small boats and gondolas.

Cape Neddick, and Bald Head, are the head lands ; the former is a little to the south-west of Cape Neddick river, and makes one side of long Sands Bay. At the end of this neck of land, is a small hillock called the Nubble, this is the nearest land, on the main, to a small island of rocks eight or nine miles distant south-east, called Boon island.

Bald Head makes the south-west part of what is called Well's Bay ; between Cape Neddick harbour and Well's Bay are several coves, where small vessels in a smooth time, and when a westerly wind prevails, haul ashore, and are loaded with wood in the course of a tide, with ease and safety.

The Long Sands are about three quarters of a mile in length, covered every tide by the flowing of the sea, when the tide is down, it is in a manner as smooth and hard as a corn-floor ; and affords an agreeable place for riding in a carriage or on horse-back.

Fish of various kinds frequent the rivers and shores of the sea contiguous. In a calm season, in the summer, one may stand on the rocks of the shore, and catch them in the sea, with a line, or even with an angling rod, and a fathom or two of line : The salt water at such seasons being clear, you may discover a contention, almost, among the small fish, which shall first seize the bait.

The ponds of any consequence, are Cape Neddick pond at the head or source of Cape Neddick river : And York pond, the principal source of what fresh water runs into York river ; though York pond lies almost wholly in the town of Kittery.

A corner boundary between York, Kittery, and Wells, is a fine spring of water, called Baker's Spring. This name to the spring is said to

have originated from the residence of a person, who concealed himself near it, by the name of Baker; and was supposed to have been active in the bringing of king Charles the first to the block.

The settlements began in this place about the year 1630; the name by which it was first known and called is Agamenticus, from a mountain in the north-westerly part of it, in latitude  $43^{\circ} 16'$  north, and  $70^{\circ} 39'$  west from the meridian of Greenwich.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, soon after obtaining his charter or patent from king Charles the first of the Province of Maine, intending, as is supposed, this place for the seat of government, incorporated a considerable part of it into a city by the name of GORGIANA, appointing a mayor and aldermen. In consequence of this incorporation, the place was sometimes called Gorgiana as well as Agamenticus, until the year 1652, when Massachusetts colony claimed the jurisdiction, as lying within the limits of their charter to Sir Henry Rosewell and others, (anno 1628) according to the construction they made of its boundaries, and assumed the government by the assent of the inhabitants, calling it YORK, which name it has ever since retained.

This place, at various times, has suffered in loss of lives and property, by the Indians. On the 5th day of February, 1692, new stile, it was in a manner destroyed by them. They with some French came upon snowshoes and surprised the unwary inhabitants early on Monday morning, killing about seventy-five and captivating as many more, burning all the houses and property on the north-east side of the river, where the principal settlements and improvements then were; four garrison-houses, viz. Alcock's, Prebble's, Harman's, and Norton's, only excepted. After this calamity, the few remaining settlers had serious thoughts of abandoning the place altogether; but a number determined to remain. Such was their reduced and indigent situation, by this destruction of persons and property, that a year or two after, the town, in their corporate capacity, by their agents, contracted with a person at Portsmouth, to come and erect a mill for grinding their corn into meal, and besides, granting him a mill-stream, a considerable quantity of land in fee, and particular privilege of cutting timber. It was agreed, "that they, and *all* the inhabitants should *always* afterwards carry their corn and grain to that mill, while it should be kept up for that purpose." What numbers the inhabitants amounted to, at the time the town was destroyed in 1692, has never been ascertained; but they were so considerable as to have had a settled minister, several years preceding, viz. the Rev. Shubael Dummer, who was that Monday morning shot down, and found dead, near his own door. Supposing the numbers remaining, and such as returned from captivity, were one hundred and fifty; this number, agreeable to the usual increase, in new plantations, by doubling in twenty years, would now have amounted to four thousand and eight hundred. But from the enumeration taken in 1791, they scarcely amounted to three thousand, from whence it may be inferred that many more have emigrated from the place than have come into it from other parts since that period. In 1764, the inhabitants, from an ac-

count then taken, amounted to two thousand two hundred and ninety-eight, including twenty-one French neutrals, and fifty-six blacks. From that time to 1791, a space of twenty-seven years, the increase was but about seven hundred, a further evidence of large emigrations, as no remarkable mortality prevailed during that period. The climate is healthy, many living to between ninety and one hundred years; from computations for a series of years, (thirty or forty past) one in six or seven of the deaths have been of persons of upwards of seventy years of age.

The soil is rocky and very hard of cultivation, especially on the sea-coast, and the northerly parts of the town. Indeed a large proportion of it, perhaps two-thirds, is incapable of any other cultivation, than what spontaneously arises. The principal settlements and improvements are within a mile and a quarter of the largest inlet, and upon each side thereof. There are in the town several saw-mills and corn-mills, which are rather convenient and necessary, than any profit to the owners.

The principal employment of the inhabitants is agriculture, many of whom must be frugal and industrious to obtain a subsistence. Wood and timber have been carried from hence to market; but there is not now more than a sufficiency for the inhabitants. Indian corn and barley are the principal grains cultivated; wheat and rye succeed but poorly. Potatoes of an excellent quality, and inconsiderable quantities, are produced. Various parts of the town have acquired, from one incident or other, particular names; as Scotland, a part of the second parish, from some person of Scottish extract that first sat down upon it. Ground-root-hill, from roots of that kind spontaneously growing there. Birch hill, Beach ridge, from the qualities of the wood formerly growing upon them. But there is a particular place of small dimensions that still retains the name of the Devil's Invention, which originated from the following occurrence. A man in the town, on some account or other being affronted with his neighbour, determined to resent it, and avenge himself, by depriving him of his two inoffensive sons, (between six and nine years of age) by famine. He accordingly, in a solitary place, at some miles distant from the then inhabited part of the town, built up against some high perpendicular rocks, a kind of pound with logs jutting inwards in such a manner that when a person had once got within it, he was confined as safely as in prison. Having accomplished this, he decoyed the children into the woods, under pretence of looking after birds and birds' nests, and some how got them into this pound, and there left them to perish. The children, after various trials to get out, at length by digging with their hands the earth under one of the bottom logs, effected their escape; and after wandering in the woods the space of three days, by following the noise of the sea (from whence their prison was distant about three or four miles) got to the sea shore, where they were found. During the three days the town was alarmed, and its inhabitants were searching the woods after the children.

The judgment of the court of associates upon the culprit on this occasion (July, 1679) was to this purpose: "The court having considered your inhuman and barbarous offence, against the life of the children, and great disturbance to the country, do sentence you to have thirty stripes well laid on, to pay to the father of the said children five pounds money—to the treasury of the county ten pounds; out of which the charge of postage and search of the town, is to be discharged; and to pay the charges and fees of the prison, and to remain close prisoner during the court's pleasure and further order."

Soon after this in the same month a recognizance of one hundred pounds was entered into before two of the judges of the court, to send the offender within a fortnight, or twenty-one days, out of the jurisdiction.

Near the head of York river is a quantity of salt marsh, which was probably the inducement of persons setting down near it, at a pretty early period—there was formerly something considerable of navigation, for such a place; but it was nearly all destroyed and lost, during the American contest with Great Britain. Since the peace there is a small traffick to the West-Indies, some coasting vessels, and some fishermen; the place is well calculated for carrying on the cod fishery, were there persons of sufficient ability and enterprise to enter into it with spirit.

The first settled minister was Shubael Dummer, who was killed by the Indians in 1692. How long he was settled before his death, there are no records extant to ascertain; but it is generally agreed to have been several years. To him succeeded the Rev. Samuel Moody, whose fame equalled any gentleman of the clergy of that day. He was settled about the year 1700, and died in 1748. To him succeeded the Rev. Isaac Lyman, about the close of the year 1749, the present minister of the first parish. A second parish was erected in the town about the year 1730, and the Rev. Joseph Moody, (son of the Rev. Samuel Moody) settled in it in 1732. This gentleman fell into a gloomy state of mind, which rendered him unable to discharge the pastoral functions, and the Rev. Samuel Chandler was settled in his place, who after remaining several years, went, and was settled at Gloucester in the county of Essex. To Mr. Chandler, succeeded the present minister, the Rev. Samuel Lankton.

The second parish is supposed to contain about one third part of the number of the first. The religious profession, or persuasion of the inhabitants, is of the Congregational kind, with scarce a dissenter of any other denomination. There is no academy in this place; but there is usually kept a grammar school during the year; and in the summer season several schools for the instruction of children and youth, in reading, writing, and arithmetick, in various parts of the town, at the common expense.

There are five foot companies of militia, and one of artillery in the town. Upon the alarm, in April, 1775, by the Lexington battle, which

pervaded the state, and even the continent, like a shock of electricity, the first company from the county that passed Piscataqua river, was from York ; although no minute men had been formed previous to that period ; upon the intelligence arriving at nine o'clock in the evening, the inhabitants assembled early the next morning and enlisted upwards of sixty, fixed them out with arms, ammunition, and haversacks, with provisions for some days, and they actually marched on the same day fifteen miles, besides passing Piscataqua river, under the command of JOHNSON MOULTON, Esq. the present sheriff of the county.

There is a wooden bridge over York river, about a mile from the sea, built in 1761, the first of the kind in America. It stands upon piles driven into the bed of the river, is twenty-five feet wide, and about two hundred and seventy feet in length, exclusive of the wharves at each end of it ; and which reach to the channel. It stands on thirteen piers of four piles, or posts, in a pier. The model of framing and method of driving the piles into the bed of the river was invented by Major Samuel Sewall, an ingenious mechanick, a native of the town. The model of this bridge afforded that of Charles River Bridge, built under said Sewall's direction in 1785 and 1786 ; and the same model has been used in Malden and Beverly Bridges, and has since been communicated to Ireland by Mr. Cox.

The clamshells that appear in many places near the river, upon turning up the soil for cultivation, indicate that it was a place frequently resorted unto by the Indians, prior to its settlement by the English.



APPENDIX, RELATIVE TO AGAMENTICUS. BY DR. BELKNAP.

AGAMENTICUS is a mountain of considerable elevation, distant about six miles from Baldhead, and eight from York harbour. It is a noted land mark for seamen, and is a good directory for the entrance of Piscataqua harbour, as it lies very nearly on the same meridian with it, and with Pigeon-hill on Cape Ann. The mountain is covered with wood and shrubs, and affords pasture up to its summit. From this elevation there is a most enchanting prospect. The cultivated parts of the country, especially on the south and south-west, appears as a beautiful garden, intersected by the majestick river Piscataqua, its bays and branches. The immense ranges of mountains on the north and north-west afford a sublime spectacle ; and on the sea-side the various indentings of the coast from Cape Ann to Cape Elizabeth are plainly in view in a clear day ; and the wide Atlantick stretches to the east as far as the power of vision extends.

At this spot the bearing of the following objects were taken with a good surveying instrument, October 11th, 1780.

Summit of the White Mountains	N. 15° W.
Cape Porpoise - - -	N. 63 E.
Rochester hill - - -	N. 64 W.
Tuckaway Southpeak -	S. 80 W.
Frost's hill, Kittery - -	S. 57 W.
Saddle of Bonabeag - -	N. 14 W.
Isle of Shoals' meeting house	S. 6 E.
Varney's hill in Dover, distant	} N. 89 W.
10 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles by mensuration	
Variation of the needle	6° W.

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A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF BARNSTABLE. BY  
THE REVEREND MR. MELLETT.

**B**ARNSTABLE is situated nearly south east from Boston, on the ancient Cape Cod road; the western limit of it distant almost sixty-seven miles, and the eastern a little more than seventy-five. It is the shire town of the county of the same name. This county consists almost wholly of, and is formed by a peninsula, the whole of which is commonly called Cape Cod. The form of this peninsula is curious, on account of the length of its projection into the sea, in connexion with the smallness of its breadth. Its whole length, as the road runs from the isthmus between Barnstable bay and Buzzard's bay, to Race-Point, being not less than sixty-five miles; and its breadth for thirty miles not more than three, and above half the remainder from six to nine miles. Barnstable was made a shire in 1685.

The town extends across the peninsula, and is washed by the sea on the north and south.

It is bounded on the west by Sandwich and the district of Marshpee, and by Yarmouth on the east, where its breadth from shore to shore is a little more than five miles; on the west it is about nine: Its length from west to east, according to the original grant of the town, is eight miles. The form of the town is irregular, as the western line is not straight and its shores are considerably indented. A neck of land projects from Sandwich line on the north shore, and runs east almost the length of the town. This neck of land (called Sandy Neck,) and which is about half a mile wide, forms the harbour, and embosoms a large body of salt marsh. The harbour is about a mile wide and four miles long. The tide rises in it from ten to fourteen feet. It has a bar running off north-east from the neck several miles, which prevents the entrance of large ships. The bar at high water may be passed, in almost any part of it, by the smaller kind of vessels; and where it is commonly and most safely crossed it has seldom, if ever, less than six or seven feet at low water.

There is another harbour the south side, called Lewis's bay, the entrance of which is within Barnstable, and which extends almost two miles into Yarmouth : It is commodious and very safe, as it is almost completely land-locked. The water flows in this harbour about five feet at a middling tide.

Hyanis road (or harbour as it is commonly called) lies a mile or two to the westward, near the entrance of Lewis's bay ; and is indeed formed principally by an island, joined by a beach to Yarmouth, which together make the outside of the bay, before mentioned. The south head of this island is called Point Gammon.

There is also a small bay near the south-west limit of the town, called Oyster bay, which admits small vessels ; and which with Lewis's bay, has in years past produced a great quantity of excellent oysters, though now they are very much reduced.

The streams in this town are few and small. From the situation of the land their courses are necessarily short. Coatuit river or brook, which, in some parts of it at least, is the boundary between Barnstable and Marshpee, is the most considerable. There are two or three others east of this, emptying themselves on the south side. But though running waters are comparatively rare, ponds are so very frequent that their number is not easily ascertained. Of the more considerable there are between twenty and thirty. One in the east precinct is near two miles long and a mile wide. Very few of them have any streams running either in or out. Their springs are invisible. They are many of them stocked with the smaller kinds of fish. The brooks contain a great plenty of trout.

The air in this town, as in the whole of the country, is affected by the neighbourhood of the sea on each side, from which it derives a dampness, and frequently a chill, which is disagreeable, if not unfriendly, to tender nerves. Nervous complaints are frequent here ; but whether it is to be attributed to the air or the very plentiful use of tea, is problematical. That a large proportion die of consumptions of some kind or other, the bills of mortality clearly shew : Still however neither the number of deaths nor the ages at which they take place, would lead us to suppose that the situation is unhealthy. The annual number of deaths in the east precinct for the last nine years has been on an average between nineteen and twenty : The number of inhabitants, according to the census taken in 1790, was then thirteen hundred and sixty-five. Of the whole number that have died in nine years, which is one hundred and seventy-four, forty were upwards of seventy years of age : Eighteen above eighty years ; and one above ninety.

The land on the north side of the town is generally uneven, and in some places rocky. There is a line of hills extending east and west the whole length of the town, the greatest height of which is about a mile from the harbour and marshes. South of this ridge the land is in general level to the sea on the other side ; and a great part of it for two miles or more in breadth is woodland, producing oak and pitch-pine with a little walnut.

The greater part of the inhabitants are on the north side ; living in general, especially in the east precinct, on or near the main road leading down the cape. Perhaps one third live near the south shore.

The soil on the north side of the hills before mentioned, is generally good, especially for grain. In some parts of it a dark loam prevails, in others clay, and in many a mixture of sand. It produces good crops of Indian corn ; not less it is supposed than twenty-five bushels to an acre on average, and rye and other grain in proportion. Some of it is good for wheat and flax. The latter article is cultivated with good success. The soil on the south side is, a great part of it, light and sandy, and for grass especially much inferior to that on the north ; in the produce of which, onions make a very considerable figure. From two to three hundred thousand bunches (that is from twelve to eighteen thousand bushels) are raised annually ; which are sold principally in Boston and the neighbouring sea-ports. Although good ground, improved for onions, yields a great profit ; yet, as it requires a large quantity of manure, it has been thought that the inhabitants of this town devote too much of their land to this article, for the general advantage of their farms. But perhaps this would not be true, if all the advantage was taken, that might be, of their happy situation for making manure. Their extensive salt meadows enable them to keep large stocks in proportion to their pasture grounds ; and the severity of a drought is mitigated by cutting the coarser kind of salt grass, and giving it green to the cattle as occasion may require. The manure made by cattle fed on salt hay, is much more fertilizing than that made from fresh. Almost all the land goes through a course of tillage once in the space of six or seven years ; which, by the way, may have led the people here into an instance of bad husbandry, in leaving so few trees upon their cultivated lands : The depriving cattle of shade in the summer is doubtless a greater evil, than the farmer would suffer from permitting a few trees to remain on land, which is a part of the time improved for tillage. The land here is commonly prepared for the plough by feeding the stock upon it in the winter, and sometimes when salt hay is plenty, by spreading it in the spring and leaving it to rot upon the ground. Besides, every season lines the shores with large quantities of refuse hay, washed from the salt meadows, eel grass, and other marine vegetables. A much better use of this, as well as of creek and marsh mud, might be made than generally has been in time past. The inhabitants, however, seem to be more and more disposed to use the advantages they enjoy in these respects, and to make improvements in agriculture.

The loose texture of the ground in many places is rather unfavourable to the roads here (particularly the principal one through the town,) by exposing them to wash, and gully, and so producing deep, narrow, and uncomfortable passages. All has not been done which might have been, to remedy this inconvenience. But it is expected that an essential alteration for the better will soon take place, since the inhabitants have been at length induced to follow the example of the rest of the commonwealth, in granting an annual tax for the repair and improvement of highways.



The publick buildings in this town, exclusive of school houses, are three meeting houses, two Congregational and one Baptist, a court house, and a gaol. The private houses are in general rather neat and convenient than large or elegant ; but it may be said that the appearance and accommodations, within, will rather exceed than disappoint the expectations formed from their outward appearance. There are three good wharves on the north side of the town, and one at Lewis's bay.

There is no account to be found of the first settlement made in this town. Probably there was none made much before its incorporation, which was September 3d, 1639 ; but two persons are named in the original grant. The Indian name of Barnstable appears to have been *Mattacheese*, *Matacheest*, or *Mattacheeset*. Probably they are all the same name, which was given by the Indians to a tract of land which included Yarmouth, or at least a part of it ; for in the grant of Yarmouth that place is said to have been called *Mattacheeset*. This name is out of use, and generally unknown in both these towns. There are no accounts of the inhabitants having ever suffered by Indian hostilities, and there is reason to think that no part of the town was settled without purchase or consent of the natives ; for though no record remains of any considerable tract on the north side being purchased of the Indians, yet it appears by several votes and agreements of the town, extracted from the first town book and preserved in the second, that all the south side of the town was amicably purchased of *Wianno* and several other sachems, about the year 1650.

There are the remains of a stone house in the east precinct, which is said to have answered the purpose of a fort to the early settlers ; and another house of a similar construction, and built with the same design, is now entire and inhabited in the west precinct. Although there are now no Indian families in this town, yet they were probably numerous in former times. Traces of their settlements are frequently to be met with : And some of their burying grounds are yet to be seen. Their tools and weapons are sometimes found, especially their arrows, near a hundred of which were lately ploughed up that appeared to have been laid in a heap. The Indian names of places within this town still retained, are *Hyanis*, probably a corruption of *Wianno's* [tract or territory.] *Cheekwakut*, the south-west corner of the east precinct ; *Skunkanuk*, a place adjoining a brook of that name ; *Coatuit*, the neighbourhood of the boundary brook before mentioned ; and *Scanton* or *Scorton* hill, adjoining Sandwich line on the north side of the town.

In the same year in which this town was granted by the old Colony government, viz. October 11th, 1639, the Rev. Mr. Lothrop\* remov-

\* This Mr. Lothrop was probably the same that is mentioned by Mr. Prince, in his Chronology, as having before settled in Virginia. There is a tradition among his descendants here, that he was a great sufferer in England on account of his religious principles, before his coming to America.

ed here with his church from Scituate. No account of his death is to be found : But his successor,\* the Rev. Thomas Walley was ordained A. D 1663, and continued in the ministry till March 28th, 1678. The next minister, the Rev. Jonathan Russell, was ordained Sept. 19th, 1683, and died February 21st, 1749, *ætat.* 56. The Rev. Jonathan Russell (son of the above) was ordained October 29th, 1712, and died September 10th, 1759, *ætat.* 70. When the town was divided into two precincts, which division took place in the year 1719, the Rev. Mr. Russell, then minister, being left to his choice, chose the west precinct, commonly called Great Marshes, where he continued till his death. May 12th, 1725, the church in the east precinct was gathered, and the Rev. Joseph Greene was ordained.

The Rev. Oakes Shaw, the present pastor of the west church, was ordained October 1st, 1760. The Rev. Mr. Greene died October 4th, 1770, in the seventieth year of his age. April 10th, 1771, the Rev. Timothy Hilliard was ordained pastor of the east church. April 30th, 1783, at his request on account of his ill health, he was dismissed by the church and precinct ; and, November 12th, the same year, the Rev. John Mellen, jun. was ordained his successor in the ministry.

There is a small society of Baptists on the south side of the town ; the Rev. Enoch Eldridge was ordained their minister, December 4th, 1788.

The former ministers of this town, those, at least, who lived within the memory of any of the present inhabitants, are spoken of with much respect ; and appear to have been held in high veneration by their people.

Whether either the Mr Russells or their predecessors, published sermons or any of their works, is not ascertained. A manuscript sermon of the first Mr. Russell, preached at Plymouth, June 1st, 1686, at the last election which was held in the old Colony, has been presented by Mr. Isaiah Lewis Green, a descendant of his family, and the writer is at liberty to deposit it in the Collection of the Historical Society. The Rev. Mr. Green published a sermon, preached at the ordination of his son at Marshfield. A fast sermon of Mr. Hilliard's, preached in the time of the late political troubles, was published ; as were several occasional sermons of his, after his settlement at Cambridge.

The last governour of the old Colony of Plymouth, Thomas Hinckley, Esq. was a native and inhabitant of this town ; and it has given birth to several persons of eminence in the literary and civil line, who have resided elsewhere. It has, in times past, furnished a considerable number of sons for the university ; but the advantages for school education are not so great as might be wished, though there is reason to hope that attention to this subject is increasing. There is a small social library in the east precinct, lately begun, consisting, at present, of between seventy and eighty volumes.

\* The writer of this account has been informed, that there was a Mr. Smith settled here in the ministry, for a short time, in the early days of the town, who was afterwards many years a minister at Sandwich. If so, he was most probably the immediate successor of Mr. Lothrop : But of this no record is found.

The greater part of the inhabitants of this town are husbandmen and mechanicks ; though numbers of the farmers are occasionally seamen. It has afforded and continues to furnish many masters of vessels, and other mariners, who sail from other parts. A hundred men or upwards, are employed in the fishery, which is yearly increasing. Seventy or eighty years ago, the whale bay fishery was carried on in boats from the shore, to great advantage : This business employed near two hundred men, for three months of the year, in the fall, and beginning of winter. But few whales now come into the bay, and this kind of fishery has for a long time (by this town at least) been given up.

The principal articles of export from the town at present, in addition to onions, which have been mentioned already, are dried cod-fish, and flaxseed ; corn is also sometimes carried out to the northward, but at the same time, is imported from the southward, in nearly the same quantities.

The idea of cutting a canal through this town, which in some degree attracted the publick attention not long since, seems to be given up, on account of the height of the land on the north side : Yet it is thought, that with a comparatively small expense, a communication might be opened, which would serve very valuable purposes, between the eastern part of Lewis's bay, on the south, and Yarmouth harbour on the north : The land is low from one side to the other, and the distance not more than five miles ; and with greater ease and less expense still, a canal might be cut, from the same harbour, on the north side, into Bass-river, which would admit the smaller kind of vessels and be very advantageous at least to the inhabitants, who carry on the fishery with great success in that river, by facilitating their communication with Boston, and the northern ports ; even, though the bar at the mouth of the river should prevent its being of very extensive usefulness. The distance from the head of the waters communicating with Bass-river, to the marsh on the north side, is little more, if any, than half a mile ; and the intervening land, very little elevated in any part of it.

*A Bill of Mortality, for the East Precinct in Barnstable, from the year 1784, to the year 1785.*

	Died in 1784.		1785.
Under	2	years 3	11
From	5	to 10	3
	10	to 20	2
	20	to 30	3
	30	to 40	1
	40	to 50	4
	50	to 60	1
	60	to 70	3
	70	to 80	1
	80	to 90	2
			1
			<hr/>
			20
			<hr/>
			27

## DESCRIPTION OF HOLLISTON.

**H**OLLISTON is situated in the most southern part of the county of Middlesex, twenty-seven miles from the State-house in Boston; bounded S. by Medway and Bellingham; W. by Milford and Hopkinton; N. by Framingham; and E. by Sherburne and Medway.

The form of the town is very irregular,\* extending ten miles nearly from N. to S. wide towards each end, and not more than one mile and an half in the middle. This was formerly a tract of land included in the bounds of Sherburne. The soil is of a good quality; and in general, well cultivated. The farms are mostly fenced with stone-wall; the houses and other buildings are formed for convenience, and they are generally kept in decent repair. Rye, Indian corn, barley, oats, flax, English hay, and orcharding, are cultivated to advantage.

Butter and cheese, however, may be called the staple of the place, and with these veal and pork are ever connected. The general practice of the farmers, is to turn their calves into veal, stock their pastures with cows; and in the fall of the year, purchase young cattle out of droves from the country.

There is no considerable stream in Holliston, but upon the brooks which either rise in, or pass through the town, there is one forge, one saw-mill, and one grist-mill.

There is a pond, lying partly in Holliston and partly in Medway, which is called Winthrop's-pond: It covers about one hundred and sixty acres; its waters are clear and plentifully stored with pickerel, perch, ruffs, pouts, and eels. Near the outlet of this pond are the ruins of an old beaver-dam; the place at one end of the dam, whence they dug their gravel is still to be seen. Not far from this, is a curious spring which remains as it was stoned up by the natives, in a quadrangular form. In this vicinity and in many other places in the town, relics of the Indians have been found; such as the places of their wigwams, the spikes of their arrows, stone hoes, stone kettles, &c.

In the hill near the meeting-house, there is a bed of lime-stone: A few kilns of it have been burnt, but as it is so near to Smithfield in Rhode-Island, and Boston in Massachusetts; and as its quality is inferior to the lime-stone in either of those places, there is little prospect of working it at present.

Within a few years a considerable improvement has taken place, in the method of repairing high ways; the stones, which for years had been thrown out of the way against the walls, are thrown back, each side of the way is ploughed, the stones are covered with the dirt, and the middle of the road is left the highest.

\* See the plan of Holliston, with the towns adjacent, in the library of the Historical Society.

Money, for the support of schools, is raised by the town, then divided to the districts, which engage and pay their own masters : It is the intent, that the schools be furnished with masters in the winter and mistresses in the summer. The good education of youth is more generally considered to be a matter of great importance.

There have been six only from this town who have received the honours of college.

**HISTORY.]** The first settlements were made about the year 1710. In the year 1724, the people had increased to thirty-four families, and finding it inconvenient, on account of the distance, to attend meeting and to do duty in Sherburne, they petitioned the town to set them off, which was amicably voted. The same year, December 3d, 1724, they were incorporated by the general court; and as a mark of respect for Thomas Hollis of London, one of the patrons of the university in Cambridge, the place was called Holliston.

October 31st, 1728, a church of Christ was gathered. November 20th, 1728, Mr. James Stone was ordained their first pastor; he continued a zealous and faithful minister until July 28, 1742, when he died of a fever, aged 38. This fever was so mortal, that in a short time, fourteen or fifteen of his people were laid in the dust with him.

May 18, 1743, Mr. Joshua Prentiss was ordained. He was the first candidate employed after Mr. Stone's decease : He continued forty-two years pastor of the church, and died April 24, 1788, aged 70.

Mr. Timothy Dickinson, third minister in Holliston, was ordained February 18th, 1789.

December, 1753, and January, 1754, were remarkable for what is called the great sickness in Holliston.

The patients were violently seized with a piercing pain in the breast or side; to be seized with a pain in the head was not common: the fever high. The greater part of those who died were rational to the last: They lived three, four, five, and six days after they were taken. In some instances, it appears, they strangled, by not being able to expectorate; some, in this case, who were thought to be in their last moments, were recovered by administering oil.

In about six weeks fifty-three persons died, forty-one of whom died within twenty-two days.

The following is extracted from an account of this sickness, kept by the Rev. Mr. Prentiss. "December 31st, seven lay unburied. January 4th, ten lay unburied, in which week seventeen died. There were two, three, four, and five buried for many days successively. Of those who died, fifteen were members of this church.

"We are extremely weakened by the desolation, death has made in many of the most substantial families among us. Four families wholly broken up, losing both their heads. The sickness was so prevalent, that but few families escaped: for more than a month, there was not enough well to tend the sick, and bury the dead, though they spent their whole time in these services; but the sick suffered and the dead

lay unburied; and that, notwithstanding help was procured, and charitable assistance afforded, by many in neighbouring towns.

"We are a small town, consisting of about eighty families, and not more than four hundred souls." Considering the number of inhabitants then in the town, this was, perhaps, the most distressing mortality which has visited any plantation, since the first settlement of the country.

Except the time of this sickness, the people have enjoyed an equal degree of health, with those in other places; from that time, to 1791, they have increased to eight hundred and seventy-five, according to the census: Besides a large proportion of the inhabitants, who have emigrated to New-Hampshire and Vermont.

As an instance of longevity, Mrs. Winchester died in the town, a few years since, aged one hundred and four.

*A Bill of Mortality, in Holliston, for three years, beginning January 1, 1790.*

		Age.	
Feb. 1790.	Male	89	Ole age.
	Female	47	Nervous Fever.
March	Ditto	70	Influenza.
	Male	25	Consumption.
	Ditto	—*	
April	Female	2	Fever.
	Male	17	White swelling upon the knee.
	Female	49	Consumption.
July	Ditto	28	Consumption.
November	Male	12	Killed in a sand pit.
December	Infant		
Jan. 1791	Female	48	Cancer.
Feb.	Male	26	Pulmonary Consumption.
	Ditto	—	
March	Female	26	Consumption.
	Ditto	67	Cancer.
April	Ditto	19	Child bed Fever.
	Infant		
May	Male	79	Consumption.
June	Ditto	4	Fever.
	Ditto	67	Rheumatism.
July	Infant		
	Female	—	Fits.
August	Male	3	Quinsy.
	Ditto	—	Whooping Cough.
October	Ditto	83	Old age.
November	Ditto	89	Ditto.
	Female	88	Ditto.
December	Ditto	34	Child-bed.
	Ditto	71	Consumption.

\* Those a little under a year old, noted by this — mark.

		Age.		
Jan. 1792	Female	70	Asthma.	
February	Male	—	Sore mouth.	
March	} Ditto	—		
		Female	78	Old age.
April	} Ditto	81	Consumption.	
		Male	54	Dropsy.
		Ditto	49	Asthma.
June	} Female	28	Consumption.	
		Ditto	47	Cancer.
July	} Ditto	32	Unknown.	
		Ditto	—	
October	Male	62	Small Pox, natural way.	
December	Female	23	Ditto by inoculation.	

Whole number of those who died in	{	1790	11
		1791	19
		1792	13
			43

EXTRACT FROM A MANUSCRIPT JOURNAL OF A GENTLEMAN BELONGING TO THE ARMY, WHILE UNDER THE COMMAND OF MAJOR-GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

**J**UNE 29, 1791, left Bedford, in company with Colonel Gibson of the levies. Having dined, we departed and took the Glade road over the Alleghany mountains. The lands lying between the Alleghany and Strasburgh, are but indifferent; the wood being chiefly pine. The Alleghanies run an extensive course through North-America, and are the promontories thereof: From circumstances and appearances, it has been suggested by some, that this continent was once joined to the western, but by some dreadful convulsions of nature, separated and dismembered. Whether this has been really the case, or only conjectural, I leave to those who are more deeply skilled in researches of this nature, to determine.

The ascent of the Alleghany is very great for several miles; having therefore with much difficulty reached the summit of one eminence, another still higher, presents itself to be explored; keeping the traveller continually climbing, until he reaches the top of the mountain.

Having reached the summit, and rode several miles, we were much gratified at the sight of many beautiful and extensive fields and meadows, which nothing in nature could exceed, in elegance and fertility, often continuing to extend to the utmost limits of the sight. This scene was truly picturesque; from the rugged appearance of the mountain in the ascent, I had not formed an idea of beholding so sudden, and so pleas-

ing a change; the works of nature are truly beautiful, astonishing, and varied; she delights to terrify, please, and charm the heart of man.

By reason of the long continuance of the frost in the Glades (being subjected to it from September to June) they cannot raise corn.

This night we lodged at Mr. M'Dermot's in the Glades, where by reason of heavy rains and winds, we were detained till the first of July, when we departed from thence, and arrived the evening of the same day, at Greensburgh, which is thirty-one miles from Pittsburgh; yet on a straight line from thence, to the Alleghany river, it is called fifteen miles only. Greensburgh, so called, in honour of the late General Greene, is a neat pretty town. On the 2d, left Greensburgh, and arrived at Pittsburgh on the 3d of July. This town was formerly called *Fort du Quesne*, and on the 25th of November, 1758, was taken possession of by General Forbes, being abandoned by the French, and set fire to, the preceding night. The outlines of the fort, which was planned by Monsieur Contrecoeur, are now to be seen; the fort received its name from him, June 13th, 1754. In June 1751, Monsieur de Villiers drove the English Ohio Company from the banks of this river, and Monsieur Contrecoeur obliged Captain Trent to abandon the fort erected on the forks of the river Monongahela, on the 20th of May, 1754.

The town of Pittsburgh lies on a plain, running to a point. The Alleghany, which is a beautiful clear stream on its north, and the Monongahela, which is a muddy stream on its south, conjoining below where Fort du Quesne stood, form the parent of all rivers, the majestick Ohio. The hills on the Monongahela side, are very high, and extend down the river Ohio. These hills, or many of them, are filled with excellent coals, as well for the use of families as for mechanical purposes. I am informed that when the British were in possession of this part of the continent, one of these coal hills, took fire, and continued burning nearly eight years, when it was effectually extinguished by the crater on its side and top falling in.

On the back side of the town, from Grant's hill, so called, where his army was cut to pieces by the savages, you have a beautiful prospect of the town of Pittsburgh, and can behold with rapture the two rivers Alleghany and Monongahela, wafting along their separate streams, till they meet and join at the point of the town. On every side, hills covered with trees appear to add simplicity and beauty to the scene.

At the distance of about one hundred miles, up the Alleghany, there is said to be a small creek, whose waters empty into it, the virtues of which are deemed by the people of this country, as singularly beneficial, and an infallible cure for weakness in the stomach, for rheumatick pains, for sore breasts in women, bruises, &c. At some particular places in the creek, the water boils, or bubbles forth, (like the waters at Hell Gate, the entrance of New-York,) from which proceeds an oily substance, covering the top of the water; this oil is gathered by the country people, who bring it to Pittsburgh for sale; the natives are



also knowing to its virtues ; they boil and then vend it. The inhabitants of Pittsburgh are so prepossessed in favour of this oil, that there is scarce a house in the town, or a single inhabitant, which does not possess a bottle of it, and is able to recount its many virtues and its many cures. Persons troubled with weakness, pains, &c. go to these waters and bathe.

I am informed that the virtues of these waters were first discovered some years ago, when the British troops crossed them, at which time the feet of the soldiery from a long and tedious march were bare and sore, and that in a short time after their crossing them, to their joy and surprise, they became perfectly well and healed.

Twelve miles from Pittsburgh lies Turtle Creek, at the head of which, General Braddock engaged a party of Indians, was repulsed, himself killed, and his army put to flight.

In this country, one is never at a loss for a subject to amuse an idle hour ; rivers, lawns, fields, purling streams, extensive meadows, cataracts, mountains, vallies, natural curiosities, and the vestiges of ancient fortifications are ever presenting themselves to the view. I could find sufficient amusement during the remainder of my life, in this western world ; in fact, I should be lost in a continued labyrinth of inexplicable ideas and suppositions.

About seven miles across the Monongahela, the ruins of an ancient fort are very plain to be seen and traced : Mr. Neville now owns the land, and has a beautiful farm there : This ancient work, from appearances, must have been built many hundred years ago, but who were the people at that time inhabiting this country ? for what causes were they built ? Here I am at a loss, yet I am not alone ; still that can be no satisfaction to me ; but on enquiries of this nature, the mind is not satisfied with *mere conjecture* ; it requires more substantial food, the food of *certainty* ; some will argue that these appearances are but the sports of nature : Yet, though she please with a thousand varied forms and shapes, I cannot bring myself to think with them. Is it reasonable to suppose that nature would indulge her vein of humour so far as to raise regular fortifications ? Who had she to encounter, that rendered the expediency of the matter ? No, Sir, they must, I think, be attributed to the workmanship of man, and to such men as were more acquainted with the rules of fortification than we find the aboriginals to possess ; but who they were, from whence they came, at what period they arrived, or where they have passed to, I believe we must ever remain in ignorance.

I have been told that these ancient fortifications owe their origin to a number of Welsh emigrants, who came over to this country many years ago, by reason of the troubles which they at that time laboured under in their native clime ; that they landed at or near New-Orleans, in the Spanish dominions, within the river Mississippi, who, as they advanced into the country, built these works in order to defend themselves against the fury and attacks of the aboriginals. I am not able to

judge of the truth or falsity of this assertion, not recollecting any emigration of this kind, nor do I know at what period it must have taken place, if it ever happened. To substantiate this story, I am further informed, that there is a nation of Indians, who reside near to the waters of the Missouri, which also empties into the Mississippi, who actually speak something near to the dialect of the Welsh people.

At Grave-Creek, so called, on the Ohio, which is ten miles below Wheelin settlement, there is an Indian mound, the base of which is about three hundred paces round, and rises in a conic form about one hundred feet; there are large trees growing on every part of it; some of which are remarkably large, and have stood the rude shock of many an angry winter's blast. We measured a white-oak standing near to its summit, which was more than eleven feet diameter. It is a beautiful tree, in full life and vegetation, and supposed, by General Butler, to be at least, three hundred years old. It has been conjectured, and I think with some degree of plausibility, that this mound was reared for the burying ground of the aboriginals, as from the curiosity incident to travellers into a new country, part of its summit has been dug into, and bones found, which upon investigation appear to be of the human kind.

Previous to our departure from Pittsburgh, I formed a slight acquaintance with a Mr. M——, who, about five years ago, departed from Montreal with a company of about one hundred men under his direction, for the purpose of making a tour through the Indian country to collect furs, and to make such remarks on its soil, waters, lakes, mountains, manners and customs of its inhabitants as might daily come within his knowledge and observation.

He pursued his route from Montreal, entered the Indian country, and coasted about three hundred leagues along the banks of lake Superior; from whence he made his way to the Lake of the Woods, of which he took an actual survey, and found it to be thirty-six leagues in length; from thence to the lake Ounipique, of which he has also a description. The tribes of Indians which he passed through, were called the Maskego tribe, Shepeweyau, Cithinistinee, Great Belly Indians, Beaver Indians, Blood Indians, the Blackfeet tribe, the Snake Indians, Ossnobians, Shiveytoon tribe, Mandon tribe, Paunees, and several others, who in general were very pacifick and friendly towards him, and are great admirers of the best hunting horses, in which the country abounds. The horses prepared by them for hunters, have large holes cut above their natural nostrils, for which they give as a reason, that those prepared in this manner will keep their breath longer than the others which are not thus prepared: From experience knowledge is gained, and the long practice of this custom, consequent on these trials, must have convinced them of the truth and utility of the experiment; otherwise we can hardly suppose they would torture their best horses in this manner, if some advantage was not derived from the measure.

In pursuing his route, he found no difficulty in obtaining a guide to accompany him from one nation to the other, until he came to the Shining Mountains, or Mountains of Bright Stones, where, in attempting to pass, he was frustrated by the hostile appearance of the Indians who inhabit that part of the country—the consequence of which was, he was disappointed in his intention and obliged to turn his back upon them. Having collected a number of Indians he went forward again, with an intention to force his way over those mountains, if necessary and practicable, and to make his way to Cook's river, on the northwest coast of America, supposed by him to be about three hundred leagues from the mountains; but the inhabitants of the mountains again met him with their bows and arrows, and so superiour were they in numbers to his little force, that he was obliged to flee before them. Finding himself thus totally disappointed in the information he was in hopes to obtain, he was obliged to turn his back upon that part of the country for which his thirsting heart had long panted.

Cold weather coming on, he built huts for himself and party in the Ossnobian country, and near to the source of a large river, called the Ossnobian river, where they tarried during the continuance of the cold season, and until some time in the warmer months. Previous to his departure from Montreal, he had supplied himself with several kinds of seeds, and before his huts he laid out a small garden, which the natives observing, called them slaves for digging up the ground, nothing of that kind being done by them, they living wholly on animal food. Bread is unknown to them, to some he gave some remnants of hard bread, which they chewed and spit out again, calling it rotten wood.

When his onions, &c. were somewhat advanced in their growth, he was often surprised to find them pulled up; determining therefore to know from what cause it proceeded, he directed his men to keep watch, who found that the Indian children, induced by motives of curiosity, came with sticks, thrust them through the pales of his fence to ascertain and satisfy themselves what the things of the white men were, and in what manner they grew, &c.

The natives of this country have no fixed, or permanent place of abode, but live wholly in tents made of buffalo and other hides, and with which they travel from one place to another like the Arabs; and so soon as the feed for their horses is expended, they remove their tents to another fertile spot, and so on continually, scarcely ever returning to the same spots again.

Mr. M—— is a young man, fond of enterprise, and well calculated for adventure, and to make such remarks as may give both light and information to the United States respecting their extensive possessions, and with which they are but imperfectly acquainted. Did government think proper to avail itself of the services of this young gentleman, he would most joyfully attend to its wishes, and pursue such routes as it should point out to him.

From the Little to the Great Miami, taking in the meanders of the Ohio, are twenty-seven miles; but on a straight line, only twenty. These lands, extending back from the Ohio to the northern boundary of the lands owned by the Ohio Company, comprehend the purchase of Judge Symmes, and at the time when the sale was made to him, were supposed to contain, by Hutchins's map, about *two millions* of acres; but on actual survey made by Judge Symmes, since that period, are found to contain only *two hundred and seventy thousand acres*.

Mr. Hutchins's map in this particular is erroneous, from his not being fully acquainted with the country and the course of many of its rivers. He made no allowance for the approximation of the two Miamies; but supposed they kept the same courses through the country. The country has since been explored, and at the distance of thirty miles from the Ohio, the Miamies approximate each other within eight miles and a half.

The Great Miami is one of the most beautiful streams of water in the western territory. At its highest state, it is so clear and transparent, that a pin may very plainly be seen at its bottom. And indeed most of the waters, which run from the north, have that transparency, and the bottoms are generally gravelly; whilst those running from the south are generally very turbid and the bottoms muddy.

On the evening of the 26th (Sept.) one of the Indian Chiefs died at Fort Washington; the next day he was carried from hence and decently buried; a few of the squaws and children following him to the grave, where, after being let down, his wife in a short speech, reproached him for leaving her, but wished him to make out as well as he could, and that she would do the same. I attended the nailing his coffin, when his wife put on one side of him, his scalping-knife, tobacco-pouch, shot-bag, &c. previous to which she bound his head with a handkerchief and put on his leggings and moggasins, &c. He was of the Omie tribe.

Many of the prisoners are of the Kichapac and Miami tribes—among the young women are two very handsome girls, one of which is a Weau, and the other a Miami; and by their dress, and dignity of deportment, and modest behaviour, discover themselves to be of the highest grade of Indians. The outside garment is a blue cloth shroud; their calico shirts are decorated, from the neck down to the middle of the waist, before and behind, with silver rings or broaches; a large cross of silver hangs from their necks, accompanied with many lesser ones; their *kotas*'s, or petticoats, are of blue shrouding, ornamented with beads, &c. their leggings are of red broadcloth, highly ornamented with beads; their moggasins are much more beautiful than any other's present; their hair, which is long and of a jet black, is combed smooth, and is very neatly put up behind in a piece of calico, tied with a piece of ribbon.\*

\* This journal contains an account of the battle of the 4th of November, and many particulars relative to the Indians, the army, &c. which we hope the writer will allow to be published at some future day.

## GOVERNOUR BRADFORD'S LETTER BOOK.

[Page 339—the preceding pages wanting.]

*To our beloved and right well esteemed friend Mr. William Bradford Governour these, but inscribed thus :*

*To our beloved friends Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Isaac Allerton, Mr. Edward Winslow, and the rest, whom they think fit to acquaint therewith.*

**T**WO things (beloved friends) we have endeavoured to effect, touching Plymouth plantation ; first, that the planters there might live comfortably and contentedly. 2d, that some returns might be made hither for the satisfying and encouragement of the adventurers, but to neither of these two can we yet attain. Nay, if it be as some of them report which returned in the Catherine, it is almost impossible to hope for it, since, by their sayings, the slothfulness of one part of you, and the weakness of the other part, is such, that nothing can go well forward. And although we do not wholly credit these reports, yet surely, either the country is not good where you are, for habitation ; or else, there is something amiss amongst you ; and we much fear the willing are too weak and the strong too idle. And because we will not stand upon the number of the objections made by them against you, we have sent them here enclosed, that you may see them and answer them. [These are those which are inserted and answered before in this book ; namely, before Liford's letters, where those letters should also have been placed, but they came not then to hand and I thought better to put them in, than to omit them.]

As for such as will needs be upon their particulars now that they are gotten over, you must be sure to make such covenants with them, as that first or last the company be satisfied for all their charge. Neither must you proceed to these agreements and consultations with many at once, otherwise how easy might they make a lead in rebellion, which have so long done it in cheating and idleness.

Touching Mr. Weston, his disturbing of you about that £100 taken up for Mr. Brewer, except we conclude with Solomon that oppression maketh a wise man mad, we cannot but wonder at it, seeing under his own hand, it is apparently and particularly expressed, summed up and sold with the rest of his adventures, so as no sober man can possibly question it. 2dly, had it not been sold, Mr. Brewer might well have had it, to pay himself part of a debt which Mr. Weston oweth him for commodities sold to him, which he saith amounteth to above £100, as he can prove by good testimony. 3dly, if it had not been apparently sold, Mr. Beauchamp who is of the company also, unto whom he oweth a great deal more, had long ago attached it (as he did other's 10ths) and so he could not have demanded it, either of you or us.

And if he will not believe our testimony here about, who shall believe his, either in this, or any other matters. It is a dangerous case, when a man groweth naught in prosperity, and worse in adversity, and

what can the end of all this be, but more and more misery. And for conclusion with him, you may shew him what we have wrote about him, and if that satisfy him not, but that he shall still follow his mad and malicious practices against you, warn him out of your precincts, and let it be upon his peril to set foot thereon ; it being indeed no reason that a whole plantation should be disturbed or endamaged by the frantick humours of any one man whatsoever.

Now further for yourselves ; as the power of government is fallen upon you, both by lot and desert (as we are persuaded) so your troubles and cares have been so much the more hitherto ; and we would not have you think of easing yourselves, till you have either made things better, or ended your warfare ; for it is best that the world afford us these crosses, lest we should forget the meditation of heaven.

And we pray you all even look to yourselves, and your ways ; that there be not amongst you some cause or occasion of these evil men's insultings and bravery upon you, as they do, that we charge you with nothing, but are ready to make your just defence at all times against opposites ; yet let it not offend you, that we wish you to look to yourselves, as first that you walk close with God, being fervent and frequent in prayer, instruction, and doctrine, both openly and privately. 2dly, that you instruct and bring up your young ones in the knowledge and fear of God, restraining them from idleness and profanation of the Sabbath. 3dly, that you freely and readily entertain any honest men, into your church, estate and society, though with great infirmities and difference of judgment ; taking heed of too great straitness and singularity even in that particular. 4thly, that there be fervent love and close cleaving together among you that are fearers of God, without secret whispering or undermining one of another, and without contempt or neglect of such as are weak and helpless, if honest, among you. This do, and in all things be humble, cheerful, and thankful ; that if you cannot grow rich in this world, yet you may be rich in grace ; and if you can send us no other treasure, yet let all that visit you, bring from you the fame of honesty, religion, and godliness, which, we trust, shall comfort us more than all else you can send us in this world.

At a word, though we be detected of folly, ignorance, want of judgment, yet let no man charge us with dishonesty, looseness, or unconscionableness ; but though we lose our labours or adventures, or charges, yea our lives ; yet let us not lose one jot of our innocence, integrity, holiness, fear, and comfort with God.

And, thus ceasing for this time to trouble you further ; praying God to bless and prosper you, and sanctify all your crosses and losses, that they may turn to your great profit and comfort in the end, with hearty salutations to you all, we lovingly take leave of you, from London, April 7, 1624.

Your assured lovers and friends,

JAMES SHERLEY,  
THOMAS BREWER,  
WILLIAM COLLIER,  
JOSEPH POCOCK,

THOMAS FLETCHER,  
JOHN LING,  
WILLIAM THOMAS,  
ROBERT REAYNE.

[Now follows the first letters we received after the breach ; for Mr. Thornell and the rest never replied nor writ more unto us, being partly ashamed of what they had done and written.]

*To our beloved friends Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Isaac Allerton, Mr. William Brewster, and the rest of the general society of Plymouth in New England, salutations.*

**T**HOUGH the thing we feared be come upon us, and the evils we strove against have overtaken us ; yet cannot we forget you, nor our friendship and fellowship, which together we have had some years ; wherein, though our expressions have been small, yet our hearty affections towards you (unknown by face) have been no less than to our nearest friends, yea even to our own selves. And though your and our friend, Mr. Winslow, can tell you the estate of things here, and what hath befallen us ; yet lest we should seem to neglect you, to whom, by a wonderful providence of God, we are so nearly united ; we have thought good once more to write unto you, and the arguments of our letter must consist of these three points, first to shew you what is here befallen, 2dly, the reason and cause of that which is fallen, 3dly, our purposes and desires towards you hereafter.

The former course for the generality here is wholly dissolved from that course which was held. And whereas you and we were formerly sharers and partners in all voyages and dealings, this way is now so no more, but you and we are left to bethink ourselves, what course to take in the future, that your lives and our monies be not lost. And this, as ourselves first saw, so have we begun to practise, as we thought best for your and our safety for hereafter ; and it standeth you no less in hand seriously to consider what is best to do, that you may both continue good conscience with God, and procure your best safety in this world.

The reasons and causes of this alteration have been these first and mainly, the many crosses, and losses, and abuses by sea and seamen, which have caused us to run into so much charge, and debts, and engagements, as our estates and means were not able to go on without impoverishing ourselves, and much hindering, if not spoiling, our trades and callings here ; except our estates had been greater, or our associates had cloven better to us. 2dly, As here hath been a faction and siding amongst us now more than two years ; so now there is an utter breach and sequestration amongst us, and in two parts of us, a full desertion, and forsaking of you, without any intent or purpose of meddling more with you.

And though we are persuaded the main cause of this their doing is want of money (for need whereof men use to make many excuses) yet other things are by many pretended, and not without some colour urged, which are these : 1st, A distaste of you there, for that you are (as they affirm) Brownists, condemning all other churches and persons but yourselves and those in your way ; and you are contentious, cruel, and hard hearted, among your neighbours, and towards such as in all

points, both civil and religious, jump not with you. And that you are negligent, careless, wasteful, untariffy, and suffer all general goods and affairs to go at six and sevens, and spend your time in idleness, and talking, and conferring, and care not what be wasted, worn, and torn out, whilst all things come so easily, and so cheap unto you. 2dly, A distaste and personal contempt of us, for taking your parts and striving to defend you, and make the best of all matters touching you, insomuch as it is hard to say whether you or we are least loved of them.

Now what use either you or we may make of these things, it remaineth to be considered ; and the more, for that we know the hand of God to be present in all these things, and he no doubt would admonish us of something, which is not yet so looked to, and taken to heart as it should. And although it be now too late for us, or you, to prevent and stay these things, yet it is not too late to exercise patience, wisdom, and conscience, in bearing them, and in carrying ourselves in and under them for time to come. And as we ourselves stand ready to embrace all occasions, that may tend to the furtherance of so hopeful a work, rather admiring at what is, than grudging for what is not, so it must rest still in you to make all good again. And if in nothing else you can be approved, yet let your honesty and conscience be still approved, and lose not one jot of your innocence amidst your many crosses and afflictions.

And surely if you upon this alteration behave yourselves wisely and go on fairly, as men whose hopes is not in this life, you shall need no other weapon to wound your adversaries ; for when your righteousness is revealed as the light, they shall cover their faces with shame, that causelessly have sought your overthrow.

And although (we hope) you need not our counsel in these things, having learned of God how to behave yourselves, in all estates in this world ; yet a word for your advice and direction, to spur those forward, which we hope run already.

At first, seeing our generality here is dissolved, let yours be the more firm ; and do not you like carnal people (which run into inconveniencies and evils by examples) but rather be warned by your harms, to cleave faster together hereafter ; take heed of long and sharp disputes and oppositions, give no passage to the waters, no not a tittle ; let not hatred or heartburning be harboured in the breast of any of you one moment, but forgive and forget all former failings and abuses, and renew your love and friendship together daily. There is often more sound friendship and sweeter fellowship in afflictions and crosses than in prosperity and favours ; and there is reason for it, because envy flieth away, when there is nothing but necessities to be looked on ; but it is always a bold *guest* where prosperity shews itself.

And although we here, which are hedged about with so many favours and helps in worldly things and comforts, forget friendship and love and fall out often times for trifles ; yet you must not do so, but must in these things turn a new leaf and be of another spirit. We here can fall



out with a friend and lose him to day, and find another tomorrow ; but you cannot do so, you have no such choice, you must make much of them you have, and count him a very good friend, which is not a professed enemy. We have a trade and custom of tale bearing, whispering, and changing of old friends for new, and these things with us are incurable ; but you which do as it were begin a new world, and lay the foundation of sound piety and humanity for others to follow, must suffer no such weeds in your garden, but nip them in the head, and cast them out forever ; and must follow peace and study quietness, having fervent love amongst yourselves as a perfect and entire bond to uphold you when all else fails you. And although we have written much to you heretofore, to provoke to union and love, as the only way to make you stand, and without which all would come to nothing ; so now you are much more to be provoked thereunto, since you are left rather to be spectators to the eye than objects to the hand, and stand in most need one of another, at home when foreign help is so much decayed and weakened.

And if any amongst you, for all that, have still a withdrawing heart, and will be all to himself, and nothing to his neighbour, let him think of these things. 1st, The providence of God in bringing you there together. 2d, His marvellous preserving you from so many dangers, the particulars whereof you know and must never forget. 3d, The hopes that yet are of effecting somewhat for yourselves, and more for your posterity, if hand join in hand. 4th, The woful estate of him which is alone, especially in a wilderness. 5th, The succour and comfort which the generality can daily afford, having built houses, planted corn, framed boats, erected salt works, obtained cattle, swine, and pulling together with the diverse varieties of trades and faculties employed by sea and land, the gains of every one stretching itself unto all, whilst they are in the general ; but such as withdraw themselves, tempting God and despising their neighbours, must look for no share or part in any of these things ; but as they will be a commonwealth alone, so alone they must work, and alone they must eat, and alone they must be sick and die, or else languishing under the frustration of their vain hopes, alone return to England, and there to help all cry out of the country and the people ; counting the one fruitless and the other merciless ; when indeed their own folly, pride, and idleness is the cause of all, which never weigh either the providence of God, the conscience of their duty, nor care for their neighbours, or themselves ; further than to grate upon their friends ; as if other men owed them all things, and they owed no man any thing. 6th, The conscience of making restitution, and paying those debts and charges which hath befallen to bring you there, and send those things to you, which you have had, must hold you together ; and for him that withdraws himself from the general, we look upon him as upon a man, who, having served his turn, and fulfilled his desire, cares not what becomes of others, neither making conscience of any debt or duty at all, but thinketh to slide away under secret colours, to abuse and deceive his friends ; and against whom we need say little, seeing the Lord will never cease to curse his course.

And albeit the company here as a company hath lost you, you know when Saul left David, yea and pursued him, yet David did not

abuse his allegiance and loyalty to him, no more should you ; the evil of us here cannot justify any evil in you, but you must still do your duty, though we neglect ours. 2dly, Indeed we are persuaded, it is in the most of the adventurers, rather want of power, than will, that maketh them break off, they having gone as far as they can in the business, and are as sorry that they cannot go forward, as you are offended that they do not go forward ; yea and the pretences of those which have the most colours, we are persuaded, proceed more from weakness of the purse, than fear of any thing else ; and the want of money is such a grievous sickness now a-days, as that it makes men rave and cry out, they cannot tell for what. 3dly, And in a word, we think it but reason, that all such things as these, are appertaining to the general, be kept and preserved together, and rather increased daily, than any way dispersed or embezzled away, for any private ends or intents whatsoever. 4thly, That after your necessities are served, you gather together such commodities as the country yields, and send them over to pay debts and clear engagements here, which are not less than £1400. All which debts, besides adventures, have been made about general commodities and implements, and for which divers of us stand more or less engaged. And we dare say of you, that you will do the best you can to free us and unburden us, that for your sakes and help, are so much hazarded in our estates and names. 5thly, If there be any that will withdraw himself from the general, as he must not have, nor use any of the general's goods, so it is but reason that he give sufficient security for payment of so much of the debts as his part cometh to ; which how much it will come to upon a person or family, is quickly counted ; and since we require but men's faithful endeavours, and cannot obtain them, let none think much if we require other security than fair words and promises, of such men as make no more conscience of their words and ways.

If any amongst you shall object against us, either our long delays in our supplies heretofore, or our too much jollity in spending sometimes at our meetings more than perhaps needed, that will prove but trifling ; for we could also find fault with the idleness and sloth of many amongst you, which have made all the rest go forward slowly, as also we could find fault with your liberality, and largeness also, when it might have been otherwise ; but all such matters must still be left to the discretion and conscience of either side, knowing that where many may have a hand in such business, there will not want some, that are too timorous and slack ; as also that in matters of note, something must be done for form and credit. And for ourselves, we think there hath hardly in our days, been a business of this note and fame carried by Londoners, with twice the expence in by matters that this hath been ; and therefore let each man rather seek to mend himself, than hastily to cast in objections against others.

In a word, since it thus still falleth out, that all things between us are as you see, let us all endeavour to keep a fair and honest course, and see what time will bring forth, and how God in his providence will work for us. We still are persuaded, you are the people, that must make a plantation, and erect a city in those remote places, when all others fail and return; and your experience of God's providence and preservation of you is such, that we hope your hearts will not now fail you, though your friends should forsake you (which we ourselves shall not do, whilst we live, so long as your honesty so well appeareth) yet surely help would arise from some other place, whilst you wait on God with uprightness. though we should leave you also.

To conclude, as you are especially now to renew your love one to another; so we advise you, as your friends, to these particulars. First, let all sharpness, reprehensions, and corrections, of opposite persons, be still used sparingly, and take no advantage against any, for any by respects; but rather wait for their mending amongst you, than to mend them yourselves by thrusting them away, of whom there is any hope of good to be had. 2. Make your corporation as formal as you can, under the name of the Society of Plymouth in New England, allowing some peculiar privileges, to all the members thereof, according to the tenure of the patents. 3d. Let your practices and course in religion, in the church, be made complete and full; let all that fear God amongst you, join themselves thereunto without delay; and let all the ordinances of God be used completely in the church, without longer waiting upon uncertainties, or keeping the gap open for opposites. 4ly. Let the worship and service of God be strictly kept on the Sabbath, and both together, and asunder let the day be sanctified; and let your care be seen on the working days, every where and upon all occasions, to set forward the service of God. And lastly, be you all entreated to walk so circumspectly and carry yourselves so uprightly in all your ways, as that no man may make just exceptions against you; and more especially that the favour and countenance of God may be so towards you, as that you may find abundant joy and peace even amidst tribulations, that you may say with David, *though my father and my mother should forsake me, yet the Lord will take me up.*

We have sent you some cattle, cloth, hose, shoes, leather, &c. but in another nature than formerly, as it stood us in hand to do: we have committed them to the custody and charge of, as our factors, Mr. Allerton and Mr. Winslow, at whose discretion they are to be sold, and commodities taken for them, as is fitting. And it standeth you in need the more carefully to look to, and make much of all your commodities, by how much the more they are chargeable to you, and though we hope you shall not want things necessary, so we think the harder they are got, the more carefully they will be husbanded. Good friends, as you buy them, keep a decorum in distributing them, and let none have varieties and things for delight, when others want

for their mere necessities, and have an eye rather on your ill deservings at God's hand, than upon the failings of your friends towards you ; and wait on him with patience and good conscience ; rather admiring his mercies, than repining at his crosses, with the assurance of faith, that what is wanting here shall be made up in glory a thousand fold. Go on, good friends, comfortably pluck up your hearts cheérfully, and quit yourselves like men in all your difficulties, that notwithstanding all displeasure and threats of men, yet the work may go on which you are about, and not be neglected, which is so much for the glory of God, and the furtherance of our Countrymen, as that a man may with more comfort spend his life in it, than live the life of Methuselah in wasting the plenty of a tilled land, or eating the fruit of a grown tree.

Thus having not time to write further unto you, leaving other things to the relation of our friends ; with all hearty salutations to you all, and hearty prayers, for you all, we lovingly take our leave this 18th of December, 1624.

Your assured friends to our power,

JAMES SHERLEY, (sick)  
WILLIAM COLLIER,  
THOMAS FLETCHER,  
ROBERT HOLLAND.

[This letter was wrote with Mr. Cushman's hand ; and it is likely was penned by him at the other's request.]

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*Mr. CUSHMAN to Gov. BRADFORD.*

*Sir,*

*December 22, 1624.*

**M**Y hearty love remembered unto you, and unto your wife, with trust of your healths and contentment amidst so many difficulties. I am now to write unto you, from my friend, and from myself, my friend and your friend. Mr. Sherley, who lieth even at the point of death, entreated me, even with tears, to write to excuse him, and signify how it was with him ; he remembers his hearty, and as he thinks his last, salutations to you, and all the rest, who love our common cause. And if God does again raise him up, he will be more for you (I am persuaded) than ever he was. His unfeigned love towards us hath been such, as I cannot indeed express ; and though he be a man not swayed with passion, or led by uninformed affections, yet hath he cloven to us still amidst all persuasions of opposites ; and could not be moved to have an evil thought of us, for all their clamours. His patience and contentment in being oppressed hath been much ; he hath sometimes lent £800 at one time, for other men to adventure in this business, all to draw them on ; and hath indeed by his free heartedness been the only glue of the company. And if God should take him now away, I scarce think much more would be done, save as to inquire at the dividend, what is to be had.

He saith he hath received the tokens you sent, and thanks you for them : he hath sent you a cheese, &c. Also he hath sent an heifer to the plantation, to begin a stock for the poor. There is also a bull and three or four jades to be sold unto you, with many other things, for apparel and other uses ; which are committed to Mr. Alerton and Mr. Winslow, who as factors are to sell them to you ; and it was fitter for many reasons, to make them factors than yourself, as I hope you will easily conceive.

And I hope, though the first project cease, yet it shall be never the worse for you, neither will any man be discouraged, but wait on God, using the good means you can. I have no time to write many things unto you ; I doubt not, but upon the hearing of this alteration, some discontent may arise, but the Lord I hope will teach you the way which you shall choose. For myself, as I have laboured by all means to hold things here together, so I have patiently suffered this alteration ; and do yet hope it shall be good for you all, if you be not too rash and hasty ; which if any be, let them take heed that they reap not the fruit of their own vanities.

But for you, good Sir, I hope you will do nothing rashly, neither will you be swayed by misreports, beside your ordinary course, but will persuade who may be, to patience and peace, and to the bearing of labours and crosses in love together.

I hope the failings of your friends here will make you the more friendly one to another, that so all our hopes may not be dashed. Labour to settle things both in your civil and religious courses, as firm, and as full as you can. Lastly, I must intreat you still, to have a care of my son, as of your own ; and I shall rest bound unto you : I pray you let him sometime practise writing. I hope the next ships to come to you ; in the mean space and ever, the Lord be all your direction, and turn all our crosses and troubles to his own glory, and our comforts, and give you to walk so wisely, and holily, as none may justly say, but they have always found you honestly minded, though never so poor. Salute all our friends, and supply, I pray you, what is failing in my letters. From London, *December 22, A. D. 1624.*

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[Thus were his last letters. And now we lost the help of a wise and faithful friend : he wrote of the sickness and probability of the death of another ; but knew not that his own was so near ; what cause have we therefore ever to be ready ! He purposed to be with us the next ships, but the Lord did otherwise dispose ; and had appointed him a greater journey, to a better place. He was now taken from these troubles into which (by this division) we were so deeply plunged. And here I must leave him to rest with the Lord. And will proceed to other letters, which will further shew our proceedings, and how things went on.]

*Gov. BRADFORD to Mr. CUSHMAN.*

**L**OVING and kind friend, I most heartily thank you ; and would be right glad to see you here, with many other of our old and dear friends, that we might strengthen and comfort one another, after our many troubles, travels, and hardships. I long greatly for friends of Leyden, but I fear, I shall now scarce ever see them, save in heaven ; but the will of the Lord be done. We have rid ourselves of the company of many of those, who have been so troublesome unto us ; though I fear we are not yet rid of the troubles themselves. I hear Culdom comes himself into England ; the which if he do, beware of him, for he is very malicious, and much threatens you ; thinking he hath some advantage by some words you have spoken. Touching his factious doings here, and our proceedings with him, I refer you for it, and many other things to the relations of Captain Standish, whom we have thought most meet for sundry reasons, to send at this time. I pray you be as helpful to him as you can ; especially in making our provisions, for therein he hath the least skill

We have sent by this first ship, a good parcel of commodities, to wit : As much beaver and other furs, as will amount to upwards of £277 sterling, at the rates they were sold the last year, in part of payment of those goods, they and you sent to be sold to us. But except we may have things, both more serviceable, and at better rates, we shall never be able to rub through ; therefore if we could have some ready money disbursed to buy things at the best hand, it would be greatly in our way. Special care is to be had of procuring us good trucking stuff, for without it we can do nothing ; the reason, why heretofore we have got so little is, because we never had any that was good till Mr. Winslow brought some over.

Our people will never agree, any way again to unite with the Company, who have cast them off with such reproach and contempt, and also returned their bills, and all debts upon their heads. But as for those our loving friends, who have, and still do stick to us, and are deeply engaged for us, and are most careful of our goods, for our parts we will ever be ready to do any thing, that shall be thought equal and mete.

But I think it will be best to press a clearance with the company ; either by coming to a dividend, or some other indifferent course or composition ; for the longer we hang and continue in this confused and lingering condition, the worse it will be, for it takes away all heart and courage, from men, to do any thing. For notwithstanding any persuasion to the contrary, many protest they will never build houses, fence grounds, or plant fruits for those, who not only forsake them, but use them as enemies, lading them with reproach and contumely. Nay they will rather ruin that, which is done, than they should possess it. Whereas if they knew what they should trust to, the place would quickly grow and flourish with plenty ; for they never felt the sweet-

ness of the country till this year ; and not only we but all planters in the land begin to do it. Let us be as little engaged about fishing, or any other projects, as you can, to draw us away from our own employments, for they will be the most beneficial unto us. I suppose to spend our own salt, and to employ as many of our own boats as we can, will be best for us. If we had but kept two a trading this year, it would have been twice as good as our fishing ; though I hope the ships will return with good voyages.

Your son and all of us are in good health, (blessed be God) ; he received the things you sent him. I hope God will make him a good man. My wife remembers her love unto you, and thanks you for her spice. Billington still rails against you, and threatens to arrest you, I know not wherefore ; he is a knave, and so will live and die. Mr. John Pearce wrote he would make a parliamentary matter about our grand patent, I pray you wish our friends to look to it, for I mistrust him. I perceive there passeth intelligence between Mr. Weston and him, by means of Mr. Hix. He is come again hither, and is not yet quiet about that £100. The Lord hath so graciously disposed, that when our opposites thought, that many would have followed their faction, they so distasted their palpable dishonest dealings, that they stuck more firmly unto us, and joined themselves to the Church. But time cuts me off : for other things I refer you to my other more general, and larger letters ; and so with my renewed salutations, and best love remembered unto you, I commend you and all our affairs to the guidance of the Most High, and so rest, your assured loving friend,

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

*New-Plymouth, June 9, 1625.*

[Mr. Cushman died before this letter arrived.]

[Next follows a letter to the Council of New England, wherein their help was supplicated.]

*To the right Honourable his Majesty's Council for New England, these be, &c.*

Right Honourable,

*June 28, A. D. 1625.*

**T**HE assurance we have of your noble dispositions to relieve the oppressions of the innocent, doth cause us to fly unto you, as to a sanctuary, in this our just cause. It hath pleased the divine Providence to bring us into this place, where we inhabit under your government, wherein we now have resided almost these five years, having put some life into this then dreaded design, made way for others, and to all that are here have been, and still are, their bulwark and defence.

Many necessities we have undergone, incident to the raw and immature beginnings of such great exertions, and yet are subject to many

more. We are many people, consisting of all sorts, as well women and children, as men ; and are now left and forsaken of our adventurers, who will neither supply us with necessaries for our subsistence, nor suffer others that would be willing ; neither can we be at liberty to deal with others, or provide for ourselves, but they keep us tied to them, and yet they will be loose from us ; they have not only cast us off, but entered into particular course of trading, and have by violence and force, taken at their pleasure, our possession at Cape Ann. Traducing us with unjust and dishonest clamours abroad, disturbing our peace at home ; and some of them threatening, that if ever we grow to any good estate, they will then nip us in the head. Which discouragements do cause us to slack our diligence and care to build and plant, and cheerfully perform our other employments, not knowing for whom we work, whether friends or enemies.

Our humble suit therefore to your good lordships and honours is, that seeing they have so unjustly forsaken us, that you would vouchsafe to convene them before you, and take such order, as we may be free from them ; and they come to a division with us, that we and ours may be delivered from their evil intents against us. So shall we comfortably go forward with the work we have in hand, as first to God's glory, and the honour of our king ; so to the good satisfaction of your honours, and for our present, common, and after good of our posterity. The prosecution of this, we have committed to our agent Captain Myles Standish, who attends your honourable pleasures.

The great God of heaven and earth, who hath put into your hearts, to travail in this honourable action, strengthen your hearts and hands hereunto ; and gave his blessing answerable to your worthy endeavours. In all humbleness we commit ourselves to your honourable direction and protection. And rest with the knowledge, consent, and humble request of the whole plantation ever at commandment.

WILLIAM BRADFORD, *Gov.*

[But by reason of the great plague which raged this year in London, of which so many thousands died weekly, Captain Standish could do nothing either with the Council of New England, or any other hereabout, for there was no Courts kept, or scarce any commerce held, the city being in a sort desolate, by the fervent pestilence, and flight of so many. So as he was forced to return ; having by the help of some friends (with much ado, and great both trouble and peril to himself) procured a convenient supply ; which he brought with him to save our greatest necessities.]

*A Letter of Mr. Fletcher's, shewing his great loss of the little James ; she and the beaver in her, which was sent for the goods we bought the other year, being for the most part his ; and was taken by the Turks to his utter undoing.*



*To his loving friends Mr. BRADFORD, Mr. ALLERTON, and Mr. WINSLOW, salutations, &c.*

*London, November 25, 1625.*

**M**Y last unto you was of the death of Mr. Robinson and what else then needful, since which I have received divers letters from you, and perceive at large what things you want, and do desire, and with what grievances you have been oppressed. And had the Lord so disposed, as to have sent us the pinace home, no doubt myself would have seen you well supplied; and some of your grievances should have been removed; but so it is, that all power therein to do you good, is wholly (by God's providence) taken from me. And so I much fear, that this year you will hardly be able to do yourselves or your friends much good, but patience, &c.

And for other affairs either touching myself, and my necessities I am put unto, besides disgrace and reproach from many; as also touching the rest of our adventurers, who fall from me like the water brooks, as Job complains; I say for all these things, and many more here passed, I refer you to your Agent, and my loving friend, Captain Standish, who can certify you all things at large; as also of the feigned and perfidious dealings of Mr. John Peirce towards me and others, who now hath manifest himself, at least, to some, not to mind that good for you, or us, as was fit, and oft pretended. But all these things, they come from God for diverse reasons; as first, to humble us, and subdue our corruption; 2d, to win us from the world; 3d, to add unto our joy to come; 4th, to shew forth the great power, goodness, and mercy of our God, in preserving us in, and delivering us out of, the same. Wherefore let us be patient, and thankful without murmuring, Amen, Amen. And so with my hearty well wishes for you all, and your general good; for which I shall often approach to the throne of grace, and expect the like from you; and so I leave you with this salutation, fare you well, my brethren all, fare you well; and the God of grace and peace bless you, and your posterities, to the coming of Jesus Christ. Amen.

Your loving friend, in what I can,

THOMAS FLETCHER.

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[I will next insert some letters from our friends at Leyden, written this year; and first, a letter of Mr. White's to myself, in which the heavy tidings of our beloved and able pastor's death, and the manner of it, is declared.]

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*To his loving friend, Mr. WILLIAM BRADFORD, Governour of Plymouth, in New England, these be, &c.*

**L**OVING and kind friends, &c. I know not whether ever this will come to your hands, or miscarry, as other of my letters have done;

yet in regard of the Lord's dealing with us here, I have had a great desire to write unto you ; knowing your desire to bear a part with us, both in our joys and sorrows, as we do with you.

These therefore are to give you to understand, that it hath pleased the Lord to take out of this veil of tears your and our loving and faithful pastor, and my dear brother, Mr. John Robinson, who was sick some eight days, beginning first to be sick on a Saturday morning, yet the next day, being the Lord's day, he taught us twice, and the week after grew every day weaker than other, yet felt no pain but weakness, all the time of his sickness ; the physick he took wrought kindly, in man's judgment, yet he grew every day weaker than other, feeling little or no pain, yet sensible, till the very last. Who fell sick the twenty second of February, and departed this life the first of March. He had a continual inward ague, which brought the — but I think the Lord, was free of the plague, so that all his friends could come freely to him. And if either prayers, tears, or means would have saved his life, he had not gone hence. But he having faithfully finished his course, and performed his work, which the Lord had appointed him here to perform ; he now rests with the Lord, in eternal happiness. We wanting him and all church Governours, not having one at present that is a governing officer amongst us. Now for ourselves here left (I mean the whole Church) we still, by the mercy of God, continue and hold close together in peace and quietness, and so I hope we shall do though we be very weak ; wishing (if such were the will of God) that you and we were again together in one, either there or here ; but seeing it is the will of the Lord, thus to dispose of things, we must labour with patience to rest contented, till it please the Lord otherwise to dispose of things.

For news at present here, is not much worth the writing, only as in England we have lost our old King whodeparted this life about a month ago, so here we have lost Grave Morrice, the old Prince here, who both departed this life, since my brother Robinson ; and as in England we have anew King, Charles, of whom there is great hope of good ; the King is making ready about one hundred sail of ships, the end is not yet certain, but they will be ready to go to sea very shortly ; the King himself goes to see them once in fourteen days : So here likewise we have made Prince Hendrick General, in his brother's place, who is now with the Grave of Mansfield with a great army, close by the enemy, to free Breda, if it be possible, which the enemy hath besieged now some nine or ten months ; but how it will fall out at last, is yet uncertain ; the Lord give good success if it be his will. And thus fearing lest this will not come to your hands, hoping as soon as I hear of a convenient messenger, to write more at large, and to send you a letter which my brother Robinson sent to London ; to have gone to some of you, but coming too late, was brought back again. And so for this time I cease further to trouble you, and rest,

Your assured loving friend,

*Leyden, April 28, Anno 1625.*

ROGER WHITE.

*A letter of Thomas Blossom's to myself and Mr. Brewster, touching the same thing, as followeth.*

BELOVED SIR,

**K**IND salutations, &c. I have thought good to write to you, concerning the cause as it standeth both with you and us ; we see, alas ! what frustrations and disappointments it pleaseth the Lord to send in this our course, good in itself and according to godliness taken in hand and for good and lawful ends, who yet pleaseth not to prosper as we are, for reasons best known to himself : And which also nearly concerns us to consider of, whether we have sought the Lord in it as we see, or not ; that the Lord hath singularly preserved life in the business to great admiration, giveth me good hope, that he will (if our sins hinder not) in his appointed time, give a happy end unto it. On the contrary, when I consider how it pleaseth the Lord to cross those means that should bring us together, being now as far off or farther than ever, in our apprehension ; as also to take that means away, which would have been so comfortable unto us in that course, both for wisdom of counsel as also for our singular help in our course of godliness ; whom the Lord (as it were) took away even as fruit falleth before it was ripe ; [he means Mr. Robinson] when neither length of days, nor infirmity of body, did seem to call for his end. The Lord even then took him away, as it were in his anger ; whom if tears would have held, he had remained to this day. The loss of his ministry was very great unto me, for I ever counted myself happy in the enjoyment of it, notwithstanding all the crosses and losses, otherwise I sustained. Yet indeed the manner of his taking away hath more troubled me, as fearing the Lord's anger in it, that, as I said, in the ordinary course of things, might still have remained, as also, the singular service he might have yet done in the church of God. Alas ! dear friends, our state and cause in religion by his death being wholly destitute of any that may defend our cause as it should against our adversaries.

That we may take up that doleful complaint in the Psalm, that there is no prophet left among us, nor any that knoweth how long. Alas ! you would fain have had him with you, and he would as fain have come to you ; many letters and much speech hath been about his coming to you, but never any solid course propounded for his going ; if the course propounded the last year had appeared to have been certain, he would have gone, though with two or three families. I know no man amongst us knew his mind better than I did, about those things ; he was loath to leave the church, yet I know also, that he would have accepted the worst conditions which in the largest extent of a good conscience could be taken, to have come to you. For myself and all such others as have formerly minded coming, it is much what the same, if the Lord afford means. We only know how things are with you by

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your letters ; but how things stand in England we have received no letters of any thing, and it was November before we received yours. If we come at all unto you, the means to enable us so to do must come from you. For the state of our church, and how it is with us and of our people, it is wrote of by Mr. White. Thus praying you to pardon my boldness with you in writing as I do, I commend you to the keeping of the Lord, desiring, if he see it good, and that I might be serviceable unto the business, that I were with you. God hath taken away my son, that was with me in the ship, when I went back again ; I have only two children which were born since I left you : Fare you well.

Yours to his power,

THOMAS BLOSSOM.

*Leyden, December 15, Anno 1625.*

*To his very loving friend, Mr. William Bradford, Governour of Plymouth in New England, these be.*

**M**Y loving and kind friend, and brother in the Lord ; my own and my wife's true love and hearty salutations to yourself and yours and all the rest of our loving friends with you ; hoping in the Lord of your good healths, which I beseech him long to continue for the glory of his name and good of his people. Concerning your kind letter to the church, it was read publickly ; whereunto (by the church) I send you here enclosed an answer. Concerning my brother Robinson's sickness and death and our practice, I wrote you at large, some five or six months since ; but lest it should miscarry, I have now written to Mr. Brewster thereof, to whom I refer you. Now concerning your course of choosing your governours yearly, and in special of their choosing yourself year after year, as I conceive they still do, and Mr. Allerton your assistant ; howsoever I think it the best way that can be, so long as it please the Lord to continue your lives, and so good governours offer you ; yet, considering man's mortality, whose breath is in his nostrils, and the evils of the times wherein we live, in which it is ordinarily seen that worse follow them that are good, I think it would be a safer course, for after time, the government was sometime removed from one to another ; so the assistant one year might be governour next, and a new assistant chosen in his place, either of such as have or have not been in office ; sometimes one, sometimes another, as it shall seem most fit to the corporation. My reasons are, first, because other officers that come after you, will look (especially if they be ambitiously minded) for the same privileges and continuance you have had ; and if he have it not, will take great offence, as though unworthy of the place, and so greatly disgraced, whom to continue, might be very dangerous, and hazard (at least) the overthrow of all ; men not looking so much at the reasons why others were so long continued as at the custom. 2dly, because others that are unexperienced in govern-

ment might learn by experience ; and so there might be fit and able men continually, when it pleaseth the Lord to take any away. 3dly, by this means, you may establish the things begun, or done before ; for the governour this year, that was assistant last, will in likelihood, rather ratify and confirm and go on with that he had a hand in the beginning of, when he was assistant, than otherwise, or persuade the new to it ; whereas new governours, especially when there are factions, will many times overthrow that which is done by the former, and so scarcely any thing goeth forward for the general good ; neither that I see, can this be any prejudice to the corporation ; for the new may always have the council and advice of the old for their direction, though they be out of office ; these things I make bold to put to your godly wisdom and discretion, entreating you to pardon my boldness therein, and so leaving it to your discretion to make use of as you see it fitting, not having written the least inkling hereof to any other. Now I entreat you, at your best leisure to write to me, how you think it will in likelihood go with your civil and church estate ; whether there be hope of the continuance of both, or either ; or whether you fear any alteration to be attempted in either ; the reason of this my request is, the fear of some amongst us (the which if that hinder not, I think will come unto you) occasioned partly by your letter to your father in law, Mr. May, wherein you write of the troubles you have had with some, who it is like (having the times and friends on their sides) will work you what mischiefs they can ; and that they may do much, many here do fear : And partly by reason of this king's proclamation, dated the 13th of May last, in which he saith, that his full resolution is, to the end that there may be one uniform course of government, in and through all his whole monarchy, that the government of Virginia shall immediately depend on himself, and not be committed to any company or corporation, &c. so that some conceive he will have both the same civil and ecclesiastical government that is in England, which occasioneth their fear. I desire you to write your thoughts of these things, for the satisfying of others ; for my own part and some others, we durst rely upon you for that, who, we persuade ourselves, would not be thus earnest for our pastor and church to come to you, if you feared the danger of being suppressed. Thus desiring you to pardon my boldness, and remember us in your prayers ; I for this time and ever, commit you and all your affairs to the Almighty, and rest

Your assured loving friend  
And brother in the Lord,

ROGER WHITE.

*Leyden, Dec. 1, Anno 1625.*

P.S. The church would entreat you to continue your writing to them, which is very comfortable.

*To our most dear, and entirely beloved brethren, Mr. William Bradford and Mr. William Brewster, grace, mercy, and true peace be multiplied from God our Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.*

**M**OST dear christian friends and brethren, as it is no small grief unto you, so is it no less unto us, that we are constrained to live thus disunited each from other, especially considering our affections each unto other, for the mutual edifying and comfort of both, in these evil days wherein we live ; if it pleased the Lord to bring us again together ; than which as no outward thing could be more comfortable unto us, or is more desired of us, if the Lord see it good ; so see we no hope of means of accomplishing the same, except it come from you ; and therefore, must with patience rest in the work and will of God, performing our duties to him and you asunder ; whom we are not any way able to help, but by our continual prayers to him for you, and sympathy of affections with you, for the troubles which befall you ; till it please the Lord to reunite us again. But our dearly beloved brethren, concerning your kind and respective letter, howsoever written by one of you, yet as we continue with the consent (at least in affection) of you both, although we cannot answer your desire and expectation, by reason it hath pleased the Lord to take to himself out of this miserable world, our dearly beloved pastor, yet for ourselves we are minded, as formerly, to come unto you, when and as the Lord affordeth means ; though we see little hope thereof at present, as being unable of ourselves ; and that our friends will help us we see little hope. And now, brethren, what shall we say further unto you ; our desires and prayers to God, is (if such were his good will and pleasure) we might be reunited for the edifying and mutual comfort of both, which, when he sees fit, he will accomplish. In the mean time, we commit you unto him and to the word of his grace ; whom we beseech to guide and direct both you and us, in all his ways, according to that, his word ; and to bless all our lawful endeavours, for the glory of his name and good of his people. Salute, we pray you, all the church and brethren with you, to whom we would have sent this letter. If we knew it could not be prejudicial unto you, as we hope it cannot ; yet fearing the worst, we thought fit either to direct it to you, our two beloved brethren, leaving it to your goodly wisdom and discretion, to manifest our mind to the rest of our loving friends and brethren, as you see most convenient. And thus entreating you to remember us in your prayers, as we also do you ; we for this time commend you and all your affairs to the direction and protection of the Almighty, and rest,

Your assured loving friends

And brethren in the Lord,

FRANCIS JESSOPP,  
THOMAS NASH,  
THOMAS BLOSSOM,  
ROGER WHITE,  
RICHARD MAISTERSON.

*Leyden, Nov. 30, A. D. 1625.*

[Before I pass to other things, I will here insert a letter of Mr. Robinson's, which, though it be out of place, yet coming now to hand, I thought better to put it here, than to omit it. It was written to the church as followeth :]

*To the church of God, at Plymouth, in New England.*

**M**UCH beloved brethren, neither the distance of place, nor distinction of body, can at all either dissolve or weaken that bond of true christian affection in which the Lord by his spirit hath tied us together. My continual prayers are to the Lord for you ; my most earnest desire is unto you ; from whom I will not longer keep (if God will) than means can be procured to bring with me the wives and children of divers of you and the rest of your brethren, whom I could not leave behind me without great both injury to you and them, and offence to God and all men. The death of so many our dear friends and brethren ; oh ! how grievous hath it been to you to bear, and to us to take knowledge of, which, if it could be mended with lamenting, could not sufficiently be bewailed ; but we must go unto them and they shall not return unto us : And how many even of us God hath taken away here, and in England, since your departure, you may elsewhere take knowledge. But the same God has tempered judgment with mercy, as otherwise, so in sparing the rest, especially those by whose godly and wise government, you may be, and (I know) are so much helped. In a battle it is not looked for but that divers should die ; it is thought well for a side, if it get the victory, though with the loss of divers, if not too many or too great. God, I hope, hath given you the victory, after many difficulties, for yourselves and others ; though I doubt not, but many do and will remain for you and us all to strive with. Brethren, I hope I need not exhort you to obedience unto those whom God hath set over you, in church and commonwealth, and to the Lord in them. It is a christian's honour, to give honour according to men's places ; and his liberty, to serve God in faith, and his brethren in love orderly and with a willing and free heart. God forbid, I should need to exhort you to peace, which is the bond of perfection, and by which all good is tied together, and without which it is scattered. Have peace with God first, by faith in his promises, good conscience kept in all things, and oft renewed by repentance ; and so, one with another, for his sake, who is, though three, one ; and for Christ's sake who is one, and as you are called by one spirit to one hope. And the God of peace and grace and all goodness be with you, in all the fruits thereof, plenteously upon your heads, now and forever. All your brethren here remember you with great love, a general token whereof they have sent you.

Yours ever in the Lord,

*Leyden, (Holland) June 30, Anno 1621.*

JOHN ROBINSON.

[This next year being Anno 1626, we sent Mr. Allerton into England, partly to make some supply for us, and to see if he could make any reasonable composition with the adventurers; and because we well knew that nothing can be done without money, we gave him an order to procure some, binding ourselves to make payment thereof, as followeth :]

KNOW all men by these presents, that whereas we William Bradford, governour of Plymouth in New England, and William Brewster, Capt. Miles Standish, Isaac Allerton, Samuel Fuller, Edward Winslow, John Jency, John Howland, and John Allden; being all inhabitants of Plymouth, aforesaid, are for ourselves and divers others, our associates, &c. And whereas the said Isaac Allerton (by God's providence) for the necessary occasions of the colony aforesaid, is bound for England; and whereas divers of us above named, have acquainted divers of our worthy and approved friends (by our letters\*) with our raw and weak estate, and want of ability of ourselves to manage so great an action, as the upholding of the plantation aforesaid. If therefore God shall move the heart or hearts of any of our friends, in compassion of our wants and present straits, to lend us above named, the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, for the space of two years, upon any such terms as shall be agreed upon, between him or them and the said Isaac Allerton, our partner and agent, and deliver the same into his hands for our use; that we, the said William Bradford, William Brewster, &c. together with the said Isaac Allerton, do bind ourselves, our heirs, &c. jointly and severally, for the faithful performance of such obligations, conditions, or covenants as shall be agreed on, &c. In witness whereof, we have put to our hands and seals, this 2d of July, Anno 1626, &c.

[Upon this order, he got two hundred pounds, but it was at thirty in the hundred interest, by which appears in what straits we were; and yet this was upon better terms than the goods which were sent us the year before, being at forty-five per cent. so that it was God's marvellous providence, that we were ever able to wade through things, as will better appear, if God give me life and opportunity to handle them more particularly, in another treatise more at large, as I desire and purpose (if God permit) with many other things, in a better order.

Besides the obtaining of this money, he with much ado made a composition and agreement with the body of the adventurers. Mr. Allden (something now softened by my letter before mentioned) who was one of our powerfulest opposers, did not only yield thereunto, but was a furtherer of the same. I will shew the heads of it, as it was drawn in a deed as followeth :]

*To all christian people, to whom this present writing indented shall come,  
greeting,*

\* These letters I have not.



WHEREAS, at a meeting the 26th of October last past, divers and sundry persons, whose names to the one part of these presents are subscribed in a schedule hereunto annexed, adventurers to New Plymouth, in New England in America, were contented and agreed (in consideration of the sum of one thousand and eight hundred pounds sterling, to be paid unto the said adventurers in manner and form following) to sell and make sale of all and every the stocks, shares, lands, merchandize, and chattles whatsoever, to the said adventurers and other their fellow adventurers to New Plymouth aforesaid accruing, or belonging, to the generality of the said adventurers aforesaid, as well by reasons of any sum or sums of money, or merchandize at any time heretofore adventured by them, or otherwise howsoever; for the better expression and setting forth of which said agreement, the parties to these presents subscribing do for themselves severally, and as much as in them is, grant, bargain, alien, sell, and transfer, all and every the said shares, goods, lands, merchandize and chattles to them belonging as aforesaid, unto Isaac Allerton, one of the planters resident at New Plymouth aforesaid, assigned and sent over as agent for the rest of the planters residing there, and unto such other planters at New Plymouth aforesaid, as the said Isaac Allerton, his heirs or assignees, at his, or their arrival shall by writing or otherwise think fit to join, or partake in their premises, they and every of their heirs and assigns in as large and ample and beneficial manner and form, to all intents and purposes, as the said several subscribing adventurers here could or may do, or perform; all which stocks, shares, lands, &c. to the said adventurers, in severalty allotted, apportioned or belonging, the said adventurers do warrant and defend unto the said Isaac Allerton, his heirs and assigns, against them, their heirs and assigns, by these presents: And therefore, the said Isaac Allerton for him, his heirs and assigns, doth covenant, promise, and grant to and with the said adventurers, whose names are hereunto subscribed, their heirs, &c. well and truly to pay, or cause to be paid unto the said adventurers or five of them, which were at the meeting aforesaid, nominated and deputed, viz. John Poocock, John Beauchamp, Robert Kean, Edward Bass, and James Shirley, their heirs, &c. to, and for the use of the generality of them, the sum of eighteen hundred pounds, of lawful money of England, at the place appointed for the receipts of money, on the west side of the Royal Exchange in London, by two hundred pounds yearly and every year, on the feast day of St. Michael, which shall be in the year 1628: And the said Isaac Allerton, for him, his heirs, &c. doth covenant and grant to, and with the said adventurers, their heirs, &c. to do his, and their good endeavours, to procure, obtain, and get of, and from all the planters, at New Plymouth aforesaid, or so many of them as he or they by persuasion and entreaty can or may, security by several obligations, or

writing obligatory, to make payment of the said sum of eighteen hundred pounds, in form aforesaid, according to the true meaning of these presents. In testimony whereof, to this part of these presents, remaining with the said Isaac Allerton, the said subscribing adventurers have set to their names, &c. And to the other part of these presents remaining with the said adventurers, the said Isaac Allerton hath subscribed his name, the 15th of November, Anno 1626, and in the second year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, &c. : Subscribed thus as followeth :

<i>John White,</i>	<i>Samuel Sharp,</i>	<i>Thomas Hudson,</i>
<i>John Pocock,</i>	<i>Robert Holland,</i>	<i>Thomas Andrews,</i>
<i>Robert Kean,</i>	<i>James Shirley,</i>	<i>Thomas Ward,</i>
<i>Edward Bass,</i>	<i>Thomas Mott,</i>	<i>Fria. Newbald,</i>
<i>William Hobson,</i>	<i>Thomas Fletcher,</i>	<i>Thomas Heath,</i>
<i>William Pennington,</i>	<i>Timothy Hatherly,</i>	<i>Joseph Tilden,</i>
<i>William Quarles,</i>	<i>Thomas Brewer,</i>	<i>William Penrin,</i>
<i>Daniel Pointon,</i>	<i>John Thornell,</i>	<i>Eliza Knight,</i>
<i>Richard Andrews,</i>	<i>Myles Knowles,</i>	<i>Thomas Coventry,</i>
<i>Newman Rookes,</i>	<i>William Collier,</i>	<i>Robert Alden,</i>
<i>Henry Browning,</i>	<i>John Revell,</i>	<i>Laurence Anthony,</i>
<i>Richard Wright,</i>	<i>Peter Gudburn,</i>	<i>John Knight,</i>
<i>John Ling,</i>	<i>Emnu. Alltham,</i>	<i>Matthew Thornhill,</i>
<i>Thomas Goffe,</i>	<i>John Beauchamp,</i>	<i>Thomas Millsof.</i>

In all forty-two.

[This year, Anno 1627, Mr. Allerton was sent again as for other things, so especially to ratify and confirm this bargain ; and for that end we gave him full authority under our hands, and seal and became bound in several bonds for the payment of the money yearly : So the thing was fully concluded, and the bargain fairly engrossed on parchment, under their hands and seals, as legally and formally done, as by the learnedest lawyers could be devised, as by the deed itself will better appear ; which I will not here insert, being long, but the substance may be seen in the former, to which it hath reference ; only I will mention this particular clause, how we were bound thereby to forfeit thirty shillings a week, for every week that we failed of due payment, at any the several days. Thus all now is become our own, as we say in the proverb, when our debts are paid. And doubtless this was a great mercy of God unto us, and a great means of our peace and better subsistence, and wholly dashed all the plots and devices of our enemies, both there and here, who daily expected our ruin, dispersion, and utter subversion by the same ; but their hopes were thus far prevented, though with great care and labour, we were left to struggle with the payment of the money.]

*A letter of Mr. Sherley's to myself upon this conclusion, as followeth :*

*To his very loving and much respected friend, Mr. William Bradford,  
Governour of Plymouth, in New-England, these.*

*Most Worthy and Beloved*

SIR,

I HAVE received your letter of the 14th of June last. by your and my loving friend, Mr. Allerton, wherein it pleaseth you to express more thankfulness than I have deserved ; I confess my desire is much larger than my power, to do you and those good friends with you, the good I would. We cannot but all take notice how the Lord hath been pleased to cross our proceedings, and caused many distresses to befall us therein ; and sure I conceive the only cause to be, we, or many of us here, aimed at other ends than God's glory : But now I hope that cause is taken away, the bargain being fully concluded, and, as far as our powers will reach, confirmed under our hands and seals to Mr. Allerton and the rest of his and your co-partners : But for my own part, I confess, as I was loath to hinder this bargain, being the first propounder thereof at our meeting, so, on the contrary side, I was as unwilling to set my hand to the sale, being the receiver of the most part of the adventures and a second causer of much of the engagements, and one more threatened, being most envied and aimed at (if they could find any step to ground their malice on) than any other of the adventurers whosoever.\* I profess I know no just cause they ever had, or have so to do, neither shall it ever be proved that I have wronged them or any of the adventurers, wittingly or willingly, one penny in the disbursement of the best part of five thousand pounds, in those two years' troubles : No, the sole cause why they malice me (as I and others have conceived) was that I would not side with them against you, and the going over of the Leyden ; but as I then cared not, so now I little fear what they can do ; yet charge and trouble I know they may cause me to be at ; and for these reasons, I would gladly have persuaded the other four to have sealed to this bargain and so have left me out ; but Mr. Allerton knoweth they would not ; so rather than it should now fail, Mr. Allerton having taken so much pains (as I am even ashamed to relate) I have sealed with the rest, with this proviso and promise of Mr. Allerton's, that if any troubles arise here, you are to be at half the charge : Wherefore now I doubt not but you will give your generality good content and self peace amongst yourselves, and peace with the natives, then, no doubt but the God† of peace will bless your going out and returning in, and cause all that you set your hand to to prosper : The which I shall ever pray the Lord to grant, if it be his most blessed will, and that for Jesus Christ his sake.

\* *Some of the adventurers proved enemies to the plantation. Mort. Mem.*

† He hath hitherto done it, blessed be his name !

I acknowledge myself much obliged to you, and others with you, for your good counsel and loving respect to my kinsman ; I pray you continue the same still, and set it as on my score to requite, when occasion is offered. My wife and I most kindly remember our loves unto you, and Mrs. Bradford, desiring you to remember us in your prayers, for assuredly unless the Lord be merciful unto us and the whole land in general, our estate and condition is far worse than yours ; wherefore if the Lord send persecution here (which is much to be feared) and so should put into our minds to fly for refuge, I know no place safer than to come to you (for all Europe is at variance one with another, but chiefly with us)\* not doubting but to find such friendly entertainment as shall be honest and conscionable, notwithstanding what hath lately passed ; for I profess in the word of an honest man, had it not been to procure your peace and quiet from some turbulent spirits here, I would not have sealed to this deed, though you have given me all my adventure and debt ready down : And this I leave to your serious consideration, not questioning, but you will approve yourselves faithful and

\* Charles I. as soon as he came to the throne, in 1625, formed two equally impracticable projects, the first was to recover the two Palatinates from the Emperor and Duke of Bavaria ; the second, to establish arbitrary power in his dominions. To effect these was the business of the first fifteen years of his reign. In 1625, he began to prosecute the war against Spain with all the vigour his finances would admit of, but without success. In 1627 when he was totally destitute of resources for the war with the house of Austria, he proclaimed war against France ; but the Duke of Buckingham, in November, returned from his unsuccessful expedition to the isle of Rhee, where he lost five thousand of the troops he carried out with him ; [some authors say eight thousand] the merchants complained that within three years they had lost all their shipping, that the fishermen were taken almost in their very harbours, and that they would not attempt the building of new ships, because as soon as they were ready, the king seized them for his own use against the will of the owners. The imprisonment of many members of Parliament in the same year, for opposing the king's arbitrary measures ; forced loans to carry on futile or wicked wars ; and the king's determination to trample on Parliaments, together with his open patronage of the principles of Sibthorp and Manwaring, who publicly maintained that his royal will and command in imposing loans and taxes, obliged the conscience of the subject on pain of eternal damnation : These calamities, we say, with very good reason alarmed the fears of all men who valued the privileges of freemen, and gave them cause to apprehend the most violent persecutions : The question is a natural one ; where could they fly ? A religious war raged in France, between the catholicks and protestants : A puissant protestant league of the States of Holland, Sweden, Saxony, and Denmark waged a bloody war against the Emperor : France embroiled with Austria ; and England with France, Spain, and Austria ; Sweden with Poland ; and Holland with Spain, while every petty state was drawn into the vortex as inclination prompted or necessity forced ; deplorable must have been the prospect ! But fortunate for the human race ! these calamities laid the foundation, in North America, for establishing, in Europe, the rights of man on the basis of reason.

EDITOR

honest before God and men : And thus desiring the Lord to bless, preserve and prosper you and all with you, I for this time cease, but ever resting,

Your faithful and loving friend  
to my power,

JAMES SHERLEY.

London, Dec. 27th, Anno 1627.

[THIS year we had letters sent us from the Dutch plantation, of whom we had heard much by the natives, but never could hear from them nor meet with them before themselves thus writ to us, and after sought us out ; their letters were writ in a very fair hand, the one in French, and the other in Dutch, but were one *verbatim*, so far as the tongue would bear.

*Here follows a letter in Low Dutch, from Isaac de Razier at Manhatas, in Fort Amsterdam, Mar. 9, 1627, N. S. to the Governour of New-Plymouth.*

I will not trouble myself to translate this letter, seeing the effect of it will be understood by the answer which now follows in English, though writ to them in Dutch.]

*To the Honourable and Worshipful the Director and Council of New Netherland, our very loving and worthy friends and christian neighbours.*

THE Governour and Council of Plymouth in New England wish your Honours and Worships all happiness, and prosperity in this life, and eternal rest and glory with Christ Jesus our Lord in the world to come.

We have received your letters, wherein appeareth your good will and friendship toward us, but is expressed with over high titles, and more than belongs to us, or than is meet for us to receive : But for your good will and congratulation of our prosperity in this small beginning of our poor colony, we are much bound unto you, and with many thanks do acknowledge the same ; taking it both for a great honour done unto us, and for a certain testimony of your love, and good neighbourhood. Now these are further to give your Honours, Worships, and Wisdoms to understand, that it is to us no small joy to hear, that it hath pleased God to move his Majesty's heart, not only to confirm that ancient amity, alliance, and friendship, and other contracts formerly made, and ratified by his predecessors of famous memory ; but hath himself (as you say) and we likewise have been informed, strengthened the same with a new union, the better to resist the pride of that common enemy

the Spaniards, from whose cruelty the Lord keep us both, and our native countries. Now for as much as this is sufficient to unite us together in love, and good neighbourhood in all our dealings ; yet are many of us further tied by the good and courteous entreaty which we have found in your country ; having lived there many years, with freedom and good content, as many of our friends do to this day ; for which we are bound to be thankful, and our children after us and shall never forget the same, but shall heartily desire your good and prosperity, as our own forever. Likewise for your friendly proposition and offer, to accommodate and help us with any commodities or merchandize, which you have and we want. either for beaver, otters, or other wares, is to us very acceptable, and we doubt not but in short time, we may have profitable commerce and trade together : But you may please to understand that we are but one particular colony or plantation in this land, there being divers others besides, unto whom it hath pleased those Honourable Lords of his Majesty's Council for New England, to grant the like commission, and ample privileges to them (as to us) for their better profit and subsistence ; namely to expulse, or make prize of any, either strangers or other English, which shall attempt either to trade or plant within their limits (without their special licence and commission) which extends to forty degrees : Yet for our parts, we shall not go about to molest or trouble you in any thing, but continue all good neighbourhood and correspondence as far as we may ; only we desire that you would forbear to trade with the natives in this bay, and river of Naragansett and Sowames, which is (as it were) at our doors : The which if you do, we think also no other English will go about any way to trouble or hinder you ; which otherwise are resolved to solicit his Majesty for redress, if otherwise they cannot help themselves.

May it please you further to understand, that for this year we are fully supplied with all necessaries, both for clothing and other things ; but it may so fall out, that hereafter we shall deal with you, if your rates be reasonable : And therefore when your people come again, we desire to know how you will take beaver by the pound, and otters by the skin, and how you will deal per cent. for other commodities, and what you can furnish us with ; as likewise what commodities from us, may be acceptable with you, as tobacco, fish, corn, or other things, and what prices you will give.

Thus hoping that you will pardon and excuse us for our rude and imperfect writing in your language, and take it in good part ; because, for want of use, we cannot so well express that we understand ; nor happily understand every thing so fully as we should : And so we humbly pray the Lord, for his mercy's sake, that he will take both us and our native countries, into his holy protection and defence. Amen.

By the Governour and Council, your Honours'  
and Worships' very good friends and neighbours.

*New-Plymouth, March 19th.*

[NEXT follows their reply to this our answer, very friendly, but maintaining their right and liberty to trade in those parts, which we had desired they would forbear; alleging that as we had authority and commission from our king; so they had the like from the States of Holland, which they would defend.]

August 7, 1627.

*Another of theirs upon our answer to their last, which I here omit.*

*An answer to the former letters.*

WE have received your \*letters, dated the 7th of August, and with them a rundlet of sugar, and two Holland cheeses, by John Jacobson of Wiring; for which we give you many thanks, and must remain your debtors till another time, not having any thing to send you for the present that may be acceptable: Further, you shall understand that it is also our resolution and hearty desire to hold and continue all friendship and good neighbourhood with you, as far as we may and lies in our power; we desire also that we might have opportunity (according as you write) by word of mouth, to confer together touching our mutual commerce and trading in such things as our countries afford; and would now have sent one, but that one of our boats is abroad, and we have much business at home: But if by the next you would please to depute one (according as you have propounded) to come hither and to confer hereabouts, we should be glad, and he should be welcome. If not, we shall send as soon as conveniently we can (after harvest) if we can know when your bark comes this way. We cannot likewise omit (out of our love and good affection toward you and the trust you repose in us) to give you warning of the danger which may befall you, that you may prevent it; for if you light either in the hands of those of Virginia, or the fishing ships, which come to New England, peradventure they will make prize of you, if they can, if they find you trading within those limits; as they surprised a colony of the French, not many years since, which was seated within these bounds: For howsoever you allege in your former letter, that you have navigated and traded in these parts above this twenty-six years, and that your company have now authority from the States and the Prince of Orange to do so; yet you must understand, that her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory, hath began to navigate and plant in these lands well nigh forty years ago, as appeareth by her patents and royal grants, conferred upon divers of her subjects, and since confirmed and enlarged by his late Majesty, and still continued by possession. Therefore it were best (in our opinion) that your masters should solicit the States, that they might come to some order and agreement with the King's Majesty and State of England hereabout, before any inconvenience befall; for howsoever you may be assured for ourselves, yet we should be sorry to hear you should sustain harm from any of our nation; but more of these things

\* This was wrote in their own tongue.

when we shall speak one with another : In the mean time we commit you and your affairs to the protection of the Highest.

Your loving friends, the Governour  
and Council of New-Plymouth,

WILLIAM BRADFORD,

*Plymouth, August 14, Anno 1627.*

*Governour, &c.*

*Their answer to this directed to myself thus superscribed :*

*Monsieur Monseigneur, William Bradford, Gouverneur in Nieu-Plemeūen.*

*This will I put in English and so will end with theirs, viz.*

**A**FTER the wishing of all good unto you, this serves to let you understand, that we have received your (acceptable) letters, dated the 14th of the last month, by John Jacobson of Wiring, who besides, by word of mouth, hath reported unto us your kind and friendly entertainment of him ; For which cause (by the good liking and approbation of the Directors and Council) I am resolved to come myself, in friendship to visit you, that we may by word of mouth friendly communicate of things together ; as also to report unto you the good will and favour that the Honourable Lords of the authorized West-Indian company bear towards you. And to show our willingness of your good accomodation, have brought with me some cloth of three sorts and colours, and a chest of white sugar, as also some *seawan*, &c. not doubting but, if any of them be serviceable unto you, we shall agree well enough about the prices thereof. Also John Jacobson aforesaid hath told me, that he came to you over land in six hours, but I have not gone so far this three or four years, wherefore I fear my feet will fail me ; so I am constrained to entreat you to afford me the easiest means, that I may, with least weariness, come to congratulate with you : So leaving other things to the report of the bearer, shall herewith end ; remembering my hearty salutations to yourself and friends, &c. from a-board the baik *Nassaū*, the 4th of October ; before Frenchman's point.

Your affectionate friend,

*Anno 1627.*

ISAAC DE RAZIER.

[SO, according to his request, we sent our boat for him, who came honourably attended with a noise of trumpeters ; he was their upper *commis*, or chief merchant, and second to the Governour ; a man of a fair and genteel behaviour, but soon after fell into disgrace amongst them ; by reason of their factions ; and thus at length we came to meet and deal together. We at this time bought sundry of their commodities, especially their *sewan* or *wampumpeack*, which was the beginning of a profitable trade with us and the Indians : We further understood, that their masters were willing to have friendship with us and to supply us with sundry commodities, and offered us assistance against the French



if need were. The which, though we know it was with an eye to their own profit, yet we had reason both kindly to accept it and make use of it : So after this sundry of them came often to us, and many letters passed between us, the which I will pass by, as being about particular dealings, and would not be here very pertinent ; only upon this passage we wrote one to their Lords and masters ; as followeth.]

*Right Honourable and Worthy Lords, &c.*

**W**E understand by your agent, Mr. Isaac Razier, who is at this present with us (and hath demeaned himself to your Honours' and his own credit) of your honourable and respective good intentions towards us, which we humbly acknowledge with all thankfulness, and shall ever be ready in the performance of all offices of good and christian neighbourhood, towards your colony and plantation here, and in all satisfactory correspondence to your Honours, so far as in us lieth, and may stand with our allegiance to the King's most excellent Majesty, our sovereign lord, the King of Great-Britain ; acknowledging ourselves tied in a strict obligation unto your country and state, for the good entertainment and free liberty which we had, and our brethren and countrymen yet there have and do enjoy, under our most honourable lords the States ; and so shall be ready to accommodate ourselves to your good satisfaction : For the propositions of your agent concerning the matter of trade and commerce, we will have due and respective consideration, wishing it had been sooner propounded at the beginning of the year, before we sent our factor into England and Holland about our trade and supplies ; for, till his return, we can determine of nothing, not yet knowing certainly what issue there will be of the business between the merchants our partners, and ourselves ; and therefore desire suspension of our determination and resolution herein till the next year, we being not yet altogether free in respect of our engagements unto them : In the mean time we will digest it in our best cogitations ; only we desire your Honours, that ye would take into your wise and honourable considerations, that which we conceive may be a hindrance to this accordation, and may be a means of much future evil, if it be not prevented, namely, that you clear the title of your planting in these parts, which his Majesty hath, by patent, granted to divers his nobles and subjects of quality ; least it be a bone of division in these stirring evil times, which God forbid : We persuade ourselves, that now may be easily and seasonably done, which will be harder and with more difficulty obtained hereafter, and perhaps not without blows ; so there may be assured peace and good correspondence on all parts, and ourselves more free and able to contract with your Honours. Thus commending our best service to our most noble Lords, praying for the prosperous success of your worthy designs, we rest your Lordships'

Most sincerely affected and bounden,

WILLIAM BRADFORD,

*Plymouth, Oct. 1, Anno 1627.*

*Governour, &c.*

[WE well knew likewise, that this dealing and friendship with the Dutch (though it was wholly sought of themselves) yet it would procure us envy from others in the land, and that at one time or other, our enemies would take occasion to raise slanders and frame accusations against us for it ; therefore, to prevent their malice, as also to shew the sincerity of our dealing and our loyal and dutiful respect to his Majesty and the Honourable Council for New England ; we sent their first letter (with their answer thereto and their reply to the same) unto the Council, as may appear more particularly by our letters following.]

*A letter to the Council of New England.*

*Right Honourable,*

**W**E held it our bounden duty to inform and acquaint your Lordships and Honours, with all such occurrences and matters, of note as do here befall, and may any way concern the estate of this country, in either the good or hurt thereof, which, next his Majesty, stands under your honourable governments and protection ; or which may, in any sort, be worthy your wise and prudent considerations. May it please your Honours and Lordships to understand, that of late we received letters from the Dutch plantation, who using to trade near unto us, had order to stay for an answer from us ; and the effect of their letters being friendly and congratulatory, we answered them in like sort ; since which time, we received another from them, but have had as yet no opportunity to give answer thereto. Their first letters were two,\* but both one in effect and verbatim, so far as the proprieties of the tongues will bear ; the French, with the copies both of our answer and their reply, we have here enclosed sent unto your Honours' view, that according to your honourable directions therein, we may govern ourselves, in our dealings with them. We further understand that for strength of men and fortification, they far exceed us, and all in this land. We cannot likewise forbear to complain unto your Lordships, of the irregular living of many in this land, who without either patent or licence, order or government, live, trade, and truck, not with any intent to plant, but rather to forage the country, and get what they can, whether by right or wrong, and then be gone : So as such, as have been and are at great charge to settle plantations, will not be able to subsist, if some remedy be not provided, both with these and the inordinate course of fishermen, who begin to leave fishing, and fall wholly to trading, to the great detriment of both the small beginning here, and the state of England, by the unprofitable consuming of the victuals of the land upon these salvages : Whereas plantations might here better raise the same in the land, and so be enabled both to subsist and to return the profit thereof into England for other necessaries, which would be beneficial to the commonwealth. Our humble suits therefore to

\* The one in French and the other in Dutch.

your good Lordships is, that you would take some such order for redress herein, as shall seem best to your honourable wisdoms, for the relief of all the plantations in the land. So in all humbleness we commit ourselves to your honourable direction, and you to the protection of the Almighty, resting

Yours ever at commandment,

WILLIAM BRADFORD,

*New-Plymouth, June 15, Anno 1627.*

*Gouverneur, &c.*

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*Another to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, touching the same subject.*

*Honourable Sir,*

**M**Y humble duty remembered ; we have of late received letters from the Dutch plantation, and have had speech with some of them ; I hold it my duty to acquaint your Worship and the rest of the Honourable Council therewith, unto whom we have likewise writ and sent the copies of their letters, that, together with their and your honourable directions, we may know how to order ourselves herein : They have used trading there this six or seven and twenty years, but have begun to plant of later time, and now have reduced their trade to some order, and confined it only to their company, which heretofore was spoiled by their seamen and interlopers, as ours is this year most notoriously, of whom we have made some complaint in our letters to the Council, not doubting but we shall find worshipful furtherance therein. We are now upon concluding with our adventurers, and shall be put upon hard straits by great payments, which we are enforced to make, for sundry years, or else to leave all, which will be to us very difficult ; and, to say the truth, if these disorders of fishermen and interlopers be not remedied, no plantations are able to stand, but will decay, whereas otherwise they may subsist and flourish : Thus in all humbleness I take leave, and rest,

At your service,

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

*Plymouth, June 15, Anno 1627.*

P. S. Besides the spoiling of the trade this last year, our boat and men had like to have been cut off by the Indians, after the fishermen were gone, for the wrongs which they did them, in stealing their skins and other abuses offered them, both the last year and this ; and besides they still continue to truck pieces, powder, and shot with them, which will be the overthrow of all, if it be not looked unto.

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[BUT I will now return to prosecute other letters out of England, touching our business and success thereof.]

*A letter of Mr. Shirley's.*

*To his worthy and loving friend, Mr. William Bradford, Governour of Plymouth, in New-England ; these.*

*Thrice worthy and beloved Sir,*

**I** HAVE received your letter of the 26th of May, by Mr. Gibs and Mr. Goff, and with all the barrel of skins according to the contents ; for which Mr. Beauchamp and I got a bill of store, and so took them up and sold them together at £78 12s. sterling, and since, Mr. Allerton hath received the money, as will appear by the account. It is true, as you write, your engagements are great, not only the purchase, but you are yet necessitated to take up the stock you work upon, and that not at 6 or 8 per cent. as it is here let out, but at 30, 40, yea and some 50 per cent. which were not your gains great, and God's blessing on your honest endeavours more than ordinary, it could not be that you should long subsist, in the maintaining of and upholding of your worldly affairs : And this your honest, wise, and discreet agent, Mr. Allerton, hath seriously considered, and so deeply laid to mind how to ease you of it, as I know it hath much troubled him : He told me you were contented to accept of me and some few others, to join with you in the purchase, as partners ; for which I kindly thank you and all the rest, and do willingly accept of it ; and though absent, shall willingly and readily be at such charge as you and the rest shall think meet ; and this year am contented to forbear my former £50 and two years' increase for the adventure, both which now makes £80, without any bargain or condition for the profit, you (I mean the generality) standing to the adventure outward and homeward : Now (not that I would seem to boast or seek for undeserved praise) I have persuaded Mr. Andrews and Mr. Beauchamp to do the like ; so as you are eased of that high state you were at the other two years, I say we leave it freely to yourselves, allow us what you please, and as God shall bless : I purpose, God willing, to be at charge of sending over a man or two ; and so doth Mr. Andrews and now Mr. Beauchamp ; for what course I run he desireth to do the same ; and though he have been or seemed somewhat harsh heretofore, yet now you shall find he is new moulded.

I also see, in your letter, your desire I should be your agent or factor here ; truly, Mr. Bradford, and our worthy governour, far be it from me to flatter you (for I profess to hate it) I have ever esteemed and found you so faithful, honest, and upright men, as I have even resolved with myself (God assisting me) to do you all the good that lieth in my power ; and therefore if you please to make choice of so weak a man, both for abilities and body, to perform your business, I promise, the Lord enabling me, to do the best I can, according to those abilities he hath given me, and wherein I fail, excuse me and blame yourselves, that you made no better choice ; now, because I am sickly and we are all mortal, I have advised Mr. Allerton to join Mr. Beauchamp with

me in your deputation, which I conceive to be very necessary and good for you ; your charge shall be no more, for it is not your salary makes me undertake your business : Sir, for your love and good counsel to my kinsman, I acknowledge myself much engaged unto you, I pray you be still the same, for I know he hath much need of it.

[The rest being news, and sundry passages about the Parliament, I omit as not pertinent to my purpose ; it was concluded as followeth.]

Thus fearing I have been troublesome in relating of things, I cease, heartily desiring the long continuance of your good health to the pleasure of the Lord, and commending you and yours, and all God's faithful people wheresoever, unto the guidance and safe protection of the Almighty, ever resting

Your faithful loving friend,  
JAMES SHIRLEY.

*London, Nov. 17, Anno 1628.*

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[BEING thus deeply engaged, and a few only of us being bound to make payment of all, yea in a double bond ; for besides our formal bonds, it was our credits and honesty that made our friends rest and rely upon us, assuring themselves, that if we lived and it was possible, we would see them have their monies : Therefore we thought it our safest and best course to come to some agreement with the people, to have the whole trade consigned to us for some years ; and so in the time to take upon us, to pay all the debts and set them free : Another reason which moved us to take this heavy burthen upon our shoulders was, our great desire to transport as many of our brethren of Leyden over unto us, as we could, but without this course we could never have done it, all here being (for peace and unity's sake) made joint purchasers with us, and every one thereby had as much interest as ourselves ; and many were very opposite here against us in respect of the great charge : Again we well knew, that, except we followed our trading roundly, we should never be able to do the one or the other ; therefore we sought means to have our patent enlarged, and to have some good trading places included therein ; that if we could not keep them thereby wholly to ourselves, yet that none should exclude or thrust us wholly out of them, as we well knew that some would have done, if we now had not laid hold of the opportunity : Therefore Mr. Allerton was sent over to prosecute these things, and to acquaint those few of our friends in England, whom the year before were joined purchasers with us, what agreements we had made and concluded with our people, and for what ends, and so to offer them to be our partners in trade and the whole business ; writing our letters unto them for that end.]

[*The copy of the covenants made with the people here followeth ; after the which were signed by them, we made division of the cattle and other things, every one having according to their proportion of shares, and so were set free from all engagements and debts, they resting wholly on our heads.*]

**A**RTICLES of agreement between the Colony of Plymouth in New England, of the one party ; and William Bradford, Captain Miles Standish, and Isaac Allerton, and such others as they shall take as partners and undertakers with them, on the other party, made the—

First, it is agreed and covenanted betwixt the said parties, that they, the said William Bradford, Captain Miles Standish, and Isaac Allerton, and such others as they shall take unto them, have undertaken, and do by these presents covenant and agree to pay, discharge, and acquit the said colony, of all the debts, both due for the purchase, or any other way belonging to the same, at the day of the date of these presents.

Secondly, the abovesaid parties are to have, and freely enjoy the pinnace, the boat at Manamett, and the shallop, called the Bass Boat, with all other implements to them belonging, that is in the store of the company ; with all the whole stock of furs, fells, beads, corn, wampumpeak, hatchets, knives, &c. that is now in the store, or any way due unto the same upon account.

Thirdly, that the aforesaid parties have the whole trade to themselves, their heirs and assigns, with all the privileges thereof, as the said colony doth now, or may use the same, for six full years, to begin the last of September next ensuing.

Fourthly, in further consideration of the discharge of the said debts, every several purchaser doth promise and covenant yearly to pay, or cause to be paid, to the abovesaid parties, during the full term of the said six years, three bushels of corn or six pounds of tobacco, at the undertakers' choice.

Fifthly, the said undertakers shall, during the aforesaid term, bestow £50 per annum in hose and shoes, to be brought over for the colony's use, to be sold them for corn, at 6s. per bushel.

Sixthly, that at the end of the said term of six years, the whole trade shall return to the use and benefit of the said colony, as before.

Lastly, if the aforesaid undertakers, after they have acquainted their friends in England with these covenants, do (upon the first return) resolve to perform them, and undertake to discharge the debts of the said colony, according to the true meaning and intent of these presents, then they are (upon such notice given) to stand in force, otherwise all things to remain as formerly they were, and a true account to be given to the said colony, of the disposing of all things, according to the former order.

[This agreement was by these subscribed ; for some would not subscribe, and some were from home.]

William Brewster,	Cudbert Cudbers,	William Palmer,
Stephen Hopkins,	John Adams,	Exper. Michell,
Francis Eaton,	Phineas Pratt,	Edward Bangs,
Jona. Brewster,	Stephen Trasie,	Samuel Fuller,
Manas. Kempton,	Edward Doty,	Robert Hicks,
Thomas Prince,	Joshua Pratt,	John Howland,
Anthony Anable,	Stephen Dean,	John Billington,
John Shaw,	Wm. Wright,	Peter Brown,
William Bassett,	Francis Cook,	John France.

[The names of the undertakers were these following, for the three before mentioned made choice of these other, and though they knew not their minds before (many of them being absent) yet they did presume they would join with them in the thing, as afterwards they did.]

William Bradford,	John Howland,	<i>And these of London.</i>
Captain Standish,	John Allden,	James Shirley,
Isaac Allerton,	Thomas Prince,	John Beauchamp,
Edward Winslow,		Richard Andrews,
William Brewster,		Timothy Hatherly.

[This year sundry that pretended themselves to be planters, seeing the gain the fishermen made by trading of pieces, and powder, and shot to the Indians, and how they went on uncontroled in the same, they began to practise the same : A principal head of whom was one Morton, who had gathered a profane crew unto him, and was himself an example of all wickedness unto them, who kept a house (or school rather of *Atheism*) in the Massachusetts bay. He not only had offended in trading off sundry pieces to the Indians, but when he was by his neighbours gently admonished of the same, and shewed the evil consequences that would follow thereupon, he took it in great scorn, and said he would do it in the despite of all ; and for that end sent for many new pieces out of England ; besides, as he and his consorts got much hereby, so they spent it as lewdly in maintaining drunkenness, riot, and other evils amongst them ; yea and inveigling of men's servants away from them, so as the mischief began to grow intolerable, and if it had been suffered a while longer would have become incurable ; his neighbours about him grew afraid of him, and suffered many abuses at his hands, and knew not how to help it ; but both they, and other of the weaker plantations made suit to us, to help and assist them to take some order with him and that desperate company ; we told them that we had no authority to do any thing, but seeing it tended to the utter ruin of all the whole country, we would join with them against so publick a mischief ; so we sent first again to admonish him, from ourselves and the rest, and signified unto him, that besides the hurt and peril he brought upon us all, his actions was flatly against a proclamation of the late king's majesty, published to all his subjects, both in

England and here, against the trucking of any pieces or other arms, to any of the savages ; his answer (after oaths and other contumelies) was, that proclamations were no law, nor enjoined no penalty ; he was answered, yes, the breakers incurred his majesty's displeasure, which might prove a penalty too heavy for him to bear ; he replied, that king was dead, and his displeasure died with him : Thus seeing no other remedy, at the earnest request of the other planters, and plantations in the land, we assisted and led in the apprehension of him (which was with danger enough, for he armed himself for resistance) and so, by the mutual consent of all the rest, he was sent prisoner into England,\* to the council of New England, with letters and information against him ; which letters follow :]

*To the Right Honourable, his Majesty's council for New England, these.*

*Right Honourable, and our very good Lords,*

**N**CESSITY hath forced us, his Majesty's subjects of New England in general (after long patience) to take this course with this troublesome planter, Mr. Thomas Morton, whom we have sent unto your Honours, that you may be pleased to take that course with him, which to your honourable wisdom shall seem fit ; who hath been often admonished not to trade or truck with the Indians, either pieces powder, or shot, which yet he hath done, and duly makes provision to do, and could not be restrained, taking in high scorn (as he speaks) that any here should controul therein : Now the general weakness of us, his Majesty's subjects, the strength of the Indians, and at this time their great preparations to do some affront upon us, and the evil example which it gives unto others, and having no subordinate general government, under your Honours, in this land, to restrain such misdemeanours, causeth us to be troublesome to your Lordships, to send this party unto you for remedy and redress hereof : And not only in respect to this particular delinquent, but of the fishing ships, who make it too ordinary a practice, with whom we have neither authority nor ability to deal, and who are more encouraged when the planters themselves are so licentious herein ; and therefore most humbly pray your Lordships, to take into your honourable considerations that some speedy course and remedy may be taken herein ; otherwise we shall be forced to quit the country, to our great grief, and dishonour to our nation ; for we shall be beaten with our own arms if we abide : And that which further presseth us to send this party, is the fear we have of the growing of him and his consorts to that strength and height, by the access of loose persons, his house be a receptacle for such, as we should not be able to restrain his inordinariness when we would, they living without all fear of God or common honesty, some of them abusing the Indian women most filthily, as it is notorious : And for further satisfaction of your Lordships, we have sent some particular testifications, which we aver upon the faith of christians to be true : And likewise this

\* And his consorts were dispersed.



bearer, Mr. John Oldham, who can give your Honours further information upon his oath, if need so require, whom we have sent with the prisoner, and to attend your Lordships' pleasures : And thus most humbly beseeching your Lordships and Honours to make a favourable construction of our honest intendments herein, of our loyalty and respective service to his Majesty, and our care for the common good of this country, thus we cease, and most humbly commend your Lordships and honours to the protection of the Highest.

Your Lordships most humble, &c.

*June 9, Anno 1628.*

[This letter was subscribed by some of the chief of every plantation ; but I have not their names to the copy, and therefore omit them ; yet they may in part be seen by that which was at the same time underwritten (in another paper) towards the charge, as followeth ; though it cost us a great deal more, and yet to little effect, as the event sheweth.

	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>
From Plymouth,	2	10
From Naumkeak,	1	10
From Pascataquack,	2	10
From Mr. Jeffrey and Mr. Burslem,	2	
From Natascot,	1	10
From Mrs. Thomson,		1
From Mr. Blackston,		12
From Edward Hilton,	1	
	<hr/>	
	12	7 ]

*We wrote this following, likewise, to Sir FERDINANDO GORGES.*

*Honourable Sir,*

**A**S you have ever been, not only a favourer, but also a most special beginner and furtherer of the good of this country, to your great cost and no less honour, we whose names are underwritten, being some of every plantation, in the land, deputed for the rest, do humbly crave your Worship's help and best assistance, in the speedy (if not too late) redress of our almost desperate state and condition in this place, expecting daily to be overrun and spoiled by the savages, who are already abundantly furnished with pieces, powder, and shot, swords, rapiers, and javelins ; all which arms and munition is this year plentifully and publicly sold unto them, by our own countrymen ; who, under the presence of fishing, come a trading amongst them ; yea, one of them (as your Worship may further understand by our particular informations) hath for his part sold twenty or twenty-one pieces, and one hundred weight of powder, by which you may conceive of the rest ; for we hear the savages have above sixty pieces amongst them ; besides other arms ; in a word there is almost nothing vendible amongst them, but such munition, so they have spoiled the trade in all other things ; and as

vice is always fruitful, so from the greedy covetousness of the fishermen, and their evil example, the like hath began to grow amongst some, who pretend themselves to be planters, though indeed they intend nothing less, but to take opportunity of the time, and provide themselves and begone, and leave others to quench the fire which they have kindled, of which number Mr. Thomas Morton is one, being of late a dweller in the Massachusetts Bay, and the head of a turbulent and seditious crew, which he had gathered unto him, who, dwelling in the midst of us, hath set up the like practice in these parts, and hath sold sundry pieces to the natives, who can use them with great dexterity, excelling our English therein, and have been vaunting with them, at Sowams, Narragansett, and many other places, so as they are spread both north and south, all the land over, to the great peril of all our lives. In the beginning of this mischief we sought friendly to dissuade him from it ; but he scorned us therein and prosecuted it the more ; so as we were constrained for the safety of ourselves, our wives, and innocent children, to apprehend him by force (though with some peril) and now have sent him to the council of New England, to receive according to his demerits, and be disposed of as their Honours shall think fit, for the preventing of further mischief, the safety of our lives, and the terror of all other delinquents in the same kind. Now our hope and humble request is, that your Worship, and those honourable of his Majesty's council for New England, will commiserate our case, tender our lives, and pity our infants ; and consider the great charges and expenses, that we, and our assistants and associates, have been at, besides all the miseries and hardships, that we have broken through in these beginnings, which have hitherto happily succeeded, for the planting of this country, which is hopeful, if it be cherished and protected against the cankered covetousness of these licentious men ; if not, we must return and quit the country : Wherefore we beseech your Worship to afford us your favourable assistance and direction, in bringing this man to his answer before those whom it may concern ; and to credit our true informations, sent by this bearer, lest by his audacious and coloured pretences, he deceive you, which know not things as we do ; as likewise that such fishermen may be called to account, for their great abuses offered this year and the last, as many as have been known to offend in this case ; and that your Worship for the time to come, would be a means, in what you may, that we may be strengthened with some authority, or good order amongst ourselves, for the redressing of the like abuses which may arise amongst us, till some general government be established in the land : Thus in hopeful assurance that your Worship will make a favourable construction of these our honest intendments and humble requests, we commend you to the protection of the Highest, and rest

*June 9, Anno 1628.*

At your service, &c.

[I now will come to the year 1629.

THIS year we had divers of our friends of Leyden come to us, as had long been desired, both of them and us, and by the good providence of God and the willing mindedness of our friends, was now in part effected, as will appear by this letter following.]

*To my worthy and well beloved friend, Mr. WILLIAM BRADFORD, &c.*

**M**OST loving and most respected Sir, having but two days past parted from my dear and only daughter, by reason whereof nature forceth me to be full of grief and heaviness (though otherwise, I bless God, I have cause to rejoice) be entreated therefore, to accept these few lines : First I acknowledge myself much engaged unto you for your love and care over my kinsman ; be entreated to enlarge my score by the continuance thereof : and as you for your particular have occasion, make use of me, and I hope the Lord will direct my heart not to be unthankful, nor unmindful of your love. Here are now many of your friends from Leyden coming over, which though for the most part they be but a weak company, yet herein is a good part of that end obtained which was first aimed at, and which hath been so strongly opposed by some of our former adventurers ; but God hath his working in these things, which man cannot frustrate : With them also we have sent some servants, or in the ship that went lately (I think called the Talbot) and this that these come in, is the May-flower. Now Mr. Andrews, Mr. Beauchamp, and myself, are with your love and liking, joined partners with you ; the like is Mr. Collier, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Hatherly, but they no doubt will write unto you : but Mr. Andrews and Mr. Beauchamp rely wholly on me ; they are such as Mr. Hatherly could take up, for whose care and pains you and we are much beholden unto him ; we have disbursed the charges of setting them out and transporting them over, and what allowance or agreement you and your assistants please to make with us, we will accept of ; nay, if you think meet, we should make them up two a piece, because our persons are absent, we will consent to what you do, and, upon your letter and answer, make good what we are too short, or what you desire herein ; Mr. Hatherly hath bound them, some upon one condition, and some upon another, as they could agree. I doubt not but beaver will continue a good price still, at 15 or 16 shillings per pound ; it is daily more and more worn here ; besides we have now peace with France, so as now much will be carried thither ; and there is some likelihood for a peace with Spain ; I pray God it may be for our good, which is much to be feared : Thus not being fit to write at this time, I shall cease with my love, and my wife's, most kindly remembered to you and yours, &c.

Your loving friend to command,  
JAMES SHIRLEY.

[THESE persons were in all thirty-five, which came at this time unto us from Leyden, whose charge out of Holland into England, and in England till the ship was ready, and then their transportation hither, came to a great deal of money ; for besides victuals and other expenses they were all newly appareled, for there was bought for them

Of Kersey, and other cloth,	125 yards.
Of Linen Cloth,	127 ells.
Of Shoes,	66 pair.

Besides hats and other necessaries needful for them ; and after their coming here, it was 16 months before they could reap any harvest, all which time they were kept at our charge, which was not small. As the Lord sent these unto us, both to their and our comfort, so at the same time he sent many other godly persons into the land, as the beginning of a plentiful harvest, as will appear more fully hereafter : So as the delay of our friends was now recompensed with a large increase, to the honour of God and joy of all good men ; these began to pitch at Naumkeak, since called by them Salem, to which place was come, in the latter end of summer before, a worthy gentleman Mr. John Endicott by name, and some others with him, to make some preparation for the rest ; to whom (by some that came hither from thence) I had occasion to write unto him, though unknown by face, or any other way, but as I had heard of his worth, from whom I received this letter following.]

*To the worshipful and my right worthy friend, WILLIAM BRADFORD, Esq. Governour of New Plymouth, these.*

*Right Worthy Sir,*

**I**T is a thing not usual, that servants to one master and of the same household should be strangers ; I assure you I desire it not, nay to speak more plainly, I cannot be so to you : God's people are marked with one and the same mark, and sealed with one and the same seal, and have for the main one and the same heart, guided by one and the same spirit of truth ; and where this is, there can be no discord, nay, here must needs be sweet harmony ; and the same request (with you) I make unto the Lord, that we may, as christian brethren, be united by an heavenly and unfeigned love, bending all our hearts and forces in furthering a work beyond our strength with reverence and fear, fastening our eyes always on him that only is able to direct and prosper all our ways. I acknowledge myself much bound to you, for your kind love and care, in sending Mr. Fuller amongst us, and rejoyce much that I am by him satisfied, touching your judgments, of the outward form of God's worship ; it is (as far as I can yet gather) no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained, ever since the Lord in mercy revealed himself unto me, being far differing from the common report that hath been spread of you touching that particular ; but God's children must not look for less here below, and it is the great mercy of God that he strengthens them, to go through with it. I

shall not need at this time to be tedious unto you, for, God willing, I purpose to see your face shortly : In the mean time I humbly take my leave of you, committing you to the Lord's blessed protection, and rest,  
Your assured loving friend and servant,

JOHN ENDICOTT.

*Naumkeak, May 11, Anno 1629.*

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[NOW shortly after the writing of this letter came these people before mentioned, and quickly grew into church order, and set themselves roundly to walk in all the ways of God as will appear by this letter following.]

*To the Worshippful, his worthy and much respected friend, Mr. BRADFORD, Governour of Plymouth, these.*

**M**OST worthy and much respected friend, Mr. Bradford ; I with my wife remember our service unto you and yours, thanking you most humbly for your great kindness, when we were at Plymouth with you : Sir, I make bold to trouble you with a few lines, for to certify you, how it hath pleased God to deal with us, since you heard from us ; how notwithstanding all opposition, that hath been here and elsewhere, it hath pleased God to lay a foundation, the which I hope is agreeable to his word, in every thing : The 20th of July, it pleased God to move the heart of our governour, to set it apart for a solemn day of humiliation for the choice of a pastor and teacher ; the former part of the day being spent in praise and teaching ; the latter part was spent about the election, which was after this manner ; the persons thought on (who had been ministers in England) were demanded concerning their callings ; they acknowledged there was a two-fold calling, the one an inward calling, when the Lord moved the heart of a man to take that calling upon him, and fitted him with gifts for the same ; the second (the outward calling) was from the people, when a company of believers are joined together in covenant, to walk together in all the ways of God, every member (being men) are to have a free voice in the choice of their officers, &c. Now we being persuaded that these two were so qualified as the apostle speaks of to Timothy, where he saith a bishop must be blameless, sober, apt to teach, &c. I think I may say as the eunuch said unto Philip, what should let him from being baptised, seeing there was water, and he believed ; so these two servants of God clearing all things by their answers (and being thus fitted) we saw no reason but that we might freely give our voices. for their election after this trial : Their choice was after this manner, every fit member wrote, in a note, his name whom the Lord moved him to think was fit for a pastor, and so likewise, whom they would have for teacher ; so the most voice was for Mr. Skelton to be pastor, and Mr. Higginson to be teacher ; and they accepting the choice, Mr. Higginson, with three or four more of the gravest members of the church, laid their hands on Mr. Skelton, using prayers therewith. This being done, then there was imposition

of hands on Mr. Higginson : Then there was proceeding in election of elders and deacons, but they were only named, and laying on of hands deferred, to see if it pleased God to send us more able men over ; but since Thursday, (being, as I take it, the 5th of August) is appointed for another solemn day of humiliation, for the full choice of elders and deacons and ordaining them ; now, good Sir, I hope, that you and the rest of God's people (who are acquainted with the ways of God) with you, will say that here was a right foundation laid, and that these two blessed servants of the Lord came in at the door, and not at the window : And thus I have made bold to trouble you with these few lines, desiring you to remember us to Mr. Brewster, Mr. Smith, Mr. Fuller, and the rest of the church ; so I rest, at your service in what I may till death,

CHARLES GOTT.

*Salem, July 30, Anno 1629.*

[BUT now I will return again to Mr. Shirley's letters, and see what he saith to our last agreement.]

*To his worthy and approved loving friend, Mr. WILLIAM BRADFORD,  
governour of Plymouth in New England, these,*

*Most worthy Sir, and my continual loving friend, Mr. BRADFORD,*

**Y**OUR letters of the 21st of May, from Plymouth, and of the 6th of Sept. 1629, from Salem, I have received, whereby I understand of your health and welfare, and all your friends, for which great mercies and blessings the Lord make us thankful. For answer of your loving letter and the many thanks for small courtesies, I say, in a word, I would I had power and ability to do for you and all honest men with you, according to my will and desire ; but though I came short in the former, I hope the Lord will continue my love in affection, and that you will accept of what I can do : Your deputation we have received, and the goods have been taken up and sold by your faithful agent, Mr. Allerton, myself having been in Holland near three months this summer, at Amsterdam and other places, about my affairs : I see further the agreement you have made with the generality, in which I cannot understand but you have done very well, both for them and you, and also for your friends at Leyden ; Mr. Beauchamp, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Hatherly, and myself, do so like it and approve of it, as we are willing to join with you in it, and, as it shall please God to direct and enable us, will be assisting and helpful to you the best that possibly we can : Nay, had you not taken this course, I do not see how you should have accomplished the end you first aimed at, and some others endeavoured these years past : We know it must keep us from the profit, which otherwise, by the blessing of God and

your endeavours, might be gained ; for most of those which came in May last unto you, as also these now sent, though I hope honest and good people, yet not like to be helpful to raise profit ; but rather, nay certain, must, a good while, be chargeable to you and us ; at which it is likely, had not this wise and discreet course been taken, many of your generality would have grudged : Again you say well in your letter (and I make no doubt but you will perform it) that now being but few on whom the burden must be, you will both manage it the better and set to it more cheerfully, having no discontents nor contradiction, but so lovingly joined together in affection and counsel, as God no doubt but will bless and prosper your honest labours and endeavours : and therefore in all respects I do not see but you have done marvellously, discreetly, and advisedly, and no doubt but it gives all parties good content. I mean that are reasonable and honest men, such as make conscience in giving the best satisfaction they are able for their debt, and that regard not their own particular, so much as the accomplishing of that good end for which this business was first intended.

Sir, for our business I shall refer you to our general letter, which way of advice I would entreat you to use, and write a general letter, naming therein Mr. Beauchamp, Mr. Andrews, and Mr. Hatherly, with myself, though, this time, they did not, nay, Mr. Hatherly would, but could not, write to you. Sir, I must of force break off. My wife desires to be remembered to you and yours, and I think she hath put up a small token (as a pair of stockings) for you; thus desiring the Lord to bless and prosper you, and all your, and our honest endeavours, I ever rest

Your unfeigned and ever loving friend,

JAMES SHIRLEY.

*March 8, Anno 1629.*

P. S. Mr. Bradford, give me leave to put you in mind of one thing ; here are many of your Leyden people now come over, and though I have ever had good thoughts of them, yet believe not every one, what they shall report of Mr. Allerton ; he hath been a trusty honest friend to you all, either there or here : And if any do (as I know some of them are apt to) speak ill of him, believe them not. Indeed they have been unreasonably chargeable, yet grudge and are not contented : Verily their indiscreet carriage here hath so abated my affection towards them, as were Mrs. Robinson well over, I would not disburse one penny for the rest.

[This offence was given by some of them, which redounded to the prejudice of the whole ; and indeed our friends which sent this latter company were to blame ; for they now sent all the weakest and poorest, without any of note and better discretion and government amongst them, contrary to our minds and advice ; for they thought, if these were got over, the other might come when they would ; but partly this distaste, but especially the great charge, which both these companies came to, coming so near together, put a bar in the way : for though this

company were the fewer in number, yet their charge came to a 100<sup>l</sup> more. And notwithstanding this indiscretion, yet they were such as feared God, and were to us both welcome and useful, for the most part; they were also kept at our charge eighteen months, and all new apparelled and all other charges defrayed.



*Another of Mr. SHIRLEY's, to our worthy and beloved friends Mr. WILLIAM BRADFORD governour, and the rest of our loving partners, these, at Plymouth in New England.*

**M**OST worthy and loving friends, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Brewster, Captain Standish, and Mr. Winslow, with the rest; you may marvel I join you all in one letter, having many letters from you: But Mr. Allerton may make excuse for me in this particular; it is true I have had some of your letters in July, and some since by Mr. Peirce, but till our main business, the patent, was granted, I could not set my mind nor pen to writing; and Mr. Allerton was so turmoiled about it, and found so many difficulties and oppositions, as verily I would not, nay, could not, have undergone it, if I might have had a thousand pounds; but the Lord so blessed his labours (even beyond expectation in these evil days) as he obtained love and favour of great men in repute and place; he got granted from the Earl of Warwick and Sir Ferdinando Gorges all Mr. Winslow desired in his letters to me, and more also, which I leave him to relate: Then he sued to the King to confirm their grant and to make you a Corporation, and so to enable you to make and execute laws in such large and ample manner, as the Salem or Massachusetts plantation hath it, which the King graciously granted, referring it to the Lord Keeper to give order to the Solicitor to draw it up, if there were a precedent for it; so the Lord Keeper (the best of his rank) furthered it all he could, and also the Solicitor; but, as Festus said to Paul, with no small sum obtained I this freedom, for by the way there were many riddles which must be resolved, and many locks must be opened with the silver, nay, the golden key; then it was to come to the Lord Treasurer, to have his warrant for freeing the custom for a certain time: but he would not do it, but referred it to the Council table, and there Mr. Allerton attended day by day, that they sat, and made great means and friends, both of lords and secretaries, for the furtherance of it, but they were so full of other great matters as he could not get his, or rather Mr. Bradford's petition read, and (by reason of Mr. Peirce, his being and staying with all the passengers at Bristol, even ready to set sail, and the wind good) he was forced to leave the further tending and prosecuting of it to a Solicitor, and come for Bristol; but there is no fear nor doubt but it will be granted; for he hath the chief of them to friend; yet it will be marvellous needful for him to return by the first ships that come from thence, for if you had this granted, then were you complete, and



might bear such sway and government, as were fit for your rank and place that God hath called you unto, and stop the mouths of base and scurrilous fellows, that are ready to question and threaten you in every action you do : And besides, if you have the custom free for seven years inward and twenty-one years outward, the charge of the patent will soon be recovered, and there is no fear of obtaining it ; only such things must work by degrees, men cannot hasten it as they would ; wherefore we (I write here, in the behalf of all our partners) desire you to be earnest with Mr. Allerton, and with his wife, here to come, and she to spare him this one year (nay I hope but a few months more) to finish this great and weighty business, which we conceive will be much for your good and well and sure subsisting, yea, and I hope for your posterity, and for many generations to come ; for I am persuaded Sir Ferdinando (how loving and friendly soever he seems to be) knows he can, nay, purposeth to overthrow, at his pleasure, all the patents he grants, but, this being obtained, he will be frustrate of his intent ; and unless a Parliament should call them in (which is not likely) you need not fear, as Mr. Allerton can further certify you, and so much for this \*costly and tedious business ; now I see what most of your letters signify unto me, concerning the contracting of ourselves into a fewer number for the managing of our business and paying of our debts, which I confess are great and needful to be carefully considered of ; and no doubt but we, joining in love, may soon overcome them, but we must follow it roundly and to purpose, for if we piddle out the time in our trade, others will step in and nose us ; but we know and consider you have that acquaintance and experience as none the like in the country ; wherefore, loving friends and partners, be no ways discouraged with the greatness of the debt (of which I refer you to the accounts, being the only cause of my being at Bristol, and, if time permit and God enable me, shall be brought in some good and plain form) let us not fulfil the proverb, bestow tweldepence on a purse, and put sixpence in it ; but as you and we have been at great charge, and undergone much for settling of you there, and to gain experience ; so, as God shall please to enable us, let us make use of it, and not think with 50l. a year sent you over, to raise such means as to pay our debts.† We see a possibility of good, if you be well supplied and fully furnished, and chiefly, if you do lovingly, and as you do (and well you do) profess to be brethren, so say as Abraham said to Lot, let there be no contention because we are brethren : I know I write to godly, wise, and understanding men, such as have learned to bear one another's infirmities and rejoice at any one's prosperity ; and if I were able, I would press this the more, because it is hoped by some of your and our enemies, that you will fall out amongst yourselves, and so overthrow our hopeful business ; nay, I have heard it credibly reported, that some have said

\* It was costly indeed, in the conclusion.

† Here the sum of the debts and other things were blotted out again.

that till you be disjointed, by discontents and factions amongst yourselves, it boots not for any to go over, in hope of getting or doing good in these parts ; but we hope better things of you, and that you will not only bear one with another, and persuade, and that effectually, one another to the contrary, but that you will banish such thoughts, and not suffer them to lodge in your breasts ; it is certain, offences will come, but woe unto them, by whom they come, and blessed is the peace maker ; which blessedness I know you all desire, and God grant you may disappoint the hopes of your foes, and procure the hearty desire of yourselves and friends in this particular. I am further to acquaint you that we have sent you a large supply for your magazine, or trade, and also that we have thought good to join with one Edward Ashley (a man I think whom most of you know) but it is only of that place whereof he hath a patent, in Mr. Beauchamp's name ; and to that end have furnished him with large provisions ; now if you please to be partners with us in this, we are willing you shall, for after we understood how willing and forward Bristol men, and, as I hear, some able men of his own kindred have been to stock and supply him, hoping of profit, we thought fit for us to lay hold of such an opportunity, and a kind of running plantation, rather than other who have not borne the burden of settling a plantation, as we have done ; and he, on the other side, like an understanding young man, thought it better to join with those that had means, by a plantation, to supply and back him there, rather than strangers, that look but only after profit : Indeed the Salem partners here, as Mr. Humfries, Mr. Johnson ; but chiefly Mr. Cradock and Mr. Winthrop, would fain have joined with him, and, when that could not be, with us, in that business ; but we not willing, and they failing, they said he would strip them of all trade in those parts ; and therefore they so crossed him and us in the taking of the patent, as we could not have it but to join their name with ours in it, though Knights, and men of good rank and near the King, spake in his behalf ; and this I conceive they did only to bring it to pass, that they might join with us : Now it is not known that you are partners with him, or you and we joined partners with him, but only we four, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Beauchamp, and myself, and Mr. Hatherly, who desired to have the patent in consideration of our great loss we have already sustained in settling of the first plantation there ; so in conclusion we agree together to take it in both our names : And now as I said before, if you please to join with us, we are willing you should partake with us in the profits, if it please God to send any : Mr. Allerton had no power from you to make this new contract, neither was he willing to do any thing therein without your consent and approbation. Mr. William Peirce is joined with us in this, and we thought it very convenient because of landing Edward Ashley and his goods there, if it please God, wind and weather serving, as I hope it will, and he will bend his course accordingly ; he hath a new boat hence with him and boards to make another ; and as I think four or five lusty fellows, whereof one is a carpenter : Now in

gase you are not willing to join in this particular with us, fearing the charge and doubting the success, yet thus much we would entreat of you to afford him all the help you can, either by men, commodities, or boats, yet not but that he will pay you for any thing that he hath ; for I will and so desire you to keep the accounts apart, though you join with us ; because there is (as you see) other partners in this, than in the other ; so for all men's wages, boats hire, or commodities which he shall have of you, make him debtor for it, and what you shall have of him, make the plantation or yourselves, debtors for it to him ; and so there need be no mingling of the accounts. And now, loving friends and partners. if you join in Edward Ashley's patent and business (as I cannot see but it is for your good to do) though we have laid out the money and taken up much to stock this business and the other, yet I think it conscionable and reasonable that you should bear your shares and proportion of the stock, if not by present money, yet by securing us for so much as it shall come to ; for it is not barely the interest that is to be allowed and considered of, but the adventure ; though I hope by the blessing of God and your honest endeavours, it may soon be payed ; the years that this partnership holds is not long nor many, let all therefore lay it to heart, and make the best use of the time that possibly we can ; and let every man set to his shoulder and the burden will be the lighter, for though some speak or write not of it, but are contented to do as I do, and wholly rely on me, yet I would be loath they should think themselves hardly dealt with all ; but I know you are so honest and conscionable men, as you will take it into consideration and return such answer as may give good satisfaction ; there is none of us would have ventured as we do, were it not to strengthen, settle, and do you good, more than our own particular profit : Mr. Fogge, Mr. Coalson, and Mr. Thomas, though they seemed earnest to be partners, yet when they saw the debt and charge, fell themselves off, and left you, us, and the business ; but some, though honest, yet I think they minded their own particular profit so much, as both you and we may be glad we are rid of them. For Mr. Collier, verily I could have wished it would have sorted with his other affairs, to have been one of us, but he could not spare money, and we thought it not reasonable to take in any partner, unless he were willing and able to spare money, and to lay down his portion of the stock ; however, account of him as a sure friend, both ready and willing to do you all the offices of a firm friend. There is no possibility of doing any good in buying the debt for the purchase : I know some will not rebate the interest, and therefore let it run its course ; they are to be paid yearly, and so I hope they shall according to the agreement. I have much more to write but want time, and so must be forced abruptly to break off, desiring the Lord to bless you, and us all, and all our honest endeavours, and grant that our loves and affections may still be united and knit together in the Lord ; and so we rest your ever loving friends,

JAMES SHIRLEY,  
TIMOTHY HATHERLEY.

*Bristol, March 19, Anno 1629.*

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[THUS it appears that our debts were now grown great about the coming over of these two companies of the Leyden people, and the large expenses about the patents, which indeed proved to be large and excessive when we saw them. About this business of Ashley's, we were forced to join in it, though we did not much like it (for the person's sake, whom we feared was a knave) for if we should have furnished him with commodities and assistance, it would much have hindered our own trade ; and if we should have denied this their request, we should have lost the favour of such good friends ; so we thought it the safest way to join with them herein, according to their offer, though we ran a great hazard. This last company of our friends came at such a time of the year, as we were fain to keep them eighteen months at our charge, ere they could reap any harvest to live upon ; all which together, fell heavy upon us and made the burthen greater ; that if it had not been God's mercy, it is a wonder we had not sunk under it, especially other things concurring, whereby we were greatly crossed in our supplies for trade, by which these sums should have been repaid. With this latter company of our brethren, came over many worthy and able men into the country (or rather ours with them) amongst whom was that worthy and godly gentleman, Mr. John Winthrop, governour of the Massachusetts ; and so began the plantations there, which have since much grown and increased under his godly, able, and prudent government, and the church of God especially, to the rejoicing of our, and the hearts of all good men ; of whose beginnings and proceedings something may be gathered by a letter or two of some of our own, who were then there by occasion, which follow :]

*A letter to myself, from SAMUEL FULLER, being (at this time) in the bay of Massachusetts.*

SIR,

THE gentlemen here lately come over (as I suppose you understand of their arrival ere this, by Jonathan Brewster) are resolved to sit down at the head of Charles river, and they of \*Matapan purpose to go and plant with them. I have been at Matapan, at the request of Mr. Warham, and let some twenty of these people blood ; I had conference with them, till I was weary. Mr. Warham holds that the invisible church may consist of a mixed people, godly, and openly ungodly ; upon which point we had all our conference, to which, I trust, the Lord will give a blessing. Here is come over, with these gentlemen, one Mr. Phillips (a Suffolk man) who hath told me in private, that if they will have him stand minister, by that calling which he received from the prelates in England, he will leave them. The Governour is a godly, wise, and humble gentleman, and very discreet, and of a fine and good temper. We have some privy enemies in the bay, but (blessed be God) more friends ; the Governour hath had conference with me, both in private

\* Since called Dorchester

and before sundry others ; opposers there is not wanting, and satan is busy ; but if the Lord be on our side, who can be against us ; the Governour hath told me he hoped we will not be wanting in helping them, so that I think you will be sent for. Here is a gentleman, one Mr. Cottington, a Boston man, who told me, that Mr. Cotton's charge at Hampton was, that they should take advice of them at Plymouth, and should do nothing to offend them. Captain Endicott (my dear friend, and a friend to us all) is a second Burrow ; the Lord establish him, and us all in every good way of truth. Other things I would have writ of, but time prevents me ; again I may be with you before this letter ; remember me unto God in your prayers, and so I take my leave, with my loving salutations to yourself and all the rest.

Yours in the Lord Christ,

SAMUEL FULLER.

Massachusetts, June 28, Anno 1630.

*To our loving brethren and christian friends, Mr. WILLIAM BRADFORD, Mr. RALPH SMITH, and Mr. WILLIAM BREWSTER, these be.*

*Beloved, &c.*

**B**EING at Salem the 25th of July, being the Sabbath, after the evening exercise, Mr. Johnson having received a letter from the Governour, Mr. Winthrop, manifesting the hand of God to be upon them, and against them, at Charlestown, in visiting them with sickness, and taking divers from amongst them, not sparing the righteous, but partaking with the wicked in those bodily judgments, it was therefore by his desire, taken into the godly consideration of the best here, what was to be done to pacify the Lord's wrath ; and they would do nothing without our advice, I mean those members of our church, there known unto them, viz. Mr. Fuller, Mr. Allerton, and myself, requiring our voices, as their own, when it was concluded, that the Lord was to be sought in righteousness ; and so to that end the sixth day (being Friday) of this present week is set apart, that they may humble themselves before God, and seek him in his ordinances ; and that then also such godly persons that are amongst them and known each to other, publickly at the end of their exercise, make known their godly desire, and practise the same, viz. solemnly to enter into covenant with the Lord to walk in his ways ; and since they are so disposed of in their outward estates, as to live in three distinct places, each having men of ability amongst them, there to observe the day, and become three distinct bodies ; not then intending rashly to proceed to the choice of officers, or the admitting of any other into their society than a few, to wit, such as are well known unto them, promising after to receive in such, by confession, as shall appear to be fitly qualified for that estate ; and, as they desired to advise with us, so do they earnestly entreat that the church at Plymouth would set

apart the same day, for the same ends, beseeching God as to withdraw his hand of correction, so to establish and direct them in his ways : and though the time be very short, yet since the causes are so urgent, we pray you be provoked to this godly work, wherein God will be honoured, and they and we undoubtedly have sweet comfort in so doing. Be you all kindly saluted in the Lord, together with the rest of our brethren : The Lord be with you and his spirit direct you, in this and all other actions that concern his glory and the good of his :

Your brethren in the faith of Christ,  
And fellowship of the gospel,  
*Salem, July 26, Anno 1630.*

SAMUEL FULLER,  
EDWARD WINSLOW.

*To his loving friend, Mr. WILLIAM BRADFORD, Governour of Plymouth, these.*

SIR,

**T**HERE is come hither a ship (with cattle, and more passengers) on Saturday last ; which brings this news out of England ; that the plague is sore, both in the city and country, and that the University of Cambridge is shut up by reason thereof ; also, that there is like to be a great dearth in the land by reason of a dry season: The Earl of Pembroke is dead, and Bishop Laud is Chancellor of Oxford ; and that five sundry ministers are to appear before the High Commission, amongst whom, Mr. Cotton, of Boston, is one. The sad news here is, that many are sick, and many are dead ; the Lord in mercy look upon them ! Some are here entered into a church covenant, the first was four, namely, the Governour, Mr. John Winthrop, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Willson ; since that, five more are joined unto them, and others it is like will add themselves to them daily. The Lord increase them. both in number and holiness, for his mercy's sake. I here but lose time and long to be at home : I can do them no good, for I want drugs, and things fitting to work with. I purpose to be at home this week (if God permit) and Mr. Johnson and captain Endicott will come with me ; and upon their offer, I requested the Governour to bear them company, who is desirous to come, but saith he cannot be absent two hours. Mrs. Cottington is dead. Here are divers honest christians that are desirous to see us ; some out of love, which they bear to us, and the good persuasion they have of us ; others to see whether we be so evil, as they have heard of us. We have a name of love and holiness to God and his saints ; the Lord make us answerable, and that it may be more than a name, or else it will do us no good. Be you lovingly saluted, and my sisters, with Mr. Brewster, and Mr. Smith, and all the rest of our friends. The Lord Jesus bless us and the whole Israel of God. Amen.

Your loving brother in law,  
*Charlestown, August 2, Anno 1630.*

SAMUEL FULLER.

[But this worthy gentleman, Mr. Johnson, was prevented of his journey, for shortly after he fell sick and died, whose loss was great and much bewailed.]

[The following lines having some relation to the soil, the productions, and the history of the country, are now first printed on that account, and not for any poetical beauties to be discovered in them—they may afford some entertainment; and as they seem to be within the views of the society, they are submitted to the publick.]

A DESCRIPTIVE AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF NEW ENGLAND IN VERSE; FROM A MS. OF WILLIAM BRADFORD, GOVERNOUR OF PLYMOUTH COLONY.

(A fragment.)

**F**AMINE once we had———  
But other things God gave us in full store,  
As fish and ground nuts, to supply our strait,  
That we might learn on providence to wait;  
And know, by bread man lives not in his need,  
But by each word that doth from God proceed.  
But a while after plenty did come in,  
From his hand only who doth pardon sin.  
And all did flourish like the pleasant green,  
Which in the joyful spring is to be seen.

Almost *ten* years we lived *here* alone,  
In other places there were few or none;  
For *Salem* was the next of any fame,  
That began to augment New England's name;  
But after multitudes began to flow,  
More than well knew themselves where to bestow;  
*Boston* then began her roots to spread,  
And quickly soon she grew to be the head,  
Not only of the Massachusetts Bay,  
But all trade and commerce fell in her way.  
And truly it was admirable to know,  
How greatly all things here began to grow.  
New plantations were in each place begun  
And with inhabitants were filled soon.  
All sorts of grain which our own land doth yield,  
Was hither brought, and sown in every field:  
As wheat and rye, barley, oats, beans, and pease  
Here all thrive, and they profit from them raise,  
All sorts of roots and herbs in gardens grow,  
Parsnips, carrots, turnips, or what you'll sow,  
Onions, melons, cucumbers, radishes,  
Skirets, beets, coleworts, and fair cabbages.  
Here grows fine flowers many, and 'mongst those,  
The fair white lily and sweet fragrant rose.  
Many good wholesome berries here you'll find,  
Fit for man's use, almost of every kind,

78. *Governour Bradford's Account of New England.*

Pears, apples, cherries, plumbs, quinces, and peach,  
Are *now* no dainties ; you may have of each.  
Nuts and grapes of several sorts are here,  
If you will take the pains them to seek for.

Cattle of every kind do fill the land ;  
Many now are kill'd, and their hides tann'd :  
By which men are supply'd with meat and shoes,  
Or what they can, though much by wolves they lose.  
Here store of cows, which milk and butter yield,  
And also oxen, for to till the field ;  
Of which great profit many now do make,  
If they have a fit place and able pains do take.  
Horses here likewise now do multiply,  
They prosper well, and yet their price is high.  
Here are swine, good store, and some goats do keep,  
But now most begin to get store of sheep,  
That with their wool their bodies may be clad,  
In time of straits, when things cannot be had ;  
For merchants keep the price of cloth so high,  
As many are not able the same to buy.  
And happy would it be for people here,  
If they could raise cloth for themselves to wear ;  
And if they do themselves hereto apply,  
They would not be so low, nor some so high.  
As I look back, I cannot but smile,  
To think how some did themselves beguile,  
When called first, went at so high a rate,  
They did not think how soon they might abate ;  
For many then began to look so high,  
Whose hopes, soon after, in the dust did lie.  
So vain is man ! if riches do abide  
A little, he's soon lift up with pride.  
A cow then was at twenty pounds and five,  
Those who had increase could not choose but thrive ;  
And a cow calf, ten or twelve pounds would give,  
As soon as weaned, if that it did live.  
A lamb or kid was forty shillings price,  
Men were earnest for them, lest they should rise.  
And a milch goat was at three or four pound ;  
All cattle at such prices went off round.  
In money and good cloth, they would you pay,  
Or what good thing else that you would say.  
And both swine and corn was in good request ;  
'To the first comers this was a harvest.

But that which did 'bove all the rest excel,  
God in his word, with us he here did dwell ;



Well ordered churches in each place there were,  
And a learn'd ministry was planted here.  
All marvell'd and said, " Lord, this work is thine,  
In the wilderness to make such lights to shine."  
And truly it was a glorious thing,  
Thus to hear men pray, and God's praises sing,  
Where these natives were wont to cry and yell  
To satan, who 'mongst them doth rule and dwell.  
Oh, how great comfort was it now to see,  
The churchtes to enjoy free liberty !  
And to have the gospel preach'd here with power,  
And such wolves repell'd as would else devour ;  
And now with plenty their poor souls were fed,  
With better food than wheat, or angels' bread ;  
In green pastures they may themselves solace,  
And drink freely of the sweet springs of grace ;  
A pleasant banquet is prepar'd for these,  
Of fat things, and rich wine upon the lees ;  
" Eat, O my friends, (saith Christ) and drink freely,  
Here's wine and milk, and all sweet spicery ;  
The honey and its comb is here to be had,  
I myself for you have this banquet made :  
Be not dismayed, but let your heart rejoice  
In this wilderness, O let me hear your voice ;  
My friends you are, whilst you my ways do keep,  
Your sins I'll pardon, and your good I'll seek."  
And they, poor souls, again to Christ do say,  
" O Lord, thou art our hope, our strength, and stay ;  
Who givest to us all these thy good things ;  
Us shelter still in the shadow of thy wings :  
So we shall sing, and laud thy name with praise,  
'Tis thine own work, to keep us in thy ways ;  
Uphold us still, O thou which art most high,  
We then shall be kept, and thy name glorify ;  
Let us enjoy thyself, with these means of grace,  
And in our hearts shine; with the light of thy face ;  
Take not away thy presence, nor thy word,  
But, we humbly pray, us the same afford."

To the north, or south, or which way you'll wind,  
Churches now are spread, and you'll pasture find.  
Many men of worth, for learning and great fame,  
Grave and godly, in to these parts here came :  
As HOOKER, COTTON, DANFORTH, and the rest,  
Whose names are precious and elsewhere express'd ;  
And many among these, you might soon find,  
Who in some things, left not their like behind.

But some of these are dead, and others aged be,  
 Lord, do thou supply, in thy great mercy ;  
 How these their flocks did feed, with painful care,  
 Their labours, love, and fruitful works declare ;  
 They did not spare their time and lives to spend,  
 In the Lord's work, unto their utmost end :  
 And such as still survive do strive the more,  
 To do like them that have gone before :  
 Take courage then, for ye shall have reward,  
 That in this work are faithful to the Lord.  
 Example take hereby, you that shall come,  
 In after time when these their race have run.

A prudent Magistracy here was placed,  
 By which the Churches defended were and graced ;  
 And this new commonwealth in order held,  
 And sin, that foul iniquity, was quell'd :  
 Due, right, and justice, unto all was done,  
 Without delay ; men's suits were ended soon.  
 Here were men sincere, and upright in heart,  
 Who from justice and right would not depart :  
 Men's causes they would scan and well debate,  
 But all bribes and corruption they did hate ;  
 The truth to find out they would use all means,  
 And so, for that end, they would spare no pains.  
 Whilst things thus did flourish and were in their prime,  
 Men thought it happy and a blessed time,  
 To see how sweetly all things did agree ;  
 Both in Church and State, there was an amity ;  
 Each to the other mutual help did lend,  
 And to God's honour all their ways did tend,  
 In love and peace, his truth for to retain,  
 And God's service how best for to maintain.  
 Some of these are gone, others do grow gray,  
 Which doth show us they have not long to stay :  
 But God will still for his people provide  
 Such as be able, them to help and guide,  
 If they cleave to him, and do not forsake  
 His laws and his truth, their own ways to take.  
 If thou hast view'd the camp of Israel,  
 How God in the wilderness with them did dwell ;  
 And led them long in that dangerous place,  
 Through fears and trials for so long a space ;  
 And yet they never saw more of his glory,  
 Than in this time where he advanced them high.  
 His great and marvellous works they here saw,  
 And he them taught, in his most holy law.

A small emblem hereof thou mayest see,  
How God hath dealt with these, in some degree ;  
For much of himself they now here have seen,  
And marvellous to them his works have been.

I am loath indeed to change my theme,  
Thus of God's precious mercies unto them ;  
Yet I must do it, though it is most sad,  
And if it prove otherwise, I shall be glad.  
Methinks I see some great change at hand,  
That ere long will fall upon this poor land ;  
Not only because many are took away,  
Of the best rank, but virtue doth decay,  
And true godliness doth not now so shine,  
As some while it did, in the former time ;  
But love and fervent zeal do seem to sleep,  
Security and the world on men do creep ;  
Pride and oppression, they do grow so fast,  
As that all goodness they will eat out at last.  
Whoredom, and drunkenness, with other sin,  
Will cause God's judgments soon to break in,  
And whimsy errors have now got such a head,  
And, under notion of conscience, do spread ;  
So as whole places with them now are stain'd,  
Whereas goodness, sometime before hath reign'd.  
Where godliness abates, evil will succeed,  
And grow apace like to the noisome weed ;  
And if there be not care their growth to stop,  
All godliness it soon will overtop.  
Another cause of our declining here,  
Is a *mixt multitude*, as doth appear ;  
Many for servants hitherto were brought,  
Others came for gain, or worse ends they sought ;  
And of these, many grew loose and profane,  
Though some are brought to know God and his name.  
But thus it is, and hath been so of old,  
As by the scriptures we are plainly told ;  
For when, as from Egypt God's people came,  
A mixed multitude got in among them,  
Who with the rest murmur and lust did they,  
In wants, and fell at *Kibroth Hatavah*.  
And whereas the Lord doth sow his good seed,  
The enemy, he brings in tares and weed ;  
What need therefore there is that men should watch,  
That Satan them not at advantage catch ;  
For ill manners and example are such,  
As others do infect and corrupt much :

Chiefly if they be unstaide and young,  
 And with all persons do converse among ;  
 Yea some are so wretched and full of vice,  
 As they take pleasure others to entice ;  
 And though it be a thing most vile and bad,  
 Yet they will do it, and thereat be glad ;  
 And laugh and scoff, when any they draw in  
 For to do evil, and to commit sin.  
 But let these, and all profane scoffers, know,  
 That unto God they do a reckoning owe,  
 And to account ere long he will them bring,  
 When they must answer for this, their foul sin.  
 Was it not enough for them evil to do,  
 But they must needs cause others do so too ?  
 Herein indeed they act the devil's part,  
 And if they repent not, with him they'll smart ;  
 For God to such is a consuming fire,  
 And they shall perish in his dreadful ire.

But a most desperate mischief here is grown,  
 And a great shame it is it should be known :  
 But why should I conceal so foul a thing,  
 That quickly may our hurt and ruin bring !  
 For base covetousness hath got such a sway,  
 As our own safety we ourselves betray ;  
 For these fierce natives, they are now so fill'd  
 With guns and muskets, and in them so skill'd,  
 As that they may keep the English in awe,  
 And when they please, give to them the law ;  
 And of powder and shot they have such store,  
 As sometimes they refuse for to buy more ;  
 Flints, screw-plates, and moulds for all sorts of shot  
 They have, and skill how to use them have got ;  
 And mend and new stock their pieces they can,  
 As well in most things as an Englishman.  
 Thus like madmen we put them in a way,  
 With our own weapons us to kill and slay ;  
 That gain hereof to make they know so well,  
 The fowl to kill, and us the feathers sell.  
 For us to seek for deer it doth not boot,  
 Since now with guns themselves at them can shoot.  
 That garbage, of which we no use did make,  
 They have been glad to gather up and take ;  
 But now they can themselves fully supply,  
 And the English of them are glad to buy.  
 And yet, if that was all, it might be borne,  
 Though hereby th' English make themselves a scorn ;

But now they know their advantage so well,  
 And will not stick, to some, the same to tell,  
 That now they can, when they please or will,  
 The English drive away, or else them kill.  
 Oh base wretched men, who thus for gain  
 Care not at all, if their neighbours be slain !  
 How can they think that this should do them good,  
 Which thus they purchase with the price of blood !  
 I know it is laid upon the *French* or *Dutch*,  
 And freely grant that they do use it much,  
 And make thereof an execrable trade,  
 Whereby those natives one another invade ;  
 By which also the *Dutch* and *French* do smart  
 Sometimes, for teaching them this wicked art ;  
 But these both from us more remote do lie,  
 And ours from them can have no full supply.  
 In these quarters, it is *English* guns we see,  
 For *French* and *Dutch*, more slight and weak they be ;  
 And these *Indians* are now grown so wise,  
 As, in regard of these, theirs they do despise.  
 Fair fowling pieces, and muskets they have,  
 All *English*, and keep them both neat and brave ;  
 And to our shame, speak it we justly may,  
 That we are not furnished so well as they ;  
 For traders them will sell at prices high,  
 Whereas their neighbours of them cannot buy ;  
 Good laws have been made, this evil to restrain,  
 But, by men's close deceit, they are made vain.  
 The *Indians* are nurtured so well,  
 As, by no means, you can get them to tell,  
 Of whom they had their guns, or such supply,  
 Or, if they do, they will feign some false lie :  
 So as, if their testimony you take  
 For evidence, little of it you can make.  
 And of the *English*, so many are guilty,  
 And deal under-hand, in such secrecy,  
 As very rare it is some one to catch,  
 Though you use all due means them for to watch.  
 Merchants, shopkeepers, traders, and planters too,  
 Sundry of each, spare not this thing to do ;  
 Though many more that do the same abhor,  
 Whose innocence will one day answer for,  
 If (which God forbid) they should come to see,  
 By this means, some hurt or sad tragedy ;  
 And these heathen, in their furious mood,  
 Should cruelly shed our innocent blood.  
 Lord, shew mercy, and graciously spare,  
 For thy name's sake, those that thy servants are,

And let their lives be precious in thy sight ;  
 Divert such judgments, as fall on them might ;  
 Give them not up into these heathen's power,  
 Who like the greedy wolves would them devour,  
 And exercise on them their cruel rage,  
 With torments great and most salvage ;  
 They are not content their foes only to kill,  
 But, most inhumanly, torment them they will.  
 They are men that are skilful for to destroy,  
 And in others misery they do take joy.  
 O Lord, take pity on thy people poor,  
 Let them repent, amend, and sin no more ;  
 Forgive, dear Father, what is done and past,  
 Oh save us still, and not away us cast.  
 Ourselves are weak, and have no strength to stand,  
 Do thou support us, Lord, by thine own hand ;  
 When we have need, be thou our succour then,  
 Let us not fall into the hands of men.

When I think on what I have often read,  
 How, when the elders and Joshua were dead ;  
 Who had seen those great works, and them could tell,  
 What God had done and wrought for Israel ;  
 Yet they did soon forget and turn aside,  
 And in his truth and ways did not abide ;  
 But in the next age did degenerate ;  
 I wish this may not be New England's fate.

To you therefore that are for to succeed,  
 Unto this fair precedent, give you good heed,  
 And know that, being warn'd, if you do not,  
 But fall away, God's wrath 'gainst you'll be hot :  
 For if he spared not those that sinned of old,  
 But into the hands of spoilers them sold,  
 How can you think that you should then escape,  
 That do like them, and will no warning take.

O my dear friends, and children whom I love,  
 To cleave to God, let these few lines you move,  
 So I have done, and now will say no more,  
 But remember, God punished them sore.

*Melius est peccatum cavere quam emendare.*

A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTY OF PRINCE GEORGE, IN VIRGINIA, 1793. BY THE REV. JOHN JONES SPOONER, A. M. A. A. S. RECTOR OF MARTIN'S BRANDON, IN SAID COUNTY.

**T**HIS county is bounded on the north, by James river, which washes it about thirty-five miles : on the east, partly by upper Chippoah creek, and partly by the Surry line ; on the south, by Surry, Sussex, and Dinwiddie counties ; and on the west, by Appomattox river.

It is in length about thirty miles ; its breadth is various ; the medium is sixteen miles. It originally formed part of Charles city county, which is now confined to the northern side of James river.

The river is here about one mile wide at the points ; but in the bays, from two to three miles ; at the confluence of the Appomattox is City-point, which with Bermuda-Hundred, on the opposite side of the Appomattox, forms the port of this district. Vessels of five hundred tons may here load and unload. At Hoods, about eighteen miles below, a British ship of forty-four guns has lain.

Appomattox is navigable for square rigged vessels seven miles ; from this to Petersburg, it is only navigable for vessels of less than sixty tons.

The James is one of the most noble rivers in the United States. From its mouth to City-point, it varies in breadth from one to six miles, except at Hoods, where it is only four hundred yards in width. (Here is a very eligible situation to erect a fort for the defence of the upper part of the river, in a case of necessity.) It is navigable for vessels of one hundred and forty tons burthen to Richmond, which is one hundred and sixty miles from Cape Henry, the entrance to the bay of Chesapeake from the Atlantick ocean. In its progress it receives a great number of smaller streams, which are for the most part navigable for several miles. From Prince George it receives, besides the Appomattox and Chippoah, Bailey's, Powell's, and Ward's creeks, with some others of less note. The southern part of this county is watered by Black Water, and the streams which fall into it. This is an extensive swamp rising in the south-west part of Prince George, and running a very lengthy course, it empties into Albemarle sound, in North Carolina. In summer it is, however, confined to a narrow breadth, and is navigable only for canoes.

These rivers and creeks abound with fish of various kinds. In James river are found the sturgeon, shad, bass, carp, sheep's-head, drum, herrings, perch, and cats, &c. It has also a great abundance of oysters and crabs ; of the former, there are none so high up as this, and but few of the latter. In the spring there are immense numbers of shads and herrings taken in seines ; upwards of five thousand of the former have been taken at a single haul ; the same number of the latter is not uncommon.

It is not digressing far, to mention here the improvements now making in the navigation of this river.

The falls commence at Richmond, and extend seven miles above. The bed of the river is filled with innumerable rocks; over and between which the waters rush with great rapidity. Canals have been dug round these falls, and partly excavated from a solid rock, and locks have been constructed. The various impediments higher up the river have been removed, all with infinite labour and great expense; so that it is rendered navigable for large flat boats, carrying twenty hogsheads of tobacco, from Lynchburg, more than a hundred and forty miles above Richmond.

It is intended to connect this canal with the tide waters which flow to the lower edge of the falls; this will be completed in the course of the summer. The head branches of the river have been explored, and a report made, that the navigation may be carried through the ridges, to the foot of the Alleghany mountains, which will be attempted, when the canal is finished. Not unconnected with this is the attempt now making to unite the waters of James river with those of Albemarle sound, in North Carolina, by the way of Elizabeth river, and a canal through the Dismal swamp, to the head of Pasquotank. This is in considerable forwardness.

In the winter season, there is a great number of wild fowl on this river and its waters, viz. swans, geese, shelldrakes, a variety of ducks and teal. The woods afford wild turkies, partridges in abundance, a few pheasants, pigeons, some deer, and other game common to the rest of America. Here is also that singular animal, the opossum. The reptiles are nearly the same as in the more northern parts of America, with some not known there. The scorpion, which is very venomous, is frequently seen here. Lizards of various colours are common, but are quite harmless. The snakes are much the same. Rattle snakes are not often seen, but in lieu of them, the mocasson is frequently found on the water courses: these are venomous and bold. The jointed and spur snakes are sometimes met with. Of the two latter I have not seen any; but am well informed the former is composed of joints about an inch in length, which are scaly and brittle: It is said, on being struck, it immediately breaks off at every joint.

The latter takes its name from a spur or dart at the end of its tail, with which it inflicts a dangerous wound, and is the same which Carver calls the thorn tail snake.

The face of the country is neither level nor hilly, but in some degree broken and rising into gentle swellings. Upon the water courses, are commonly rich low grounds, admirably adapted for grass, hemp, or flax, and when drained, produce abundant crops of corn and wheat. The high lands are generally of a light loam, interspersed with tracts of sandy or clayey soils. The whole, totally free from rocks, and almost so from loose stones. Many of the points, making into the river, are formed of a rich, deep, black loam, capable, without manure,



of producing any crops in abundance, and are not inferior to the best lands in the Atlantick States.

Through this county from west to east runs a ridge (though not high) of clayey, barren land, covered with pines, and a few miserable oaks. This divides the waters that fall into James river, from those which empty into Black Water. Southward of this ridge, the soil is more sandy, less productive, and not generally so healthy as the northern side. Upon the river and the navigable creeks are extensive bodies of marsh, sometimes flowed by the tide, which rises here about three feet.

The timber consists of oaks, of various kinds (sufficient within a convenient distance of navigation to build a formidable navy, and of good quality) with all the different species known in the eastern States, and others which do not grow there. Mr. Jefferson has enumerated them in his Notes on Virginia, to which I refer.

The woods abound with wild grapes, some of the vines of a prodigious size; with an infinite variety of flowering shrubs and plants. Here is also, in abundance, sarsaparilla, snake-root, and ginseng.

Notwithstanding, when the English first made their settlements here, this formed part of an extensive and formidable empire under king Powhatan, it does not appear the Indians had any considerable seats in this county.

A few places on the river only contain vestiges of the original inhabitants. These are traced on some of the points abovementioned, by the quantity of oyster and muscle shells, upon and near the surface of the earth, by the rude misshapen tools they used, and the points of their arrows (both formed of stone) which are frequently met with at those places. Mr. Jefferson mentions a small tribe that resided in Surry, on the eastern side of Upper Chippoah. Probably their residence was at Clermont, the seat of William Allen, Esq. which is at the confluence of that creek with the river, and where I have frequently met with traces of them.

I do not find that any barrows, or burial places of the aborigines, have been discovered in this neighbourhood. Single graves are sometimes found. These are dry, only eighteen or twenty inches deep; the bodies uniformly deposited, with the heads to the north, and filled up with muscle shells, probably to prevent dogs or vermin from scratching up the bodies.

Perhaps in no part of the United States, are there such evident demonstrations of a general disruption of the earth, as here, in common with the lower parts of Virginia, or at least, that the lower country of the southern States, between the Alleghany mountains, and the Atlantick ocean, has undergone a material change, since the first formation of this, our globe.

To have an adequate idea of the appearances here, we must conceive the sea, with its finny tribe; the bowels of the deep broken up, with its various productions; the earth torn from its foundations, with its trees

and plants ; all these, agitated, mixed, and confounded in one common chaos ; and then we must suppose the water suddenly to retire, and leave this heterogeneous mass to consolidate together ; for to nothing else can I compare the appearance of the bowels of the earth here. The banks of the river (which are generally high) uniformly discover this strange mixture. Deep gullies in various places shew the same ; and upon almost every occasion, where the earth is dug into, there is scarce any variation from this curious and singular phenomenon.

Bones and teeth of large and small fish ; oyster, muscle, clam, and cockle shells, with an infinite variety of scalloped shells ; trees of various sorts, petrified vegetables, and in some instances, the bones of land animals ; all these are met with in every direction ; nor are they to be found only in small quantities ; the land seems to be, in a large proportion, formed of them. Neither are they here, in regular strata, as if they had gradually subsided, with the heaviest bodies downwards, but are indiscriminately mixed, the heavier with the lighter.

Two complete skeletons of whales, or some very large fish, I have seen in this neighbourhood ; the one in the bank of the river, at Coggin's Point ; the other, some workmen met with, two years ago, in digging into a gravelly knoll, at the side of a water course, for the foundation of a mill.\* Poplar and walnut trees of a large growth, perfect in their shape and form, have been found at the depth of thirty-five feet in the earth. These appearances, in a less or greater degree, extend over the whole champaign country, from the falls of the rivers, to the sea, and (if my information is just) through the whole flat country of the southern states, to St. Augustine, in East Florida. Above the falls of the rivers, the ground rises, and is more hilly, and the bowels of the earth are totally different in their formation,

To what causes can this remarkable difference be attributed ? is a question that naturally occurs.

Mr. Jefferson has passed over, unnoticed, this singular appearance, although it could not have escaped his observation. General Lincoln (my very worthy and respected friend) has mentioned something similar at Yorktown, in a communication to the American Academy ; and Mr. Charles Thompson, in the Appendix to "Notes on Virginia," has slightly

\* I cannot forbear to mention a singular occurrence, that happened at an old mill, which stood near where the above now stands. About three years since, the miller finding there was some impediment, that prevented the mill going as fast as usual, went to the wheel to see what affected it ; when, behold a serpent of an enormous size, had got entwined in the wheel, so that he could not extricate himself. He quickly stopt it, and with the assistance of some others, killed it ; after which they measured its length with a fence-rail, which are usually here about eleven feet in length ; when it appeared to be the full length of the rail, after its head had been partly cut off ; no one had the curiosity to measure its bulk. This fact is well attested both by whites and blacks. It was destroyed and thrown into the creek before I heard of it.

spoken of it, and seems not to have known the extent thereof. No other accounts have I seen.

It is reserved perhaps for some learned member of the Historical Society, to account therefor, from natural and philosophical causes. For my own part, till a better theory is offered, I shall adhere to that of Mr. Thompson, which he however styles but the vision of fancy, as it so perfectly accords with my own reasoning upon the subject. Had he been well acquainted with all the phenomena, which exist here, he would doubtless have thought with me, that it is not merely a vision, but a fact, as well established as any can be that must depend entirely on conjecture.

I do not however agree with him, that the change here has been effected at various times ; but at once, by some sudden and violent convulsion. For although some appearances (particularly at York-Town) may indicate this, yet in general they tend to confirm my opinion.

The productions of this county consist of wheat, Indian corn, cotton, rye, barley, oats, pease, some tobacco. This latter was originally, as in all parts of Virginia, the principal produce, and has injured the soil to a very great degree. It is, however, fast yielding to the culture of wheat and corn. But a small quantity is now made here, in comparison to that usually made twenty years since ; and it is a misfortune that it is any where cultivated, so largely as in some counties of this state, except in those, where the great distance from market will not allow the transportation of grain.

In common, large quantities of wheat and corn are made for sale in this county, exclusive of their own consumption. Flax and cotton are raised for the clothing of the white inhabitants, as well as their negroes.

In summer, most of the planters and their families appear in outer garments of cotton of their own fabrick ; and it is even fashionable amongst the most wealthy : a circumstance honourable to themselves and advantageous to their country. The growth of cotton is not carried to the extent it might be ; it is easily made, and with proper gins is easily cleaned : but the mode generally in use, of picking it by hand, is very slow and tedious. A sufficiency might be made to supply the eastern states. It is here an annual plant. The staple is not so long as the West-India cotton, but compensates for that, by its superiour fineness.

It is not many years since the planters paid no attention to their low grounds : they begin, however, to find the value of them, and a spirit for improving them is daily spreading. Probably the time is not far distant, when the extensive marshes on the river and creeks will begin to assume a new face, and from yielding no profit, become the most valuable part of the planters' possessions.

The fruits are those common in the states northward of this. Extensive orchards of apple and peach trees are very common, from which the inhabitants make large quantities of cider and brandy. The peaches have a flavour unknown to those of the more northern states ; but the

apples are inferior in taste and spirit. The almond and fig will grow here in the open ground, if attended to.

Horticulture is not generally in vogue, though there are some gardens that do not yield to the best in the United States. In connexion with this may be mentioned the pleasure grounds of David Meade, Esq. of Maycox in this county. These grounds contain about twelve acres, laid out on the bank of James river, in a most beautiful and enchanting manner. Forest and fruit trees are here arranged, as if nature and art had conspired together to strike the eye most agreeably. Beautiful vistas, which open as many pleasing views of the river; the land thrown into many artificial hollows or gentle swellings, with the pleasing verdure of the turf; and the complete order in which the whole is preserved; altogether tend to form it one of the most delightful rural seats that is to be met with in the United States, and do honour to the taste and skill of the proprietor, who was also the architect.

The principal food of the inhabitants is bacon, of which immense quantities are annually made; every planter keeping a large drove of hogs, which gain most of their subsistence in the woods; they are confined however, when fattening, which is done with Indian corn.

This does not, however, exclude beef and smaller meats from the table; most of the planters raising a sufficiency for their own consumption. The former is small, but generally fat and juicy. The muttoms are also rather smaller than in some of the eastern states; but no country can produce better veal; indeed the best that I myself have even seen, has been at the tables of some gentlemen in this neighbourhood. Poultry of every kind is in perfection and abundance. No judgment can be formed of the meats of this country from the publick markets; for the best are commonly consumed at home by the planters.

The climate is here variable; and depends entirely upon the winds which happen to blow. The summers are long, and sometimes intensely hot. The winters are short, and generally pleasant; but little snow falls, and that lies on the ground only a few days. It is but seldom the navigation of James river is obstructed by ice; and still seldomer, that it is frozen over, so as to bear any weight. Both in winter and summer the weather is very changeable, and the changes sudden. The greatest height of Fahrenheit's thermometer, the last summer, when suspended in the shade, was . . . The lowest at which it was the winter preceding (1791 and 1792) and which was uncommonly severe, was . . . From the middle of October, through the winter and spring, to the middle of June, it is perhaps one of the most desirable climates that is known. In August and September, bilious complaints are very common. And it is observable, that the lower class of whites are more subject to intermitents than others, probably owing to their diet and drink.

It cannot, however, upon the whole, be considered as unhealthy. This county in particular has had, since my acquaintance with it, more people far advanced in life in proportion to the whole number, than other places could produce, which are esteemed healthy. Though

intermittents are frequent in the fall, they very seldom prove mortal.

The population of this country, by the last census, amounts to three thousand six hundred and fifty-four whites, and four thousand five hundred and nineteen blacks. Of this number about one thousand and two hundred are residents in Blandford. This is a small town upon the eastern bank of the Appomattox, and now forms part of the corporation of Petersburg, from which it is separated by a small marsh and a rivulet running through it. They are in separate counties; but the internal police is governed by the same magistrates: a mayor and six aldermen, annually elected by the citizens. Blandford contains two hundred houses, pleasantly situated on a small plain. The hills which arise from the back of the village, in the nature of terraces, form many picturesque and agreeable situations for houses, some of which are improved as such.

A considerable trade is carried on in this little village. There are many large stores, and three tobacco warehouses, which annually receive about six to seven thousand hogsheads. An air of business is visible. The streets are frequently crowded; and upon the whole, it is a thriving place. This and Petersburg have been considered as very unhealthy, and with some reason. The neighbourhood of several undrained marshes might naturally occasion it; but as these are drained, the air is improved, till probably in a few years, it will be greatly meliorated.

The south-western part of this county, with part of Dinwiddie adjoining, including Petersburg, forms one parish of the Episcopal church; the remaining part of this county forms another. There is a glebe belonging to each parish, both in Prince George. There are five churches in the county, of this persuasion; one meeting house for the Friends; one building appropriated for the Methodists; they have meetings also in other places. The Baptists have occasional meetings in some parts of the county: to this sect the blacks seem particularly attached. All the clergy are supported by voluntary contributions.

The militia of this county forms one regiment of about six hundred men, in which is included a troop of horse, and a company of light infantry.

This county sends two members to the assembly; and with the three adjoining counties of Sussex, Surry, and Southampton, elect a representative to congress. The present member is Carter Basset Harrison, Esq. of Surry.

There is a county court consisting of an indefinite number of magistrates, commonly twelve, who fill all vacancies in their own body, by nomination to the governor and council. All other officers, civil and military, are nominated by them. They have unlimited jurisdiction both in common law and chancery business; but an appeal lies, if the cause be of more than ten pounds in value, or concern the title or bounds of land, to the district courts, or high court of chancery. This is also a court for the probate of wills.

I need scarcely add that negro slavery is tolerated here ; but it is of the most lenient kind. An act was passed in the first session of the assembly, in the revolution, to prevent the importation of slaves ; since which none have been brought into the state ; but great numbers have been carried out to Kentucky and the southern states. Their situation is comfortable ; their labour not severe ; their clothing, diet, and lodging, superior to many whites, even in some parts of the United States.

In justice to the people, generally, it ought to be mentioned, that they wish for an emancipation ; and that but few here, upon a liberal system, would oppose the generous plan. Desirable indeed to be effected, is the object of rescuing from an ignominious bondage, a part of the human race, however degraded in our estimation, by a difference of colour, or want of intellect.

Some plan for the gradual accomplishment of it (without materially injuring the proprietors of them, it is hoped, will ere long, be adopted. But whenever this takes place, my observations have led me to fix it as a decided principle, that they ought to be sent to colonize some new country ; for there will be no happiness here, while they remain mixed with the whites.

#### REMARKS ON MR. WEBSTER'S CALCULATIONS.

*Reverend Sir,*

**T**HERE is one part of the calculation on lives, made by N. Webster, Esq. and published in the Collections of the Historical Society, Vol. III. p. 5, which is either very inaccurately expressed, or if I do not greatly mistake, is very erroneous. He says, that a calculation founded on the number of souls in the third parish in Hartford, and the number which have died there in eighteen years, above seventy years of age, gives one to three hundred and twelve that die at seventy years of age and upwards. But in Salem, according to the bills for 1782 and 1783, only one in eight hundred and fifty-seven arrives to seventy years of age." The most obvious meaning is, that according to the bills referred to in the third parish in Hartford and the town of Salem, of all those that are born, or that live in the former, only one in three hundred and twelve, and in the latter place, only one in eight hundred and fifty-seven reaches the age of seventy years. If the writer meant only that one in three hundred and twelve, of the inhabitants of the third parish in Hartford, died yearly at the age of seventy years or upwards, this is true, and a just conclusion from the mode of calculation, which he appears to have adopted. But if this was his meaning, the expression is inaccurate, and evidently tends to mislead the reader. If the more obvious meaning was what the writer intended to convey, the conclusion appears to be erroneous ; and indeed the mode of com-

putation, made use of to determine the proportion that live to seventy years and upwards, very far from just : For the number three hundred and twelve (or three hundred and twenty-nine, as I suppose it should have been) is found by dividing  $23400 \div 1300 \times 18$  (that is the product of the number of inhabitants, and the number of years for which the bills were kept) by seventy-one, the number of persons who in that time died seventy years old and upwards. Can this be a just method of determining how many live to seventy years ? Has the number of inhabitants in a place any thing to do in this question ? At least, should not the comparison be made between the number, which in a certain time die seventy years old and upwards, and the whole number of persons that die in the same time ?

Let us see how Mr. Webster's mode of computation will apply to some other age. We would, for instance, find what proportion of the persons born (no account is here made of immigrations or emigrations) in the first and second parishes in Hartford live to nineteen years and upwards, according to the bills which he has exhibited. The number of inhabitants  $2500 \times 10 = 25000$ , is to be divided by 209, the number which died at the age of nineteen years and upwards ; which quotes 119 and a fraction. The conclusion then is that but one in 119 of the inhabitants live to nineteen years. But it appears by the bill that *one half* of those that died in ten years lived to the age of nineteen years. But it need only to be asked, why does not the proportion which those who die above seventy, in any given place and time, bear to the whole number who die in the same time and place, determine the probable proportion of those who live to the age of seventy years and upwards in that place. It is true, as Mr. Webster observes, that "two years are not sufficient to determine the longevity of the inhabitants in any town or country." But supposing the average proportion for seventy or an hundred years were taken, must it not be determined with sufficient accuracy ? And is it not therefore just to conclude from the bills exhibited, that in the first and second parishes in Hartford, *one in nine or ten* lives to the age of seventy years ?

Much less than has been suggested above would, I trust, be sufficient to convince Mr. W. that he was guilty of some inadvertency ; and induce him to correct it. That he should make the correction himself would, I suppose, be more eligible than to have it made by any other hand.

I am, Sir, with much respect,  
Your humble servant,

JOHN MELLEN, jun.

Barnstable, Sept. 23, 1793.

REV. JEREMY BELKNAP, D. D.

## MR. WEBSTER'S REPLY TO MR. MELLEN'S REMARKS.

*New-York, January 22, 1794.**Reverend Sir,*

**Y**OUR favour of the 5th inst. covering some remarks on my communication to the Historical Society, published in Vol. III. p. 5, has been received, and has my particular acknowledgements.

In reply to the remarks, I can only say, that it is always a subject of regret, that an inaccurate or ambiguous expression should escape a writer, and lead his readers into a misapprehension of his true meaning. The sentence, which is liable to exception in this respect, should run thus, "a calculation gives one to three hundred and twenty-nine\* of all the persons living in the given space of time, who die at seventy years old and upwards." When thus expressed, my real and *only* meaning would be obvious, and as the gentleman, in his strictures, remarks, the "conclusion drawn from the mode of calculation would have been just."

I had no materials for calculating the proportion of deaths at a *given age* to the number of souls *born* in any given period. I attempted no such calculation. Besides I adopted the *same* principles of calculation with respect to Salem and the third parish in Hartford; so that as far as it extends, the *comparison* is just, provided the premises are true. But it appears by the late census, that Dr. Holyoke's estimate of the number of souls in Salem was much too high—instead of nine thousand, the supposed number, the true number falls short of eight thousand. This will render the calculation more favourable to Salem.

If the remarks should be published, the committee will suffer this *short* reply to follow them; I am too much occupied to be more particular.

Be pleased, Sir, to assure the Historical Society of the high opinion I entertain of the importance of their undertaking, and that I anxiously wait for the period, when other occupations will permit me to indulge my inclination in seconding their views.

I am, Sir, with great respect,  
your most obedient humble servant,  
NOAH WEBSTER, jun.

REV. DR. BELKNAP.

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS AND OBSERVATIONS ON NOVA SCOTIA,  
NEW BRUNSWICK AND CAPE BRETON. SUPPOSED TO BE WRIT-  
TEN BY THE SURVEYOR GENERAL OF NOVA SCOTIA.

**M**R. Bernard, the Governour of Massachusetts bay, in the year 1764, caused a survey of the bay of Passamaquoddy to be made, and proposed making grants of land, as being within his government.

\* The number as published is three hundred and twelve; whether a mistake of the printer, or an error in the copy, I do not know.



The next year, Mr. Wilmot, the Governour of Nova Scotia, sent the chief land surveyor to make a survey of that bay, when, upon full inquiry, it was found there were three rivers called St. Croix, emptying into that bay ; that the river, called by the savages Copscook, was anciently called by the French St. Croix ; and on examining into the original grants of Nova Scotia, it appeared that the grants made by King Charles the second, to his brother the Duke of York, in 1663 (called the Duke of York's Territory) was bounded by the river St. Croix to the eastward, and by the river Kennebeck to the westward ; and on the 12th of August the same year, Sir William Alexander obtained a grant of Nova Scotia, bounded westerly as far as " the river St. Croix, and to the farthest source or spring which first comes from the west to mingle its waters with those of the river St. Croix, and from thence running towards the north," &c. All the islands in Passamaquoddy bay are included in this grant, and have ever since been deemed to belong to Nova Scotia. By the definitive treaty of peace, signed at Paris, 3d September, 1783, the eastern limits or boundaries of the United States are thus described : " East by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the bay of Fundy, to its source, and from its source, north to the high lands, comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries, between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other part, shall respectively touch the bay of Fundy and the Atlantick ocean, excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been deemed within the limits of Nova Scotia." This makes it clearly evident, that Grand Manan Island, Passamaquoddy Great Island, now called Campo Bello, Deer Island, Moose Island, and all the islands lying in that bay, whether on the southern or northern side this line drawn due east from St. Croix, should as formerly belong to Nova Scotia. Whether Scodick or Copscook is the river the treaty fixes upon, remains with those who framed it to determine ; but from the manner in which those boundaries are expressed, I should imagine that river to be the river St. Croix intended, whose source should be found farthest into the country westward and northward towards the high lands, mentioned in the treaty, being conformable to the old grants ; and if my conjecture is well founded, the St. Croix mentioned in the treaty cannot be properly ascertained, until accurate surveys are made, and proper commissioners appointed to determine thereupon.

The Province of Nova Scotia, by the Governour's commission, has been (till the late division of the government took place) described as follows : " On the west, by a line drawn from Cape Sables, across the entrance of the bay of Fundy, to the mouth of the river St. Croix ; by the said river to its source ; and by a line drawn from thence to the southern boundary of our colony of Quebec : To the northward, by the said boundary as far as the western extremity of the bay Des Chaleurs :

To the eastward, by the said bay, and the gulf of St. Laurence, to the cape or promontory called Cape Breton, in the island of that name, including that island, the island St. John's, and all other islands within six leagues of the shores."

In the year 1784, Nova Scotia was divided into four separate governments, to wit, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, St. John's, and Sydney. The division line between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick is as follows: Bounded by the several windings of the Misquash river, from its confluence with Beau Basin (at the head of Chignecto channel) to its rise or main source; and from thence by a due east line to the bay of Vert, in the straits of Northumberland. Nova Scotia includes all islands within its limits that lie within six leagues of its coasts, except the island of Cape Breton.

Halifax, the capital of this province, was settled by British subjects in 1749. It is situated in latitude  $44^{\circ} 40'$ , on a spacious and commodious harbour, of bold and easy entrance, where a thousand of the largest ships might ride with great convenience and safety. The town is built on the west side of the harbour, on the declivity of a commanding hill, whose summit is two hundred and fifty-six feet perpendicular from the level of the sea. The town is laid out into oblong squares, the streets parallel, and at right angles. The town and suburbs are about two miles in length; and the general width, one quarter of a mile. It contains four thousand inhabitants, and seven hundred houses. At the northern extremity of the town, is the King's naval yard, completely built and supplied with stores of every kind for the royal navy. The harbour of Halifax is justly esteemed (by many) as the most eligible situation in British America for the seat of government, being open and accessible at all seasons of the year, when almost all the other harbours are locked up with ice; and also from its central situation, proximity to the bay of Fundy, and principal interior settlements of the province. The other towns are Shelburne and Digby, settled in 1783, Lunenburg, Annapolis, New Dublin, Liverpool, Manchester, Windsor, Cornwallis, Horton, Yarmouth, Barrington, and Argyle.

The lands in general on the sea coast of Nova Scotia (except the county of Lunenburg) and a few hills of good land, are rocky and interspersed with swamps and barrens. The growth is general, an intermixture of spruce, hemlock, pine, fir, beech, and birch, and some rock-maple: But its shores are accommodated with harbours, rivers, coves, and bays, conveniently adapted for the fisheries; and the above timber affords an inexhaustible supply of materials for buildings, flakes, and stages, vessels, &c. The most remarkable land on the south shore of Nova Scotia is the high land of Aspotagoen, which lies on the promontory that separates Mahone from Margaret's bay. This land may be seen at a great distance from the offing, and is the land generally made by ships bound from Europe and the West Indies to Halifax. The summit of this land is about five hundred feet perpendicular from the level of the sea.

The Ardois mountain lies between Windsor and Halifax, about thirty miles north-west from the latter. It is deemed the highest land in the province, and affords an extensive prospect of all the high and low lands, about Windsor, Falmouth, and the distant country bordering on the Basin of Minas; and must in future time, with the rising improvements and diversified scenery, form a pleasing and variegated landscape. Cape Blowmedown, which is the southern side of the entrance from the bay of Fundy into the Basin of Minas, is the eastern termination of a range of mountains, extending for about eighty or ninety miles to the gut of Annapolis; bounded on the north by the shores of the bay of Fundy, on the south by Annapolis river. This tract of land is considered equal in richness and fertility to any in the American colonies, producing wheat, rye, barley, oats, and every species of vegetable in perfection and abundance. The principal rivers are Annapolis and Shubenaccadie. The latter takes its rise within a short mile of the town of Dartmouth, on the east side of Halifax harbour, and empties itself into Cobequid bay, taking in its course the Slewiack and Gay's river. Other rivers of less note are the rivers which empty into Pictou harbour in the straits of Northumberland; St. Mary's river, Antigonish, Liverpool, Turket, Musquidoboit, and Sissibou rivers. The principal lakes are lake Porter, which empties itself into the ocean about five leagues to the eastward of Halifax, which lake is fifteen miles in length, and an half a mile in width, with islands in it; Potawock, so called by the savages, which lies between the head of St. Margaret's bay and the main road from Halifax to Windsor; the great lake of Shubenaccadie, lying on the east side of said road, about seven miles from it, and twenty-one miles from Halifax. There is another lake of considerable magnitude, called by the original French inhabitants Rossignol, which lies between Liverpool and Annapolis, and from Indian accounts is said to be the main source of Liverpool and Petit Riviere (so called) rivers. It has been a place of resort for the Indians, from the favourable hunting grounds about it. There are many other lakes, streams, and brooks, which water and diversify all parts of this province. The principal bays are the bay of Fundy, which washes the shores of New Brunswick on the north, and Nova-Scotia on the east and south. This bay is twelve leagues across, from the gut of Annapolis to St. John's, the capital of New Brunswick. The tides are rapid in this bay, and rise at Annapolis Basin about thirty feet. At the head of Chignecto channel, an arm of this bay, the spring tides rise sixty feet. At the Basin of Minas, which may be termed the north east arm or branch of this bay, the tides rise forty feet. Des Barres, the late nautical surveyor of this province, has in general been correct and particular in noting the latitude and longitude of all the different towns, harbours, capes, and head lands in this province; and his charts are so publick, they can be resorted to by all who require further information on the subject.

For natural productions, Charlevoix in his *Historie Generale de Nouvelle France*, will give full information. Mr. Pernette, who has been curious in observing the natural productions of this province for upwards of thirty years, speaks highly of the accuracy of Charlevoix on the subject.

The province of Nova Scotia contains eight millions, seven hundred and eighty-nine thousand acres; of which three millions have been granted, and two millions settled and under improvement. This province is accommodated with many spacious harbours, bays, and coves of shelter, equal to any in the universe. Its coasts abound with fish of all kinds, such as cod, salmon, mackarel, herring, alewives, trout, and from its contiguity to the banks of Newfoundland, Quero, Sable, banks, fisheries, under proper management and regulations, might be carried on with a certainty of success. The southern shores of Nova Scotia, to the eye of a stranger, exhibit an unfavourable appearance, being in general broken and stony; but the innumerable islands along its coasts, coves, and harbours, though generally composed of rocky substances, appear by nature designed for the drying of fish, and are clothed with materials for flakes and stages, and there is land sufficient for pastures and gardens to serve the purposes of fishermen.

As you advance into the back country, the face of it wears a far more favourable and pleasing aspect; and at Cornwallis, Windsor, Horton, Annapolis, Cumberland, Cobequid, Pictou, and along the north shores of the province, are extensive well improved farms: and the gradual improvements in husbandry, which has been encouraged by the laudable efforts and successful experiments of the Agricultural Society here, afford a well grounded expectation of its becoming a flourishing colony; especially if a disposition for frugality, economy, and industry should prevail among us; the want of which important qualities has been hitherto the source of all our embarrassments. Nova Scotia may be compared to the rude diamond in the quarry: it only wants the polish of well directed industry, to give it beauty and increase its value.

There are mines of coals at Cumberland, and on the east river which falls into Pictou harbour. There are also lime stone, and plaster of Paris at Windsor, and in the gut of Canso; and there is plenty of bog and mountain ore in Annapolis township, on the borders of the Nictau river and a bloomery erected there; and from some late successful experiments, there is a flattering prospect of its becoming of great publick benefit. Some small pieces of copper have been found at Cape D'Or, on the north side of the Basin of Minas; but not sufficient to establish a well grounded expectation of any mine rich enough to pay for the working of it.

There are no cascades in this province that merit distinction. The only two that have been noticed, are, one of them on a stream that falls into the head of Milford Haven, which is about forty feet high, and

one which falls into the harbour St. John, on the north-east shore of the province, about the same height.

THE ISLAND OF CAPE BRETON.] The present seat of government is at Spanish river, on the north side of the island. The coal mines are situated near the entrance of the harbour; the working of which and the fishery are the chief employment of the inhabitants. This island is intersected with lakes and rivers. The great Bras D'Or is a very extensive sheet of water, which forms into arms and branches, and opens an easy communication with all parts of the island. There is a great proportion of arable land on this island; and it abounds in timber and hard wood, such as pine, beech, birch, maple, spruces, and fir. Isle Madame, which is an appendage to this government, is settled for the most part by French Acadians, whose chief employment is the fishery at Amshot, the principal harbour in said island. There are about fifty families settled; and on this island there are computed to be one thousand souls. They take about thirty thousand quintals of fish annually, which are shipped for Spain and the Straits, principally by merchants from Jersey, who resort here annually and keep stores of supplies for the fishermen.

PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK.] Bounded on the south, by the north-shores of the bay of Fundy and by the river Missiquash to its source, and from thence by a due east line to the bay of Vert; on the west, by a line to run due north from the head or main source of St. Croix river, in the bay of Passamaquoddy, to the high lands which divide the streams which fall into the river St. Lawrence and the bay of Fundy; and from thence by the southern boundary of the colony of Quebec, until it touches the sea shore at the western extremity of the bay of Chaleur; then following the several courses of the sea shore to the bay of Vert (in the straits of Northumberland) until it meets the termination of the eastern line produced from the source of the Missiquash above mentioned, including all islands within the said limits.

The city of St. John's, the capital, is situated at the mouth or entrance of the river St. John, on high and rocky ground. The streets are regular and spacious; and there are many decent, well built houses. It contains about one thousand inhabitants. The town of St. Anne's, the present seat of that government, lies about eighty miles up the river. About one mile above the town is the only entrance into the river St. John, which is about eighty or a hundred yards wide, and about four hundred yards in length; and this passage is called the Falls of the river. This passage being so strait, and a ridge of rocks running across, whereon there are not above seventeen feet of water, renders it insufficient to discharge the fresh waters of the river above. The common tides flowing here about twenty feet, at low water, the waters of the river are about twelve feet higher than the waters of the sea, and at high water, the waters of the sea are about five feet higher than the waters of the river: so that in every tide there are two falls, one outwards and one inwards; and the only time of passing this place, is at the time when the waters of the river are level with the waters of the sea, which

is twice in a tide ; and this opportunity of passing continues not above *twenty minutes*. At other times it is impassable or extremely dangerous. From the confluence of this river with the bay of Fundy to its main source, is computed to be three hundred and fifty miles. It is navigable for sloops to Frederickton. Its general course is W. N. W. On the banks of this river are rich intervale and meadow lands, well clothed with timber and wood, such as pine, beech, elm, maple, and walnut. There are many rivers that empty into it : the Oromocto river (by which the Indians have a communication with Passamaquoddy) the Nashwack, Madamkiswick, on which are rich intervalles that produce all kinds of grain in the highest perfection. St. John's river opens a vast extent of fine country, and takes in its various courses a number of fine rivers ; on all which are rich meadow and intervalle lands, and most of them settled and under improvement. The upland is in general clothed with timber trees, such as pine and spruce, hemlock and hard wood, principally beech, birch, maples, and some ash. The pines on this river are the largest to be met with in British America, and afford a considerable supply of masts for the royal navy.

The town of St. Andrew's is situated in the rear of an island of that name, on the east side of an arm (called Scodick) of the inner bay of Passamaquoddy. It is very regularly laid out in the form of an oblong square ; but few houses, and those built on a small scale. There are but few inhabitants, whose chief employment is in the lumber trade. The common tides rise here about eighteen feet. There are three rivers which fall into the bay of Passamaquoddy. The largest is called by the modern Indians the Scodick ; but by De Mons and Champlaine who accompanied De Mons in one of his voyages thither (see their voyages, in Purchase's Collections, written and published in 1632) called Etchemins. Its main source is near Penobscot river, to which river the Indians have a communication ; the carrying place across is three miles.

The rivers that fall into Passamaquoddy bay have intervalles and meadows on their banks, and must have formerly been covered with a large growth of timber, which is observable from the remains of large trunks which are still to be seen ; but a raging fire having passed through that country (according to Indian accounts fifty years ago) burnt so furiously (in a very dry season) that it destroyed most of the timber on the east side of the bay of Passamaquoddy, and particularly on the Magegadavick or Eastern river, which falls into the bay, where it raged with uncommon violence, and spread as far eastward as the river which falls into St. John's, and extended northerly and westerly beyond the Dickwasset or Digdeguash river, which falls into the same side of the bay.

Merrimichi river, on the north east coast of New Brunswick, falls into the head of a bay of that name ; and a little above its confluence with the bay, it forms into two branches, and runs through a fertile tract of choice intervalle land, and the land in general is well clothed with timber of all kinds. From this river they have a communication

with St. John's, partly by land, but principally by water carriage in canoes. The salmon fishery is carried on with success, and the cod fishery is improving near the entrance of the bay.

Petitcodiak river falls into an arm of the bay of Fundy, called Chignecto channel. From its confluence, after a course of some miles northerly, it takes a western direction; and the Indians have a communication from the head of it with St. John's river by a portage across to the head of Kennebecasius. Memramcook river lies a little to the eastward of Petitcodak, and takes a northeasterly direction, and has been recommended as the most proper boundary for the division between this province and Nova Scotia.

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ROAD FROM HALIFAX TO THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE.

*Extract of a Letter from Halifax in Nova Scotia, dated October 23, 1792.*

**L**AST evening Governour Wentworth arrived in town after thirty-four days absence, from an expedition into the woods, the chief object of which was, to open a road from the settlements at Poictou, on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to this place. Such a road has been long wanted, but thought impracticable, from the expense and the supposed difficulty of the country. Both are, however, overcome, and a good cart road is cut, cleared and bridged, by which the inhabitants of that populous, increasing, and fertile district, have an easy communication with the capital, and can enjoy the benefits of its commerce, as well as the advantages of law and government; of which, before, they were almost wholly destitute. This work has been accomplished without any burthen on the publick, from a revenue which has always been disposed of by former governours, but hitherto not applied to such beneficial purposes. The distance is sixty-eight miles, of which eight were done before; forty are newly cut, cleared and bridged; the remainder is made very passable; and the fund is diminished not one hundred and fifty pounds currency."

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GOVERNOURS OF NOVA SCOTIA FROM 1720.

**I**N the year 1720, Colonel Philipps was appointed Governour of Nova Scotia, and in the year 1749, General Cornwallis was appointed in his stead; and was the founder of the present settlement of this colony.

In 1752, Colonel Hopson succeeded; in 1753 Colonel Hopson had leave to go to England, and was succeeded in the administration of government by Lieutenant-Colonel, then Lieutenant Governour, Lawrence, and in 1756, he was appointed Governour in the room of Colonel Hopson.

Governour Lawrence died in 1760, and Governour Ellis, who had been Governour of Georgia, was appointed Governour, and near left Europe ; but Mr. Belcher, senior counsellor, was appointed Lieutenant Governour, and was succeeded by Colonel Wilmot in 1763. who was appointed Lieutenant Governour, and was afterwards, in 1764, appointed Governour in the place of Mr. Ellis.

In 1766, Governour Willmot died, and the administration of government was successively carried on by Mr. Green, the senior counsellor, and Lieutenant Governour Franklin, until the end of the same year, when Lord William Campbell, who had been appointed Governour, arrived. He continued in the government until he was succeeded by Colonel Legge in 1773, who was called home in 1776. The administration of government was afterwards successively in Lieutenant Governour Arbuthnot ; in 1778, in Sir Richard Hughes ; and in 1781, in Sir Andrew Hammond.

In 1782, Colonel John Parr was appointed Governour, in the stead of Governour Legge. He died in November, 1791, *Æt.* 66. On his death, Richard Bulkely, President of the Council, was sworn into the administration of government. John Wentworth, surveyor general of the woods, was then in England ; and as soon as Governour Parr's death was known there, he applied for the commission and obtained it. He arrived in the spring of 1792, at Halifax, and was received by the inhabitants with great satisfaction.

N. B. It is to be observed, that since the British provinces in North America have been put under a general Governour, the Governour of each province is styled Lieutenant Governour. The general government comprehends Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, St. John's, Lower Canada, and Upper Canada. The residence of the general Governour is at Quebec.

A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE ATHERINE, TWO SPECIMENS OF WHICH HAVE BEEN LATELY PRESENTED TO THE CABINET OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

**T**HIS little fish is called by Linnæus *Atherina* (*Menidia*) *pinnani radiis viginti quatuor*, or *Atherine* with twenty-four rays in the fin behind the anus. It is four inches in length, is semitransparent, and has a broad silver line extended from the opening of the gills to the insertion of the tail. The tail is forked. The iris of the eye silvery. The back is marked in diamonds by dotted lines.

It is found in great abundance in the river Piscataqua, in the months of August and September. It feeds on minute aquatic insects of the monocolus kind, and is preyed upon by several fishes as well as shell drakes.



A LETTER FROM THE REV. ANDREW ELIOT TO REV. JOHN ELIOT, OF BOSTON ; CONCERNING THE BURNING OF FAIRFIELD, IN JULY, 1779.

[*This letter is misplaced. It should have followed the Journal of the War at the end of the second volume, with a reference to it, page 169 of the Journal.*]

*Fairfield, July 15, 1779.*

*Dear Brother,*

**I** SIT down to write you some account of the sad and awful scenes which have been exhibited in this once pleasant and delightful town, now, alas ! a heap of ruins, a sad spectacle of desolation and wo.

It was in the beginning of wheat harvest, a season of extraordinary labour and festivity ; a season which promised the greatest plenty that has been known for many years, if within the memory of man. Never did our fields bear so ponderous a load, never were our prospects, with regard to sustenance, so bright.

The British fleet and army, with the American refugees that had possessed and plundered New-Haven, set sail from that distressed place on the 6th instant.

About four o'clock the next morning, the approach of the fleet was announced by the firing of a gun from a small fort we have on Grover's hill, contiguous to the Sound. They seemed, however, to be passing by. And about seven o'clock we, with pleasure, beheld them all to the westward of us, steering, as we thought, to New York. A very thick fog came on, which entirely deprived us of the sight of them till between the hours of nine and ten, when, the mist clearing away, we beheld the whole fleet under our western shore, and some of them close in with Kensie's Point. They presently came to anchor, and lay till about four in the afternoon, when they began to land their troops a little to the east of Kensie's Point, at a place called the Pines. From thence the troops marched along the beach, until they came to a lane opposite the centre of the town, through which they proceeded, and in about an hour paraded in their divisions on the green, between the meeting house and court house. From thence they detached their guards, and dividing into small parties, proceeded to their infernal business. Their commanding officers were Sir George Collier by sea, Generals Tryon and Garth by land. The approach of the fleet was so sudden, that but few men could be collected, though the alarm guns were fired immediately on the dissipation of the fog. There was no thought of opposing their landing, as our force was nothing to theirs. Our little party, however, posted themselves so as to annoy them to the best advantage, expecting they would land at the Point. When our people found them landing on the left and marching in their rear to take possession of the town, they immediately retreated to the court house ; and as the enemy advanced from the Beach lane, they gave them such a warm reception with a field piece, which threw both round and grape shot, and

with their musquetry, as quite disconcerted them for some time. The column, however, quickly recovered its solidity, and advancing rapidly, forced our small body to retreat to the heights, back of the town, where they were joined by numbers coming in from the country. The enemy were likewise galled very much, as they turned from the beach to the lane, by the cannon which played from Grover's hill.

The town was almost cleared of inhabitants. A few women, some of whom were of the most respectable families and characters, tarried with a view of saving their property. They imagined their sex and character would avail to such a purpose. They put some confidence in the generosity of an enemy, who were once famed for generosity and politeness; and thought that kind treatment and submissive behaviour would secure them against harsh treatment and rough usage. Alas! they were miserably mistaken, and bitterly repented their confidence and presumption.

The Hessians were first let loose for rapine and plunder. They entered houses, attacked the persons of whig and tory indiscriminately; breaking open desks, trunks, closets, and taking away every thing of value. They robbed women of their buckles, rings, bonnets, aprons, and handkerchiefs. They abused them with the foulest and most profane language, threatened their lives without the least regard to the most earnest cries and entreaties. Looking glasses, china, and all kinds of furniture were soon dashed to pieces.

Another party that came on were the American refugees, who in revenge for their confiscated estates, carried on the same direful business. They were not, however, so abusive to the women as the former, but appeared very furious against the town and country. The Britons, by what I could learn, were the least inveterate: some of the officers seemed to pity the misfortunes of the country, but in excuse said, that they had no other way to regain their authority over us. Individuals among the British troops were, however, exceedingly abusive, especially to women. Some were forced to submit to the most indelicate and rough treatment, in defence of their virtue, and now bear the bruises of the horrid conflict.

About an hour before sunset, the conflagration began at the house of Mr. Isaac Jennings, which was consumed with the neighbouring buildings. In the evening, the house of Elijah Abel, Esq. sheriff of the county, was consumed, with a few others. In the night, several buildings in the main street. General Tryon was in various parts of the town plot; with the good women begging and entreating him to spare their houses. Mr. Sayre, the Church of England Missionary, a gentleman firmly and zealously engaged in the British interest, and who has suffered considerably in their cause, joined with them in these entreaties; he begged the general to spare the town, but was denied. He then begged that some few houses might be spared as a shelter for those who could provide habitations no where else; this was denied also. At length Mr. Tryon consented to save the buildings of Mr. Burr

and the writer of this epistle. Both had been plundered ere this. He said, likewise, that the houses for publick worship should be spared. He was far from being in a good temper, during the whole affair. General Garth, at the other end of the town, treated the inhabitants with as much humanity, as his errand would admit.

At sun rise, some considerable part of the town was standing; but in about two hours the flames became general. The burning parties carried on their business with horrible alacrity, headed by one or two persons who were born and bred in the neighbouring towns. All the town from the bridge by Colonel Gold's to the Mill river, a few houses excepted, was a heap of ruin.

About eight o'clock, the enemy sounded a retreat. We had some satisfaction, amidst our sorrow and distress, to see that the meeting house and a few other buildings remained. But the rear guard, consisting of a banditti, the vilest that was ever loose among men, set fire to every thing which General Tryon had left, the large and elegant meeting house, the ministers' houses, Mr. Burr's, and several other houses which had received protection. They tore the protection to pieces, damned Tryon, abused the women most shamefully, and then ran off in a most disgraceful manner. Happily our people came in and extinguished the flames in several houses; so that we are not entirely destitute.

The rear guard, which behaved in so scandalous a manner, were chiefly German troops, called Yaugers. They carry a small rifle gun, and fight in a skulking manner like our Indians. They may be properly called sons of plunder and devastation.

Our people on the heights, back of the town, were joined by numbers, but not equal to the numbers of the enemy. They were skirmishing all the evening, part of the night, and the next morning. The enemy were several times disconcerted and driven from their outposts. Had they continued longer in town, it must have been fatal to them; for the militia were collecting from all parts.

Our fort yet stands. The enemy sent a row galley to silence it, and there was constant firing between them all night. One or two attempts were made to take it by parties of troops, but it was most bravely and obstinately defended by Lieutenant Isaac Jarvis of this town, who had but twenty-three men besides himself.

The militia followed these bloody incendiaries to the place of embarkation, and galled them considerably. The embarkation took place about twelve o'clock, and they set sail for Long Island about two and three in the afternoon.

Many were killed on both sides. The number cannot be ascertained. They carried off some prisoners, but no person of distinction.

One particular I would mention. After Tryon had begun to burn, he sent out the proclamation which you have in the Hartford paper. In the midst of hostilities, while the flames were raging and bullets flying, who should come out with a flag, but Mr. Sayre! A spirited answer was sent in; and the people were so enraged that hostilities should be

going on in the time of negociation ; and that Mr. Sayre should be the bearer of such an insulting proclamation, and at such a time, that the said gentleman was obliged to quit the town, when the enemy left it. His whole family were obliged to go with him, leaving the greatest part of their substance behind, which became fuel for the flames, indiscriminately scattered by the rear guard. The reply which General Tryon made to Mr. Sayre, when he asked to go with him, was, " You may go on board the ships, Sir, but I cannot promise you any help or assistance."

The Church of England building was consumed, but by whom, or at what time, I am unable to say.

Unconnected with them, unsolicited on my part, through the intercession of Mr. Sayre, my house and property received a protection in General Tryon's own hand writing. A sentinel was placed there some part of the time. But sad experience convinces me to how little purpose all this was. My property was plundered, my house and furniture all consumed, though a lady was so kind as to show them the protection, which like others, was torn in pieces by the Yaegers.

Our friend, Joseph Bartram, was shot through the breast ; old Mr. Solomon Sturgis, an Irish servant of Mr. Penfield, and a negro man belonging to Mr. Lewis, were put to death by the bayonet.

The distress of this poor people is inexpressible. A most pleasant and delightful town in flames ! What a scene did the 8th of July present !

But I must forbear !—Every thing I have written you may depend upon as fact : my pen has not been guided by prejudice, whatever my feelings are ; and should you publish the letter, every reader may be assured that there is not the least deviation from what actually took place upon this melancholy occasion.

Yours, &c.

ANDREW ELIOT.

AN ORIGINAL LETTER FROM GOVERNOUR SHIRLEY TO THE BOARD  
OF TRADE, RESPECTING FORT DUMMER. 1748.

*Boston, Nov. 30, 1748.*

*My Lords,*

**I** TAKE the first opportunity, after informing myself fully of the necessary facts, to answer that part of your lordships' letter of the 18th June last, which relates to Fort Dummer.

I find, upon examining the records of the province, that this fort was built about the year 1723, in time of war with the Indians : that in 1726, Lieutenant Governour Dummer made peace with them, and agreed to supply them with necessaries, and take their furs in exchange : that several forts in the eastern parts were pitched upon as places for carrying on this truck trade ; and Fort Dummer being the only fort at the west-

ward was thought convenient for it in that part of the province. But I must observe to your lordships, that the province by this trade have been little better than tributary to the Indians ; for they supplied them with goods near as cheap as they cost, and allowed for their furs the market price at Boston, and were at a great charge in keeping garrisons at the several forts, and always had a transport sloop in pay ; and if it had not been for fear of a breach with the Indians, would soon have discontinued so disadvantageous a trade.

When the present war broke out, there were several thriving settlements near this fort, and no other fortification of any sort beyond it ; for which reason I engaged the assembly of this province to continue to support a garrison, and they agreed to it. The inhabitants of a new township on Connecticut river, forty miles beyond this fort, afterwards built at their own charge a very good and large fort of square timber, known by the name of No. 4, which has several times been attacked by great bodies of the enemy, and very bravely defended. There were also built afterwards several small forts, on and near the river, between this No. 4 and Fort Dummer, at the charge of this province ; for the people were in hopes to have been able to continue in possession of their new settlements ; but they found it impracticable ; small parties of Indians frequently destroying them, when about their farming business ; so that in a few months no inhabitants were left, except those in the forts. Upon this I endeavoured to prevail on the assembly to keep garrisons in all these forts, but they refused, and some of them were burnt by the enemy ; and for several months, Fort Dummer was the furthestmost fort on that frontier, which had a garrison in it, until I ordered a party of the levies raised for the Canada expedition to possess themselves of No. 4, to prevent it from being burnt or taken possession of by the enemy ; and it happened fortunately that the soldiers arrived just time enough to save it from the enemy, who presently after attacked it in a large body ; and a garrison has been kept there in the pay of the province ever since. Now though there be no settlements between No. 4 and Fort Dummer, yet I have always thought it necessary both should be supported. The first was useful for parties to go out from, against the enemy, and at the same time diverted them from spending their rage upon the defenceless people further within ; and Fort Dummer being nearer the settlements, I likewise thought necessary, because No. 4 being very remote, the enemy might sometimes have come within in small parties, destroyed the inhabitants and escaped without the notice of the garrison there ; and which I have reason to think they have often been diverted from, for fear of a party from the garrison at Fort Dummer intercepting them on their return ; and by means of these fortresses, the enemy have been kept more at a distance, and a less number of people have been destroyed on the frontiers than in any former wars.

I must now inform your lordships, that none of the forts upon the inland frontiers are capable of resisting an enemy furnished with can-

non ; but yet Fort Dummer, with a suitable garrison, would never be in danger from any bodies of French and Indians, who come on our frontiers, as they never bring artillery. As to the artillery with which this fort has been furnished, there were four patararoes mounted before the war, and since the commencement of that, it has had two swivel guns and two four pounders.

Having never been on the spot myself, I cannot so well satisfy your lordships as to the conveniency of the situation. It was pitched upon as the most proper place, when it was built ; and I have never heard any exceptions to it, but from Mr. Wentworth's letter ; though if the province of New Hampshire had gone on to build the stone fort in the place they proposed, I cannot say but it might have been in many respects as convenient ; but I never heard of any such proposal only in this letter ; to be sure there never was any step taken to carry it into execution, as I have heard of.

I would observe, further, my lords, that Fort Dummer is but a few miles beyond a town called Northfield, part of which, by the new line, was taken from this province, and goes to New Hampshire ; so that if the fort be removed within the line, it will be in the midst of the inhabitants, who all live in garrison houses themselves ; and the principal end of such a fort, viz. keeping the enemy at a distance, or intercepting them on their return from our settlements, will be lost. And as for using it for a trading house, I am persuaded that the province will not go into such a trade again, if they can have peace without it ; but if they are obliged to it, in such a case it will be most agreeable to the Indians to have a trading house at some distance from our settlements, and will be most convenient in other respects.

I wish, my lords, Mr. Wentworth had represented in his letter the whole that passed between him and me relating to this fort. When I received his majesty's order in council of the 26th September, 1748, I immediately acquainted Mr. Wentworth of it : and several letters passed between us ; and at length he informed me that his assembly had refused to support the fort, and a copy of the vote of that assembly was laid before the assembly of this province ; and I engaged them to continue the support which they agreed to. But this vote of New Hampshire being lost in a late fire, which consumed the court house, I cannot send your lordships a copy of it. Afterwards Mr. Wentworth prevailed on another assembly to agree to support this fort. The house of representatives of this province then desired me to draw in all the forces beyond the new line. Whereupon I wrote to Mr. Wentworth, and desired him to take possession of the fort, and send orders to the commanding officers to deliver it to him ; but upon acquainting his majesty's council of this province with what I had done, they were of opinion that after New Hampshire had refused, according to the terms, and this province thereupon agreed to continue the support of it ; I could not by his majesty's orders be justified in delivering it up until his majesty's pleasure should be known ; and upon considering his

majesty's orders, I thought there was great room for such a construction. There was a jealousy besides, that it was the design of N. H. to make a short provision for this fort, and after they had got it out of the hands of this province, to slight it; for their proposed allowance to the soldiers was not half so much as was given by this government; and yet my soldiers were always complaining, that without additional allowance they could not subsist. So that upon the whole, I thought it my duty to countermand my first orders, and the fort has been supported by this government ever since.

I shall direct the commissary general to prepare an authentick account of the charge of supporting this fort since the war. And I cannot help observing to your lordships, that this is but a very inconsiderable part of the charge this province has been at beyond their line; but as your lordships have given no directions any further than respects this fort, I shall send no other accounts. I cannot but think, my lords, that the new running of west line certainly has a tendency to prevent the settlement of the country, for the inhabitants can have no dependence for sufficient protection, in case of war, from New Hampshire, within whose jurisdiction almost the whole western frontier now lies: nor indeed can it be expected from so small a government. And it has been with the greatest difficulty, that I have been able to prevail on this province to defend beyond their line, there being a very long frontier eastward, which lies within their bounds, and occasions a vast expense. However, I shall not presume to offer to your lordships any proposal, that may occasion any controversy between the two governments.

I am, &c.

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TWO ORIGINAL LETTERS FROM DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO THE  
HONOURABLE THOMAS CUSHING, ESQ. SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE  
OF REPRESENTATIVES OF MASSACHUSETTS.

*London, February 15, 1774.*

*Sir,*

I WROTE a line to you by the last packet, just to acquaint you there had been a hearing on our petition. I shall now give you the history of it as succinctly as I can.

We had long imagined that the king would have considered that petition as he had done the preceding one in his cabinet, and have given an answer without a hearing, since it did not pray punishments or disabilities on the governours. But on Saturday, the 8th of January, in the afternoon, I received notice from the clerk of the council, that the lords of the committee for plantation affairs, would, on the Tuesday following at twelve, meet at the Cockpit, to take into consideration the petition referred to them by his majesty, and that my attendance was required,

I sent directly to Mr. A Lee, requesting a meeting, that we might consult upon it. He was not at his chambers, but my note was left for him.

Sunday morning I went to Mr. Bollan, and communicated the affair to him. He had received a similar notice. We considered whether it was best to employ other counsel, since Mr. Lee, he said, could not be admitted as such, not being yet called to the bar: He thought it not advisable: He had sometimes done it in colony cases, and found lawyers of little service: Those who are eminent, and hope to rise in their profession, are unwilling to offend the court; and its disposition on this occasion was well known. But he would move to be heard in behalf of the council of the province, and thence take occasion to support the petition himself.

I went and sent again to Mr. Lee's chambers in the temple, but could not meet with him; and it was not till near the end of the week that I learnt he was at Bath.

On Monday, very late in the afternoon, I received another notice, that Mr. Mauduit, agent for the governour and lieutenant governour, had asked and obtained leave to be heard by counsel on the morrow in their behalf. This very short notice seemed intended to surprise us.

On Tuesday, we attended at the Cockpit, and the petition being read, I was called upon for what I had to offer in support of it, when, as had been concerted between us, I acquainted their lordships that Mr. Bolland, then present, in pursuance of their notice, would speak to it.

He came forward and began to speak; but objection was immediately made by some of the lords, that he being only agent for the council, which was not a party to this petition, he could not properly be heard on it: He however repeatedly endeavoured to obtain leave to speak, but without effect; they would scarce hear out a sentence, and finally set him aside.

I then said, that with the petition of the house of representatives I had received their resolutions which preceded it, and a copy of the letters on which those resolutions were founded, which I would lay before their lordships in support of the petition.

The resolutions were accordingly read; but when the letters were taken up, Mr. Wedderburne, the solicitor-general, brought there as counsel for the governours, began to object, and inquire how they were authenticated, as did also some of the lords. I said the authentications were annexed. They wanted to know the nature of them. I said that would appear, when they were read, and prayed they would hear them. Lord Chief Justice de Grey asked who the letters were directed to; and taking them in his hand, observed there was no address prefixed to any of them. I said, that though it did not appear to whom they were directed, it appeared who had written them; their names were subscribed; the originals had been shown to the gentlemen them-



selves, and they had not denied their hand writing ; and the testifications annexed proved these to be true copies. With difficulty I obtained to have the authentications read ; and the solicitor-general proceeding to make observations as counsel for the governours, I said to their lordships, that it was some surprise to me to find counsel employed against the petition ; that I had no notice of that intencion till late in the preceding day ; that I had not purposed troubling their lordships with the hearing of counsel, because I did not conceive that any thing could possibly arise out of the petition, any point of law or of right that might require the discussion of lawyers ; that I apprehended this matter before their lordships was rather a question of civil or political prudence, whether, on the state of the fact that the governours had lost all trust and confidence with the people, and become universally obnoxious, it would be for the interest of his majesty's service to continue them in those stations in that province : That I conceived this to be a question of which their lordships were already perfect judges, and could receive no assistance in it from the arguments of counsel ; but if counsel was to be heard on the other side, I must then request leave to bring counsel in behalf of the assembly, and that their lordships would be pleased to appoint a farther day for the hearing, to give time for preparing the counsel. Mr. Mauduit was then asked if he would waive the leave he had of being heard by counsel, that their lordships might proceed immediately to consider the petition. He said he was requested by the governours to defend them, and they had promised to defray the expense, by which he understood that they expected he should employ counsel ; and then making me some compliments as if of superior abilities, said he should not against me hazard the defence of his friends by taking it upon himself. I said I had intended merely to lay the papers before their lordships, without making a single comment on them : But this did not satisfy ; he chose to be heard by counsel. So finally I had leave to be heard by counsel also in behalf of the petition. The solicitor-general, finding his cavils against the admission of the letters were not supportable, at last said, that to save their lordships time he would admit the copies to be true transcripts of the originals, but he should reserve to himself a right, when the matter came on again, of asking certain questions, such as, how the assembly came into the possession of them, through what hands, and by what means they were procured ? Certainly (replied Lord Chief Justice de Grey, somewhat austerely) and to whom they were directed ; for the perfect understanding of the passages may depend on that and other such circumstances : We can receive no charge against a man founded on letters directed to nobody, and perhaps received by nobody : The laws of this country have no such practice." Lord President, near whom I stood, as I was putting up my papers, asked me if I intended to answer such questions. In that, I said, I shall take counsel. The day appointed for the hearing was the 29th of January.

Several friends now came to me, and advised me to retain Mr. Dunning, formerly solicitor-general, and very able in his profession. I wished first to consult with Mr. Lee, supposing he might rather be for his friend, Mr. Sergeant Glynn. I found Mr. Lee was expected in town about the latter end of the week, and thought to wait his coming; in the mean time I was urged to take Mr. Dunning's advice as to my own conduct, if such questions should be asked me. I did so, and he was clear that I was not and could not be obliged to answer them, if I did not choose it, which I informed him was the case, being under a promise not to divulge from whom I received the letters. He said he would attend however, if I desired it, and object in my behalf to their putting such questions.

A report now prevailed through the town, that I had been grossly abused by the solicitor-general, at the council board. But this was premature. He had only intended it, and mentioned that intention. I heard too, from all quarters, that the ministry and all the courtiers were highly enraged against me for transmitting those letters. I was called an incendiary, and the papers were filled with invectives against me. Hints were given me, that there were some thoughts of apprehending me, seizing my papers, and sending me to Newgate. I was well informed that a resolution was taken to deprive me of my place; it was only thought best to defer it till after the hearing: I suppose, because I was there to be so blackened, that nobody should think it injustice. Many knew too how the petition was to be treated; and I was told, even before the first hearing, that it was to be rejected with some epithets, the assembly to be censured, and some honour done the governours. How this could be known, one cannot say: It might be only conjecture. The transactions relating to the tea had increased and strengthened the torrent of clamour against us. Not one had the least expectation of success to the petition; and though I had asked leave to use counsel, I was half inclined to wave it, and save you the expense; but Mr. Bollan was now strongly for it, as they had refused to hear him. And though, fortified by his opinion, as he had long experience in your affairs, I would at first have ventured to deviate from the instructions you sent me in that particular, supposing you to allow some discretionary liberty to your agents, yet now that he urged it as necessary, I employed a solicitor, and furnished him with what materials I could for framing a brief; and Mr. Lee coming to town, entered heartily into the business, and undertook to engage Sergeant Glynn, who would readily have served us, but being in a fit of the gout which made his attendance uncertain, the solicitor retained Mr. Dunning and Mr. John Lee, another able man of the profession.

While my mind was taken up with this business, I was harassed with a subpoena from the chancellor, to attend his court the next day, at the suit of Mr. W. Whateley, concerning the letters. This man was under personal obligations to me, such as would have made it base

in him to commence such a suit of his own motion against me, without any previous notice, claim, or demand; but if he was capable of doing it at the instance of the ministry (whose banker he is for some pension money) he must be still baser.

The briefs being prepared and perused by our counsel, we had a consultation at Mr. Dunning's chambers in Lincoln's Inn. I introduced Mr. A. Lee as my friend and successor in the agency. The brief, as you will see by a copy I send you, pointed out the passages of the letters, which were applicable in support of the particular charges contained in the resolutions and petition. But the counsel observed, we wanted evidence to prove those passages false; the counsel on the other side would say they were true representations of the state of the country; and as to the political reflections of the writers, and their sentiments of government, their aims to extend and enforce the power of parliament, and diminish the privileges of their countrymen, though these might appear in the letters and need no other proof, yet they would never be considered here as offences, but as virtues and merits. The counsel therefore thought it would answer no good end to insist on those particulars; and that it was more advisable to state as facts the general discontent of the people, that the governours had lost all credit with them, and were become odious, &c. Facts of which the petition was itself full proof, because otherwise it could not have existed; and then show that it must in such a situation be necessary for his majesty's service, as well as the peace of the province, to remove them. By this opinion, great part of the brief became unnecessary.

Notwithstanding the intimations I had received, I could not believe that the solicitor-general would be permitted to wander from the question before their lordships, into a new case, the accusation of another person for another matter, not cognizable before them, who could not expect to be there so accused, and therefore could not be prepared for his defence. And yet all this happened, and in all probability was preconcerted; for all the courtiers were invited as to an entertainment, and there never was such an appearance of privy counsellors on any occasion, not less than thirty-five, besides an immense crowd of other auditors.

The hearing began by reading my letter to Lord Dartmouth, enclosing the petition, then the petition itself, the resolves, and lastly the letters, the solicitor-general making no objections, nor asking any of the questions he had talked of at the preceding board. Our counsel then opened the matter, upon their general plan, and acquitted themselves very handsomely; only Mr. Dunning, having a disorder on his lungs that weakened his voice exceedingly, was not so perfectly heard as one could have wished. The solicitor-general then went into what he called a history of the province for the last ten years, and bestowed plenty of abuse upon it, mingled with encomium on the governours: But the favourite part of his discourse was levelled at your agent, who stood there the butt of his invective and ribaldry for near an hour, not a single lord adverting to the impropriety and indecency of treating a

publick messenger in so ignominious a manner, who was present only as the person delivering your petition, with the consideration of which no part of *his* conduct had any concern. If he had done a wrong, in obtaining and transmitting the letters, that was not the tribunal where he was to be accused and tried: The cause was already before the chancellor. Not one of their lordships checked and recalled the orator to the business before them, but on the contrary (a very few excepted) they seemed to enjoy highly the entertainment, and frequently burst out in loud applauses. This part of his speech was thought so good, that they have since printed it, in order to defame me every where, and particularly to destroy my reputation on your side the water; but the grosser parts of the abuse are omitted, appearing, I suppose, in their own eyes, too foul to be seen on paper; so that the speech, compared to what it was, is now perfectly deceit. I send you one of the copies. My friends advise me to write an answer, which I purpose immediately.

The reply of Mr. Dunning concluded. Being very ill, and much incommoded by standing so long, his voice was so feeble, as to be scarce audible. What little I heard was very well said, but appeared to have little effect.

Their lordships' report, which I send you, is dated the same day. It contains a severe censure, as you will see, on the petition and the petitioners; and, as I think, a very unfair conclusion from my silence, that the charge of surreptitiously obtaining the letters was a true one; though the solicitor, as appears in the printed speech, had acquainted them that that matter was before the chancellor; and my counsel had stated the impropriety of my answering there, to charges then trying in another court. In truth I came by them honourably, and my intention in sending them was virtuous, if an endeavour to lessen the breach between two states of the same empire be such, by showing that the injuries complained of by one of them did not proceed from the other, but from traitors among themselves.

It may be supposed that I am very angry on this occasion, and therefore I did purpose to add no reflections of mine on the treatment the assembly and their agent have received, lest they should be thought the effects of resentment and a desire of exasperating. But indeed what I feel on my own account is half lost in what I feel for the publick. When I see that all petitions and complaints of grievances are so odious to government, that even the mere pipe which conveys them becomes obnoxious, I am at a loss to know how peace and union is to be maintained or restored between the different parts of the empire. Grievances cannot be redressed unless they are known; and they cannot be known but through complaints and petitions: If these are deemed affronts, and the messengers punished as offenders, who will henceforth send petitions? and who will deliver them?—It has been thought a dangerous thing in any state to stop up

the vent of griefs. Wise governments have therefore generally received petitions with some indulgence, even when but slightly founded. Those who think themselves injured by their rulers, are sometimes, by a mild and prudent answer, convinced of their error. But where complaining is a crime, hope becomes despair.

The day following I received a written notice from the secretary of the general post-office, that his majesty's post-master general *found it necessary* to dismiss me from my office of deputy post-master general in North America. The expression was well chosen, for in truth they were *under a necessity* of doing it; it was not their own inclination; they had no fault to find with my conduct in the office; they knew my merit in it, and that if it was now an office of value, it had become such chiefly through my care and good management; that it was worth nothing, when given to me; it would not then pay the salary allowed me, and unless it did, I was not to expect it; and that it now produces near £3000 a year clear to the treasury here: They had beside a personal regard for me. But as the post-offices in all the principal towns are growing daily more and more valuable by the increase of correspondence (the officers being paid *commissions* instead of *salaries*) the ministers seem to intend by directing me to be displaced on this occasion, to hold out to them all an example, that if they are not corrupted by their office to promote the measures of administration, though against the interest and rights of the colonies, they must not expect to be continued. This is the first act for extending the influence of government in this branch: But as orders have been some time since given to the American post-master general, who used to have the disposition of all places under them, not to fill vacancies of value, till notice of such vacancies had been sent hither, and instructions thereupon received from hence, it is plain that such influence is to be a part of the system, and probable that those vacancies will for the future be filled by officers from this country. How safe the correspondence of your Assembly-committees along the continent will be through the hands of such officers, may now be worth consideration, especially as the post-office act of parliament, allows a post-master to open letters, if warranted so to do by the order of a secretary of state, and every provincial secretary may be deemed a secretary of state in his own province.

It is not yet known what steps will be taken by government with regard to the colonies, or to our province in particular. But as inquiries are making of all who come from thence, concerning the late riot, and the meetings that preceded it, and who were speakers and movers at those meetings, &c. I suspect there is some intention of seizing persons, and perhaps of sending them hither. But of this I have no certainty. No motion has yet been made in the house of commons concerning our affairs; and that made in the house of lords was withdrawn for the present. It is not likely however that the session will pass over without some proceeding relating to us, though perhaps it is not yet settled what the measures shall be.

With my best wishes for the prosperity of the province, I have the honour to be,

Sir, your most obedient,  
and most humble servant,

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Hon. Thomas Cushing, Esq. Speaker.

London, April 2, 1774.

Sir,

**M**Y last was of the 22d past, since which I have received none of your favours.

I mentioned that the bill brought into parliament, for punishing Boston, met with no opposition. It did however meet with a little before it got through, some few of the members speaking against it in the house of commons, and more in the house of lords. It passed however by a very great majority in both, and received the royal assent on Thursday the 31st past. You will have a copy of it from Mr. Lee.

In mine of February 2d, I informed you that after the treatment I had received at the council board, it was not possible for me to act longer as your agent, apprehending I could as such be of no farther use to the province: I have nevertheless given what assistance I could as a private man, by speaking to members of both houses, and by joining in the petitions of the natives of America now happening to be in London, which were ably drawn by Mr. Lee, to be presented separately to the several branches of the legislature. They serve, though without other effect, to show our sentiments, and that we did not look on and let the act pass, without bearing our testimony against it. And indeed, though called *petitions* (for under another name they would not have been received) they are rather *remonstrances* and *protests*.

By the enclosed extract of a letter from Wakefield in Yorkshire to a friend of mine, you will see that the manufacturers begin to take the alarm. Another general non-importation agreement is apprehended by them, which would complete their ruin. But great pains are taken to quiet them with the idea, that Boston must immediately submit and acknowledge the claims of parliament, for that none of the other colonies will adhere to them. A number of the principal manufacturers from different parts of the kingdom are now in town, to oppose the new duty on foreign linens, which they fear may provoke the Germans to lay discouragements on British manufactures: They have desired me to meet and dine with them on Wednesday next, where I shall have an opportunity of learning their sentiments more fully, and communicating my own.

Some alterations of the constitution of the Massachusetts are now hotly talked of, though what they are to be seems hardly yet settled. One thing mentioned is the appointment of the council by mandamus.

Another, giving power to the governour to appoint magistrates without consent of council. Another, the abolishing of town meetings, or making it unlawful to hold them, till the business to be proposed has been certified to the governour, and his permission obtained. A motion has also been made in the house of commons, with a view to conciliate, as is said; that all the duty acts should be revised, and in the revision and re-enacting, without formally or expressly repealing the tea duty (which would hurt the *dignity* of parliament) sink or omit it, and add an equal value in some of the coasting port duties; and the tea duty being thus taken out of the way, it is supposed will have the salutary effect of preventing the other colonies from making a common cause with ours: Some advantages in trade are at the same time to be given to America for the same purpose, such as carrying wine and fruit directly from Spain and Portugal, without touching in England.

I send enclosed the proceedings of the lords on Wednesday, which show their zeal in the business, by appointing a committee to sit during the recess in the Easter holidays.

With great esteem, I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Hon. Thomas Cushing, Esq.

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A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF WELLFLEET, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE.

WELLFLEET is situated on the peninsula, called Cape Cod, south-east from Boston; distant by land, one hundred and five miles; by water, twenty leagues; and from the Plymouth light, eight leagues. From the high lands, on the west part of the town, we discover in a clear day, with the naked eye, the high lands of Plymouth, Kingston, Duxborough, and Marshfield. The town is bounded by Eastnam, south; the Atlantick Ocean, east; by Truro, north; and Barnstable bay, west; being seven miles in length, and four in breadth, from the high lands and Billingsgate Point which includes the harbour, west, to the waters on the east side of the town. The harbour is large, indented within with creeks, where vessels of seventy or eighty tons may lie safe. Large ships may lie safe in what is called the Deep Hole, near the town, or to the eastward of Billingsgate Point, in what is called the Horse-Shoe, five miles from the head of the harbour. Without Billingsgate Point, is what is called the Shoal Ground. Large vessels should keep a league to the westward of the Point, if they would come safe round. This harbour is but little known or frequented, except by persons who inhabit round the bay.

From the table lands in Eastham, to Race Point, is a large range of high hills, all of them sandy; except one large mountain, which is of

solid clay, in Truro, called the Clay Pounds, because vessels have had the misfortune to be pounded to pieces against it, in gales of wind.

From these hills, in pleasant days in February and March, we often discover fifty or sixty sail of vessels, which come from the West-Indies and the southward, and have been sheltered in the Vineyard Sound. Within these hills in Wellfleet, is a range of fresh ponds, where sea fowl obtain fresh water, and where there are fish of the smaller kind. Such as have outlets, receive alewives, which go up in the month of May.

The land is barren. The growth of wood is small pitch pine and oak.

From the harbour there are many salt creeks, known by different names, which are surrounded with salt marsh. There is no fresh hay cut in the town.

This town was incorporated 1763. Before this it was known, by being called the North Precinct in Eastham, and was originally included in the Indian Skeekeet and Pamet. The first inhabitants of this place attended publick worship at Eastham. When their numbers and property were sufficient, they built a small meeting-house, in which the Rev. Josiah Oaks, youngest son of the Hon. Thomas Oaks,\* Esq. of Boston, preached for a number of years. After Mr. Oaks,† the Rev. Isaiah Lewis was settled in the work of the ministry over this people. He was ordained September 23d, 1730, and continued in the work of the ministry, until prevented by the infirmities of age. April 13th, 1785, the Rev. Levi Whitman was ordained a colleague pastor, with him. Mr. Lewis died October 3d, 1786, aged eighty-four.

The business of the people in this town was originally the whale fishery, in which none were more expert than the aboriginal Indians. Before the late war, this branch of business was carried on to exceeding good advantage. The inhabitants had acquired large property, which was destroyed and lost in the time of war. No towns suffered more by the war, except those that were reduced to ashes.

In 1772, there was a fever, which proved mortal to between forty and fifty persons. Those who had this distemper first, almost all died. Since that time the people of this place have enjoyed health in common with other places.

The number of inhabitants was very much diminished in the time of war. Many were captivated and died in prison ships and otherwise. Twenty-three were lost in a ship called the America. The distresses caused by the war were the means of removing many families to Penobscot and other places. Since the war, the whale and cod fisheries have revived; people's circumstances are mended; and the number of their vessels has been increased.

\* The Hon. Thomas Oaks, Esq. of Boston, died in this town, July 15, 1719, aged seventy-six, and lies interred by his son, the Rev. Josiah Oaks, in what we call the old burying ground.

† He died 1732, aged 44.



The people in this town are engaged in the sea service : a sailor is looked on as one engaged in the most honourable and beneficial employments : there are but few mechanicks. Our vessels commonly fit out from Boston, and go thither to dispose of their oil, fish, bone, &c. Perhaps there are but few towns so well supplied with fish of all kinds as Wellfleet ; among which are some that are uncommon, such as the sword-fish and cramp-fish. The latter, which when touched with human flesh, gives it an electrical shock, has been caught on our shores. The oil of this fish is said to be beneficial in certain cases. We also have the bill-fish in great plenty in the month of October.

No part of the world has better oysters than the harbour of Wellfleet. Time was when they were to be found in the greatest plenty ; but in 1775, a mortality from an unknown cause carried off the most of them. Since that time the true Billingsgate oysters have been scarce ; and the greater part that are carried to market, are first imported and laid in our harbour, where they obtain the proper relish of Billingsgate.

We have no social library ; and the means of education are not equal fully to the purpose of fitting our young men for the business, which they are many times called to in after life.

We have in the winter a number of private schools, by which means the greater part of the young men are taught the art of navigation. Three persons from this town have received their education at college.

Since the memory of people now living, there have been born in this small town, thirty pair of twins, beside two births that produced six, three each. Within the bill of mortality we include five families within the bounds of Truro, who live near to us and attend publick worship with us. The whole number of souls, when the census was taken, amounted to twelve hundred. The number of deaths in nine years past has been one hundred and forty-five. As to births, we cannot be so accurate. The number of baptisms in nine years past has been three hundred and ninety-four ; and perhaps if the few infants not baptized were added to the number, the proportion would be nearly three births to one death.

Several persons have lived to advanced ages in this town. Mrs. Mary Treat, whose name before marriage was Lion, was born in a village near London, and died in the hundredth year of her age, when she was superannuated, so as not to recollect late transactions. She could be very particular in relating what was done in her youth. She would however often repeat the same things. I have several times heard her give a particular account of her being in London at the coronation of George the first. Mrs. Hannah Doane lived ninety-five years, and was remarkable for her piety. Mr. John Young lived eighty-five years, and spent fifty of them in the whaling service. It may be noted, that many of the people of this town spend more than half their lives at sea and on ship-board. Navigation engrosses their whole attention. otherwise excellent gardens might be made in swamps, near ponds and

marshes, where the tide might be dyked out. Brick also might be made in the town, were the people disposed for it. These, however, we are obliged to import for chimnies, underpinning houses, and for bricking up cellars and wells; in as much as there are not stones in the town for the purpose.

On the Cape, especially at the lower end of it, we are subject to heavy gales of wind. We have but little snow in comparison with the neighbourhood of Boston. The atmosphere is very much impregnated with saline particles, which perhaps with the great use of fish, and the neglect of cider and spruce beer, may be a reason, why the people are more subject to sore mouths and throats, than in other places. It is a question however submitted to the faculty, whether antidotes against scorbutick complaints might not be beneficial?

We at times have shipwrecks on the shores, which perhaps might be prevented by a light house on the Clay Pounds. No shipwreck is more remarkable than that of the noted pirate Bellamy, mentioned by Governour Hutchinson in his history.\* In the year 1717, his ship with his whole fleet were cast on the shore of what is now Wellfleet, being led near the shore by the captain of a snow, which was made a prize on the day before; who had the promise of the snow as a present, if he would pilot the fleet in Cape Cod harbour; the captain, suspecting that the pirate would not keep his promise, and that instead of clearing his ship, as was his pretence, his intentions were to plunder the inhabitants of Province town. The night being dark, a lantern was hung in the shrouds of the snow, the captain of which, instead of piloting where he was ordered, approached so near the land, that the pirate's large ship which followed him struck on the outer bar: the snow being less, struck much nearer the shore. The fleet was put in confusion; a violent storm arose; and the whole fleet was shipwrecked on the shore. It is said, that all in the large ship perished in the waters, except two. Many of the smaller vessels got safe on shore. Those that were executed, were the pirates put on board a prize schooner before the storm, as it is said. After the storm, more than an hundred dead bodies lay along the shore. At times to this day, there are King William and Queen Mary's coppers picked up, and pieces of silver, called cob money. The violence of the seas moves the sands upon the outer bar; so that at times the iron caboose of the ship, at low ebbs, has been seen.

The method of killing gulls, in the gull house, is no doubt an Indian invention: and also that of killing birds and fowl upon the beach, in dark nights. The gull house is built with crotches fixed in the ground on the beach, and covered with poles, the sides being covered with stakes and sea-weed, the poles on the top covered with lean whale. The man being placed within, is not discovered by the fowls, and while they are contending for and eating the flesh, he draws them in one by

\* Vol. II. p. 223.

one between the poles, until he has collected forty or fifty. This number has often been taken in a morning. The method of killing small birds and fowl that perch upon the beach, is by making a light: the present mode is with hog's lard in a frying pan: we suppose the Indians used a pine torch. Birds in a dark night will flock to the light, and may be killed with a walking cane.

It would be curious indeed to a countryman, who lives at a distance from the sea, to be acquainted with the method of killing black-fish. Their size is from four to five tons weight, when full grown. When they come within our harbours, boats surround them. They are as easily driven to the shore as cattle or sheep are driven on the land. The tide leaves them, and they are easily killed. They are a fish of the whale kind, and will average a barrel of oil each. I have seen nearly four hundred at one time lying dead on the shore. It is not however very often of late that these fish come into our harbour.

If what is here collected be worthy of the notice of the Historical Society, it is presented to them by their most obedient,

Humble servant,

LEVI WHITMAN.

*Wellfleet, October 26, 1793.†*

The inhabitants do not raise grain sufficient for the town. The common method is to import it from the southern states. We have for grinding it into meal, five wind-mills, and one tide-mill.

—•—  
A BILL OF MORTALITY, IN WELLFLEET, BEGINNING OCTOBER 26, 1784, TO OCTOBER 26, 1793.

[Those under a year old are distinguished by being called infants.]

*Ages.*

November	{	Infant.		
		Infant.		
		Child,	1	worms.
December	{	Infant.		
		Child,	4	
		Male,	45	paralytick.
January	{	Male,	18	*drowned.
		Male,	4	worms.
March	{	Female,	65	consumption.
		Infant.		
April	{	Male,	65	consumption.
August	{	Female,	18	fever.
October	{	Child,	2	
		Infant.		

15, first year.

☞ Those with this \* mark, died from home.

† This day completes nine years since I first saw this town.

*October 26, 1785.*

November	Female,	60	dropsy.	
December	Infant.			
January	{ Male;	36	*fever.	
	{ Infant.			
February	Female,	95	old age.	
March	Female,	28	consumption.	
April	{ Male,	24	*drowned.	
	{ Female,	48	consumption.	
May	Male,	38	*bilious colick.	
July	{ Male,	79	consumption.	
	{ Male,	39	consumption.	
August	Child,	1		
September	Male,	17	*fever.	
October	Male,	84	paralytick.	14, second year.

*October 26, 1786.*

November	Child,	2		
December	{ Male,	23	*small-pox.	
	{ Male,	85	consumption.	
	{ Infant.			
January	Male,	21	*consumption.	
February	{ Female,	13	cancer.	
	{ Female,	87	old age.	
	{ Male,	18	drowned.	
	{ Female,	58	consumption.	
March	{ Male,	27	*small-pox.	
	{ Male,	36	*bilious colick.	
	{ Female,	75	paralytick.	
April	{ Male,	30	small-pox.	
	{ Infant.			
May	{ Male,	19	*drowned.	
	{ Infant.			
October	Female,	8	canker.	17, third year.

*October 26, 1787.*

November	{ Male,	4	canker.	
	{ Child,	1	in a few days after swallowing lixiv-	
January	{ Child,	1	teething.	[ium or lye.
	{ Infant,		consumption.	
March	Infant,		suffocated in bed.	
April	Male,	31	*consumption.	
July	Male,	23	*drowned.	
August	{ Male,	68	asthma.	
	{ Female,	70	consumption.	
September	{ Female,	45	in travail.	
	{ Male,	84	paralytick.	11, fourth year.

*October 26, 1788.*

November	Female,	19	*drowned.
December	{ Infant.		
	{ Infant.		
February	{ Infant,		suffocated in bed.
	{ Female,	36	languishment after falling into the fire.
March	Infant.		
April	{ Male,	19	consumption.
	{ Child,	3	a bean in the wind-pipe.
June	{ Female,	12	consumption.
	{ Infant,		fits.
	Male,	85	old age.
July	Infant,		sore mouth.
September	Female,	21	dysentery.
October	{ Female,	38	dysentery.
	{ Child,	5	dysentery.

16, *fifth year.*

*October 26, 1789.*

November	{ Male,	21	*drowned.
	{ Male,	37	consumption.
December	{ Infant.		
	{ Female,	33	puerperal fever.
March	{ Female,	28	consumption.
	{ Infant.		
April	{ Male,	11	*measles.
	{ Male,	58	drowned.
May	{ Female,	74	paralytick.
	{ Male,	19	*measles.
June	{ Male,	30	*measles.
	{ Female,	52	influenza.
July	{ Infant.		
	{ Infant.		
October	{ Male,	58	strangury.
	{ Male,	24	*fever.

18, *sixth year.*

*October 26, 1790,*

December	Female,	65	consumption.
January	{ Male,	35	drowned.
	{ Male,	39	drowned.
March	Female,	55	consumption.
April	{ Female,	60	asthma.
	{ Female,	86	old age.
May	Infant.		

June	{	Infant.		
		Female,	25	consumption.
		Female,	100	old age.
		Female,	28	consumption.
August	{	Infant.		
September	{	Infant,		whooping cough.
		Child,		whooping cough.
		Male,	2	
October	{	Male,	30	scorbutick.
		Infant,		whooping cough.
		Child,	2	whooping cough.
	{	Child,	1	whooping cough.

19, seventh year.

October 26, 1791.

October	{	Infant,		whooping cough.
November	{	Male,	72	consumption.
		Child,	1	canker.
		Child,	1	consumption.
December	{	Female,	38	unknown.
		Female,	88	old age.
February	{	Infant.		worms.
		Female,	90	old age.
April	{	Child,	2	worms.
		Male,	69	*fever.
May	{	Infant.		
July	{	Infant.		
		Infant.		
		Female,	68	a consumption, not having been able [to swallow any thing but liquids for 28 years.
August	{	Infant.		
		Infant.		
October	{	Female,	14	fever.
		Female,	83	dropsy.

19, eighth year.

October 26, 1792.

January	{	Male,	44	small-pox.
February	{	Child	4	fever.
March	{	Infant.		
April	{	Female,	14	consumption.
		Child,	1	canker.
		Female,	62	apoplexy.
May	{	Infant,		consumption.
		Male,	66	fever.
		Male,	43	*asthma.
June	{	Child,	1	worms.
		Infant.		

July	Male,	24	*fever.
August	{	Infant.	
		Infant,	dysentery.
September	{	Infant.	
		Infant.	

16, ninth year: Sum total, 145.

Under one year				48
Between	1	and	5	19
	5	—	10	2
	10	—	15	5
	15	—	25	15
	25	—	35	10
	35	—	45	12
	45	—	55	4
	55	—	65	7
	65	—	75	10
	75	—	80	2
	80	—	85	3
	85	—	90	5
	90	—	95	1
	95	—	100	2
				145

DISEASES AND CASUALTIES.

Accidents (10 drowned)					15
Apoplexy,	—	—	—	—	1
Asthma,	—	—	—	—	3
Bilious colick,	—	—	—	—	2
Cancer,	—	—	—	—	1
Canker,	—	—	—	—	4
Childbed,	—	—	—	—	1
Consumption,	—	—	—	—	25
Dropsy,	—	—	—	—	3
Dysentery,	—	—	—	—	3
Fevers,	—	—	—	—	9
Fits,	—	—	—	—	1
Influenza,	—	—	—	—	1
Measles,	—	—	—	—	8
Old age,	—	—	—	—	7
Palsy,	—	—	—	—	5
Puerperal fever,	—	—	—	—	1
Scurvy,	—	—	—	—	1
Small-pox,	—	—	—	—	4
Sore mouth,	—	—	—	—	1
Strangury,	—	—	—	—	1
Teething,	—	—	—	—	1

*Unknown,	—	—	—	—	41
Whooping cough,	—	—	—	—	6
Worms,	—	—	—	—	5
					145

AN ORIGINAL LETTER FROM DR. INCREASE MATHER, TO GOVERNOUR DUDLEY.

*Sir,*

**T**HAT I have had a singular respect for you, the Lord knows ; but that since your arrival to the government, my charitable expectations have been greatly disappointed, I may not deny. Without any further preface or compliments, I think it my duty freely and faithfully to let you understand what my sad fears concerning you are.

1st. I am afraid you cannot clear yourself from the guilt of bribery and unrighteousness : For you to declare to Mr. Newton, that he should not do what his office as judge in the admiralty obliged him unto, unless he would give you an hundred pounds, was surely a sin of that nature. And for you not to consent that some, whose titles to their land the General Assembly had confirmed, should enjoy their right, except they would give you a sum of money, is unrighteousness. To deny men their right, except they will by some gift purchase it, is certainly the sin of bribery, let who will be guilty of it. These and other things Mr. Newton and Mr. Partridge have given their affidavits of ; and I hear that many things of this nature will shortly be discovered : There is a scripture that makes me think it will be so. Numb. xxxii. 23.

2d. I am afraid that you have not been true to the interest of your country, as God (considering his marvellous dispensations towards you) and his people have expected from you. Sir H. Ashurst writes to me, that it would fill a quire of paper for him to give a full account of your contrivances to ruin your country, both this and the neighbour colony. Your son Paul's letter, dated January 12, 1703-4, to W. Wharton, seems to those that have read it, to be nothing short of a demonstration, that both of you have been contriving to destroy the charter privileges of the province ; and to obtain a commission for a court of chancery, alias, a court of bribery. A gentleman in London gave ten pounds for that letter, that so his friends in New England might see what was plotting against them.

3d. I am afraid that you cannot clear yourself from the guilt of much hypocrisy and falseness in the affair of the college. In 1686, when you accepted of an illegal arbitrary commission from the late K. James, you said, that the cow was dead, and therefore the calf in her belly ; meaning the charter of the college and colony. You said (and truly

\* In this class are included the nameless diseases of children.



enough) that it was not in the power of that government to constitute a corporation, it being contrary to a maxim in law, for a corporation to make a corporation. And all writers who handle the subject, say, that a college cannot be erected without sovereign authority. But how much have you of late, to serve a design, said and done contrary to your former assertions ! What an happiness would it have been to the country and a glory to the college, to have had what was by the General Assembly in my Lord Bellamont's time, sent to and confirmed by royal authority. It is your fault, Sir, that it has not been done. For both Mr. Blathwait and Mr. Phips wrote, that if you desired it, the thing would be immediately despatched. You promised me, you would endeavour it : yet some of the representatives told me at the same time, that you promised them the contrary. And I have been informed, that you have discouraged the matter from proceeding by letters home. Alas ! Sir, your friends are not faithful as they ought to be. Some whom you have promoted will backbite you, and say you are the falsest man in the world. But which of them have attended the divine precept ? Lev. xix. 17.

4th. I am afraid that the guilt of innocent blood is still crying in the ears of the Lord against you. I mean the blood of Leister and Milburn. My Lord Bellamont said to me, that he was one of the committee of Parliament who examined the matter ; and that those men were not only murdered, but barbarously murdered. However, the murdered men have been cleared by the King, Lords, and Commons. It is out of my province to be a judge in things of this nature. Nevertheless, considering what the proper judges, who have had an impartial hearing of the case, have said, and what the gentleman who drew up a bill for taking off the attainder from those poor men, have written to me about it, I think you ought, for your family's sake, as well as your own, to lay that matter to heart, and consider whether you ought not to pray as Psalms, li. 14.

5th. I am afraid that the Lord is offended with you, in that you ordinarily forsake the worship of God in the holy church to which you are related, in the afternoon on the Lord's day, and after the publick exercise, spend the whole time with some persons reputed very ungodly men. I am sure your father did not so. Can you sanctify the Sabbath in a conversation with such men ? Would you choose to be with them or such as they are in another world, unto which you are hastening ? 2 Chron. xix. 2. I had like to have said, my heart mourns for you, because I believe greater troubles are very near unto you, than any that have befallen you from your youth unto this day ; but I forbear, and may not at present acquaint you with.

But, Sir, there are at present two reasons which induced me to discharge my conscience in laying before you my fears. One is, in that you have sometimes said, that if ever you had a spiritual father, I was the man. And there was a time when I encouraged the church, with whom I have been labouring in the work of the Lord these forty-six

years and more, to call you to be my assistant in the ministry. The other is, that a letter thought to have been written by me, induced the late K. William to give you a commission for the government here. Sir H. Ashurst, in a letter dated the 25th of July last, says, that the day before a Right Honourable person, one of her Majesty's Privy Council, assured him, that it was a letter of my son's which you read to the King, that inclined him to give you a commission, and that the King thought the letter had been mine.

How glad should I be, if I could receive satisfaction that my fears of your being faulty, in the matters I have faithfully mentioned to you, are groundless; but if otherwise considering such scriptures as these, Isai. lviii. 1. Jer. xxiii. 28. Math. xiv. 4, 5. 1 Tim. v. 21. I am under pressures of conscience to bear a publick testimony without respect of persons; and I shall rejoice if it may be my dying testimony. I am now aged, expecting and longing for my departure out of the world every day. I trust in Christ that when I am gone, I shall obtain a good report of my having been faithful before him. To his mercy I commend you, and remain in him,

Yours to serve,

I. MATHER.

*Boston, January 20, 1707-8.*

*To the Governour.*

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AN ORIGINAL LETTER FROM DR. C. MATHER, TO GOVERNOUR DUDLEY.

*Boston, Jan. 20, 1707-8.*

*Sir,*

THERE have appeared such things in your conduct, that a just concern for the welfare of your Excellency seems to render it necessary, that you should be *faithfully advised* of them. It was not without a design to introduce and exercise this *faithfulness*, that I have in divers letters to your Excellency, *sought out acceptable words*, and acknowledged every thing in the world, that might at all dispose you to give me the hearing. In some of those letters, I have indeed, with the language of the tribe of *Naphtali*, insinuated unto you, what those points were, wherein I earnestly desired that we might observe and confess you *laudable*. And I still imagined that you would at the same time understand my apprehension of there being points, wherein you were too defective. But your Excellency compels me to see that the *schemes of speaking* and *modes of addressing* used among persons of the most polite education, will not answer the expectation I have had of them. You will give me leave to write nothing, but in a style, whereof an ignorant mob, to whom (as well as the *General Assembly*) you think fit to communicate what *fragments* you please of my letters, must be *competent judges*. I must proceed accordingly. And though I may complain of it, that the letters, which I have written formerly to your Excellency, have been improved unto my *damage* ;

yet I will now venture another, which if it may be for *your service*, I care not, though it be as much for my *detriment* as any of the rest, and exposed as an *appendix* unto them. A letter of mine, the reading whereof to K. William was (as I have heard) of some small service to you in obtaining his royal determination, that you should have his commission for the government, brought upon me an extreme displeasure in the country. I proposed therein to return good for evil, to conquer evil with good, and retaliate (in my own way) the venoms which you poured upon me, in your last conference with my father, at your leaving *New England*. And if I never saw after this an expression of your *gratitude*, yet I saw all that I proposed. However, to hand such a *gross untruth* about the country, as a report (which I hear some of your counsellors do as from you) that at the time of my writing *that letter*, I wrote *another* quite the contrary, to do you a disservice, is but a very mean requital.

When that letter was written, I weakly believed that the *wicked* and *horrid* things done before the *righteous revolution*, had been heartily repented of; and that the rueful business at New York, which many illustrious persons of both houses of parliament often called a *barbarous murder*, and which the king, lords, and commons, by an *act of parliament* invited all persons to think so, had been considered with such a repentance, as might save you and your family from any further *storms of heaven* for the revenging of it. I flattered myself with a belief, that you would know no interests but those of a glorious Christ, and of his *people and kingdom*, and study what you should render to him for his wonderful dispensations towards you, in restoring you to your family, with the government of a people, with whom you had been in such evil circumstances. The whole country were witnesses to some of my poor and plain endeavours, to do the part of a *faithful monitor* unto you, in the *portraiture of a good man*, at your arrival. Sir, had you then received your government with serious and thankful considerations, perpetually carried on, *how to discharge it as a stewardship for the glorious Lord*, and how to make this an holy and an happy people; and resolution to do nothing in it but what should be *just and good*; how honourably, how comfortably would your government have at last expired! Your late epitaph would have been, *Them that honour me, I will honour*. And in the mean time, you would not have known the meaning of a *troubled sea*. You might have maintained a very *inoffensive conduct* towards the gentlemen of whom most of all you have stood in fear: or if they had been uneasy, the great God would have accomplished for you the word which the Emperor *Maximilian* wrote upon his tables: whereas now, they are the very persons by whose means most of all *your fear is like to come upon you*. It seems as if the glorious Lord had a controversy with you. He has raised you up very powerful enemies. The best office of love that can be done for you, is, to assist you that your ways *may please* the glorious Lord, and remind you wherein you have *not pleased* him.

Sir, your *snare* has been that thing, the *hatred* whereof is most expressly required of the *ruler*, namely COVETOUSNESS. When a governour shall make his government more an engine to enrich himself, than to *befriend his country*, and shall by the *unhallowed hunger* of riches be prevailed withal to do many wrong, base, dishonourable things ; it is a covetousness which will shut out from the kingdom of heaven ; and sometimes the *loss of a government on earth* also is the punishment of it. Now, Sir, much of this has appeared in your administration ; and the disposition to *make haste to be rich* has betrayed you unto things, from which many have wondered, that the *natural goodness*, which they thought was in your *temper*, has not restrained you. In saying this, I use much *softer terms* than your departed friend, Mr. Stoughton (as well as another of nearer affinity to you) used, with some of the most eminent persons, concerning you. And the censure of such a person at least may render it reasonable and seasonable to examine yourself upon it. The main channel of that COVETOUSNESS has been the *reign of bribery*, which you, Sir, have set up in the land, where it was hardly known, till you brought it in fashion. When you were going over to exhibit articles against Sir William Phips, as others have done, and will do (I hear) against you, you said *you could put him in a way to make the perquisites of his government worth twelve hundred a year*. He did not understand the way ; and said, *he was sure he must not be an honest man, if he did so*. But, Sir, you have made the way now to be understood. It was unaccountable, which you let fall at the Council Board, *that a Governour could not be guilty of bribery*. Yes, Sir, in Paul's time one could : and there lie affidavits before the Queen and Council, which affirm that you have been guilty of it in very many instances. I do also know that you have. You may expect that many more such instances will in time be declared. In the mean time the most infamous things done by your son this way (to whom I design more particularly to apply myself) do many of them reflect upon you ; because the marks of a most intimate communication between you on this head, are on the *view and talk* of all the world. He has *made himself vile*, and you have been far from restraining him. Sir, you are not such a stranger to history, but that you know the stories of what was done even by Pagan emperors unto their governours, when *bribends* could be charged upon them. It is a fearful thing, when *professing christians* will do that which *virtuous Pagans* have condemned as the worst of crimes ; and when the member of an assembly professing *christianity*, shall in the defence of it say, *it is a very little thing*. This iniquity, and that one branch of it, a demand of *cruel pensions* for *places*, does fearfully betray and deprave the country. It brings in a flood of confusion ; and it is now come to pass, that *lesser officers* begin to do villainous things in that way of iniquity ; to which *bribends* and *robberies* they embolden themselves, because they think they have a *great example*. The *dishonour* done to the *Queen's government* by this iniquity is irreparable : it begets a low and vile idea in the minds of the people.

But the worst wounds of all are given to the *guilty person* himself : because there is an essential ingredient of a sincere and *saving repentance* in the case, which the person will usually run any hazard rather than comply withal ; and that is restitution, I say, restitution. And this it is that many do *firmly believe* has drawn you in to countenance that *unlawful trade* with the enemies, which has been carried on by some *grateful merchants*, and the bitterness whereof, I am afraid, is not yet over. The house of representatives did by their *vote* several times over, generally declare that they could not clear you from that *unlawful trade* ; and though they were drawn at last into a *vote* of a more *particular aspect* about it, every body sees through the fallacy. Nor will such men of honour as divers of the pensioners at home (I believe) be so negligent of their own vindication, from the impolitick essays to stigmatize them, in the *votes* which you have (and this *untruly*) procured to be published in your *News Letter*, as *unanimous* ; but they will pursue the inquiry, who shingled and boarded the *barracks* of the soldiers at the forts in *Port Royal*.

The whole affair of the trial of those *grateful merchants* will by degrees be brought to light ; yea, is already so ; and the communications between Roxbury and the prison are discovered, and will be published on the house top ; and some fear will be found, MINOR FUIT IPSA INFAMIA VERO.

A trial of that nature by the *general assembly* is a thing which you always decried with the greatest abhorrence : yet you permitted it ; yet you promoted it ; yet you managed it, when a personal advantage might come out of it. *The people were ensnared*, by what you drew, Sir, them unto ; the country endangered. And I must now tell you, Sir, that a certain letter to Sir *Charles Hobby* had never been written, if there had not come to the writer some gentlemen of your church of *England* (among some of whom your conversation on the *Lord's day*, after the publick service is over, has been by many serious christians a little wondered at !) pressing for such a letter to be written ; because they protested with indignation that they perceived by some of your own private discourses among *them*, that you intended to improve that *illegal trial* unto the disadvantage of the *charter*.

This leads me to complain of the wrongs which you have done in that regard, or endeavoured to do, unto this poor *people* of God. I suppose myself to have but very little esteem among them ; I have often met with unkind and unjust usage among them ; I look upon my opportunities to be useful unto them as almost extinguished. Had I the *wings of a dove*, I know what I would do. If I remain here, it is as uneasy as *Martinius* tied with an iron chain to a mighty stone ; or — standing for whole years together at his prayers in the cleft of a rock : Nevertheless I will plead for them. There is among them a *people dear unto God* : they should be dear unto us. It cannot be for the welfare of any man, or his family, designedly to hurt such a *people* : No, nor *Connecticut* any more than *Massachusetts*.

*Connecticut*, I say, because the late governour whereof has sent over large packets to *England*, and among the rest a letter or two from *Northampton*, demonstrating a wonderful *falsehood* in the charges, which you have loaded this poor people withal.

We have long since had sent over to us your *son's letter* to a kinsman, which declares your good will to the *charter*, expressed more ways than one. And, Sir, why should any more charters be envied, maligned, unhinged? The destruction of them would open the flood gates for a world of inconveniences, though particular men might be gainers thereby.

Shall I go on with my expostulations in behalf of my poor people? Before the Port Royalers knew (though we did) that the war was broke forth, you were earnestly solicited (as *Haraden* tells) by some, who would have put the country to no charge about it, that you would but give them leave to go, and at once put an end unto all possibility of any future trouble from that quarter, that — unto us. I beseech you, Sir, why did you reject that proposal, and send them away with grief, and make them fear and say, *that a seat of trade was to be reserved there*? This one thing has undone us.

When *Church* afterwards went with his forces thither, he could as easily have taken the fort at *Port Royal*, as have done any thing in the world; but the reason which he has often given of his not doing it, is because you absolutely *forbade* him; you peremptorily *forbade* him. The cause you assigned was; because the matter had been laid before the *Queen*; and the *Queen* had *sent over no orders* for it. Anon the fort will not be taken; and though the *Queen* has sent no orders, we send a pretence to take it. But this story grows now too black a story for me to meddle with. The expedition baffled. The *fort* never so much as demanded. The forces retreating from the place, as if they were afraid of its being surrendered. An *eternal gravestone* laid out on the buried *captives*. A nest of hornets provoked to fly out upon us. The back of the country broken with insupportable *expenses*. A shame cast upon us, that will never be forgotten. And all possible care taken that after all, *nobody shall be to blame*! I dare not, I cannot meddle with these mysteries. There are abler and better pens will do it. All I say is, the country is ruined; and the premises declare whose conduct very much of the ruin is owing to. As I could wish that your own true *honour* and *interest* had in those matters been more consulted; so it were to be wished that the *honour of the government* had been less forgotten. Sir, though your *counsellors* have not the courage (as I have) to tell you of it, yet I will inform you that your way of treating *them* is grievous to many of *them*, a *damage* to the publick, and a *disgrace* to the government.

When things are proposed unto them, you will not allow them (no, though they in an humble manner request it) the liberty of a due *deliberation*. You *hurry* them; you *force* them; you *chase* them out

of their pace ; you *drive* them too fast ; and when you have been told of *wrong steps*, you have laid the blame upon them, saying, *It was the council*.

When *officers* are to be chosen, a day for a *general council* is appointed. You take not the *day* for the choice. Two or three days after, you *nick the time for the turn*. Sometimes *justices* are thus obtruded upon the people, that bring a blemish and contempt on the *commissions* ; and are the reason why our best gentlemen disdain to meddle with them ; and some that have them, do resent the affront of the companions provided for them, as much as the gentlemen of Essex do what was lately put upon them.

It is no rare thing for you to impose gross *contradictions* on the council. You will strongly *assert* a thing ; and a while after, with as much strength, assert the contrary. Yea, in the same session, you will vehemently *explode* a thing ; and within a week or two, as vehemently *maintain* that very thing. You will say, *You will forfeit your head, if you do this or that* ; and anon you will do it for all, when some indirect purposes are to be prosecuted.

The dropping of *courts* merely to satisfy the disposition, that sometimes *makes wise men mad*, has been vastly to the damages of the subjects.

You have catalogues of *grievances* by the assemblies often laid before you, and they *groan* that they cannot persuade you to take notice of them. Yea, it is cried, that the *publick faith* has been most notoriously violated. You have the *remonstrance* of an assembly upon it.

I will only add, that the cry of the horrible trade carried on at the castle reaches to the ears of the *Lord of Sabaoth*, and will doubtless hasten terrible rebukes from an holy God upon the causer of it.

What the *grieved merchants* have to say, they themselves are best able to say.

Sir, these are some of those things for which, I fear, you are in *ill-terms* with heaven, and except those be removed, you are in danger of meeting *ill-things* on earth. Nazianzen applying himself in a sermon to the governour of the places where he lived, says, *Sir, I pray you remember that you are baptized a christian ; and exercise your authority with so much goodness and mercy, as to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, from whom you have received it*. I presume to offer unto your Excellency the same counsel ; but because you have not so *exercised your authority*, and because I knew not what may be the continuance of your *authority*, I must further entreat of you that you would endeavour in the *methods of piety* such a *reconciliation* to the Divine Majesty, as may engage his good providence on your behalf in *this world*, and may secure you happiness in the world to come.

Sir, you are sensible that there is a *judgment to come*, wherein the glorious Lord will demand, *how far* you aimed at serving him in your government ; *how far* you did in a wise, grave, just, and good administration, represent the beauties of his government unto

your people; *how far* you did in your government encourage those that had most of his *image* upon them, or place your eyes on *the wicked of the land*. Your *age* and *health*, as well as other circumstances, greatly invite you, Sir, to entertain *awful thoughts* of this matter, and solicit the divine mercy through the only sacrifice.

No usage that I can meet withal shall cause me to lay aside the temper towards you, which multitudes of witnesses can say, I have expressed on all occasions. I have been desirous that you should not *hurt my poor country*; for it is dearer to me than your Excellency. It would make me cry out, though I was the dumb son of Cræsus. When things have looked incurable, I have declared my sorrows to a *private friend*, and there at the instigation of those whom I thought were *friends to the publick*. It was never intended, but the contrary with all impotunity demanded, that any of my simple conversation with a *private correspondent* should be made publick; and that when I have spoken what the best men in your council will speak upon occasions, it should reach any further than the private conversation. At the same time I can, with all the sincerity imaginable, acknowledge your *abilities* and *accomplishments*; *talents* whereof a great account must be given to the Lord of all. And *I have always done so*. I can heartily *mourn* for all the calamity wherein you make yourself obnoxious; and *I have done so*. I can heartily set myself about to seek the *prosperity* of your family; and *I have done so*. I can heartily pray, that you may enjoy an *old age* full of *good fruits*, and be blessed in *both worlds*; and *I do so*. Secret places can testify it. Every *service* that can be done for you, consistent with what I apprehend fidelity to the *publick interest*; even so far as these *altars*, where all personal respects must be sacrificed, you may with assurance command me to do.

Scores of times have my most intimate friends heard me formerly say, that although in the time of your *government*, you have treated me with much *aversion* (and would affront a gentleman for nothing, but the crime of giving me a *visit*; and would throw affronts upon gentlemen, merely for being *inhabitants* in that *part* of the town where I have my habitation;) yet if the troubles you brought on yourself should procure your abdication and recess unto a more private condition, and your present *parasites* forsake you, as you *may be sure they will*, I should think it my duty to do you all the good offices imaginable.

Finally, I can forgive and forget injuries; and I hope I am somewhat ready for *sunset*; the more for having discharged the duty of this letter.

It is now so near it, that I take leave to subscribe, Sir,

Your humble and faithful servant,

COTTON MATHER.

To the Governour.



## AN ORIGINAL LETTER FROM GOVERNOUR DUDLEY, TO DR. INCREASE AND DR. COTTON MATHER.

*Roxbury, February 3, 1707-8.**Gentlemen,*

**Y**OURS of the 20th instant I received ; and the contents, both as to the matter and manner, astonish me to the last degree. I must think you have extremely forgot your own station, as well as my character ; otherwise it had been impossible to have made such an open breach upon all the laws of decency, honour, justice, and christianity, as you have done in treating me with an air of superiority and contempt, which would have been greatly culpable towards a christian of the lowest order, and is insufferably rude towards one whom divine Providence has honoured with the character of your Governour. I charitably hoped your second thoughts, ere this, would have corrected your past error, and would have given you a juster view of yourselves and me.

I trust that I am not so lost to the spirit of christianity, but I am always ready to sustain, with thankfulness, all well designed reproofs, administered with a proper temper and spirit ; and am disposed to take my reprover into my bosom : But I should be stupid not to distinguish between reproaches and christian admonitions.

I always thought that some of the laws of wise and christian reproof were,

That the things reprov'd be as to fact notorious, and not bare matters of fears, jealousy, and evil surmisings : That these facts be evident breaches of some known laws of christianity : That the admonitions be not administered with bitterness, or vilifying ignominious language, but with a spirit of meekness. Gal. vi. 1 : That a superiour be treated with a respectful distance ; not reviled, not stigmatized as the most profligate, but entreated as a father. Job xxxiv. 1—8. 1 Tim. v. 1. That the admonition be seasonable, when the reprover as well as the reprov'd are in the best temper, and there is least reason to suspect him influenced by prejudice, wrath, and ill will. James i. 20.

How far these wise laws of christian reproof, as well as others that might be mentioned, have been observed, in your late pretended faithful and conscientious admonitions, I do seriously recommend to your thoughts, when you retire before the Searcher of hearts to prove these with your other works.

In many of the matters of fact, you labour of great mistakes, which have been taken up with great credulity ; and indeed you have raked together whatever has been imputed to me these many years, either through prejudice or mistake—and seem to think the bruit of a town a sufficient foundation to build a charge on. As to some other things contained in your charge, I cannot esteem you competent judges ; but that ye have gone out of your line to meddle with them ; and have forgot the Apostle's wholesome advice, 1 Thes. iv. 11.

But I will suppose all the matters of fact were true, and that I were as a christian accountable to you for them; yet I cannot but think that your manner of treating me can be justified by no principles of reason, religion, nay, of common civility. The very spirit and temper of your letters will, I doubt not, appear to all indifferent persons to be the farthest from the spirit which is pure, peaceable, and gentle.

Why, gentlemen, have you been so long silent? and suffered sin to lie upon me years after years? You cannot pretend any new information as to the main of your charge; for you have privately given your tongues a loose upon these heads, I am well assured, when you thought you could serve yourselves by exposing me. Surely murder, robberies, and other such flaming immoralities were as reproveable then as now; and your consciences ought to have been as tender, and as sensible of those pressures, which you now pretend they are under, and your obligations to faithfulness to me and your country as strong as now.

Why then have you permitted me to go on in these evils, without admonition, till you tell me I have ruined myself, family, and country? And how can you clear yourselves from having a hand in so extensive desolations? Are bold threatenings essential to a christian reproof, or so much as reconcileable to them? Is it from a spirit of prophecy that you have a view of the judgments you denounce, or from a design of your own and concerted measures to introduce them? Can you think it the most proper season to do me good by your admonitions, when you have taken care to let the world know you are out of frame and filled with the last prejudice against my person and government? Surely you do but insult me, and take pains to weaken my hands; and how much it savours of a spirit of faction and sedition is easy to see. It is vain to pretend christian love and respect, or zeal for the honour of God, or publick good; vain to pretend pressures of conscience just at this season. Every one can see through the pretence, and is able to account for the spring of these letters, and how they would have been prevented, without easing any grievances you complain of. Really, gentlemen, conscience and religion are things too solemn, venerable, or sacred, to be played with, or made a covering for actions so disagreeable to the gospel, as these your endeavours to expose me and my most faithful services to contempt; nay, to unhinge the government, to withdraw the Queen's liege people from that duty and subjection which the laws of our holy religion do enjoin. I cannot but recommend to your serious thoughts these faithful admonitions. ix. Luke, 55. iv. Ephesians, 31. ii. Phil. 3, 4. 1 Sam. ii. 3. After all, though I have reason to complain to heaven and earth of your christian rashness, and wrath, and injustice, I would yet maintain a christian temper towards you. I do therefore now assure you, that I shall be ready to give you all the satisfaction christianity requires in these points, which are proper for you to seek or receive it in, when with a proper temper and spirit, giving me timely notice, you do see meet to

make me a visit for that end ; and I expect the same satisfaction from you.

The articles are so many contained in your letters, that it would be endless to labour your satisfaction by writing, which you must not further expect from me. In the mean time, I expect you as subjects to the Queen, as christians, as messengers of the gospel of peace, to lay aside all methods that tend to blow up sedition, or abet such criminal reports of mal-administration, as tend to debauch the minds of her Majesty's good subjects of this province from their duty and allegiance.

I desire you will keep your station, and let fifty or sixty good ministers, your equals in the province, have a share in the government of the college, and advise thereabouts as well as yourselves, and I hope all will be well.

I am an honest man, and have lived religiously these forty years to the satisfaction of the ministers in New England ; and your wrath against me is cruel, and will not be justified. A few days before the fleet arrived, by your conference and letters, I was you told me, in favour of all good men, and might expect the consolation of a faithful stewardship ; but now the letter in the *Observer* must be defended, and the college must be disposed against the opinion of all the ministers in New England, except yourselves, or the Governour torn in pieces. This is the view I have of your inclination.

I am your humble servant,

J. DUDLEY.

To the Reverend Doctors Mathers.

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EXTRACT FROM DR. COTTON MATHER'S PRIVATE DIARY.

**J**UNE 16, 1702. I received a visit from Governour Dudley. Among other things that I said to him, I used these words : " Sir, you arrive to the government of a people, that have their various and their divided apprehensions about many things, and particularly about your own government over them. I am humbly of opinion, that it will be your wisdom to carry an indifferent hand toward all parties, if I may use so coarse a word as parties ; and give occasion to none to say, that any have monopolized you, or that you take your measures from them alone. I will explain myself with the freedom and the justice, perhaps not with the prudence, that you may expect from me. I will do no otherwise than I would be done to. I should be content, I would approve it and commend it, if any one should say to your Excellency, "*By no means let any people have cause to say, that you take all your measures from the two Mr. Mathers.*" By the same rule I may say without offence, "*By no means let any people say, that you go by no measures in your conduct, but Mr. Byfield's and Mr. Lever-*

*ett's*. This I speak not from any personal prejudice against the gentlemen ; but from a due consideration of the disposition of the people, and as a service to your Excellency."

" The WRETCH went unto those men and told them, that I had advised him to be no ways advised by them ; and inflamed them into an implacable rage against me."

A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF WELLS, IN THE COUNTY OF YORK. BY HON. NATHANIEL WELLS, ESQ.

**T**HE town of Wells is situated on the sea coast, in the district of Maine. It is about ten miles in length, and nearly seven miles in width, on an average. It is bounded on the south-east, by that part of the sea called Wells Bay ; on the north-east, by Kennebunk river, which divides between Wells and Arundel ; on the north-west, by Sanford and Coxhall ; and on the south-west, by York and Berwick, formerly part of Kittery. Wells contains about forty-two thousand acres of land : one third of which is of a middling quality, including therein upwards of one thousand acres of salt marsh : one third part of it is very poor ; consisting chiefly of pitchpine plains ; and the residue is unimproveable, consisting of beaches, heath, ponds, and bogs.

It appears from the town records, that the township was first applied for by Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Needam, with others of Exeter in New Hampshire : that it was granted by Thomas Gorges, deputy governour, as agent to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, lord proprietor of the province of Maine, on the 14th of July, 1643, and was confirmed by a court, held at Saco on the 14th day of August, 1644. The confirmation was subscribed by Richard Vines, deputy governour, Henry Joceline, Richard Bonighton, Nicholas Shapleigh, Francis Robinson, and Roger Gard, who were probably members of the court, and perhaps the court did not consist of any other persons. The Rev. Mr. John Wheelwright, being banished from Massachusetts, on account of his religious principles, came to Exeter, and afterwards to Wells ; and he with Mr. Henry Boad, and Mr. Edward Rishworth of Wells, were by the deputy governour, Thomas Gorges, appointed a committee to lay out lots of lands to such as might apply for the same, with an intention of becoming inhabitants. Five shillings was the price to be paid for every hundred acres. Mr. Wheelwright did not tarry long in town, but his son settled in it, and some of his descendants remain there at this time. The minister was a man of good sense and learning. From his family proceeded all the Wheelwrights in Massachusetts and New Hampshire ; many of whom were men of considerable property and very respectable.

As to settled ministers, there were none in town until 1701 ; though they had a number of preachers before that time, some for longer and some for shorter periods.

The Rev. Samuel Emery, the first minister who settled in the town, was ordained in the year 1701.

The Rev. Samuel Jefferds was ordained in 1725.

In 1750, the town was divided into two parishes.

The Rev. Daniel Little was ordained in the second parish, called Kennebunk, in 1751.

The Rev. Gideon Richardson, minister of the first parish, was ordained in 1754.

The Rev. Dr. Moses Hemmenway succeeded Mr. Richardson, and was ordained in 1759.

At the time of Mr. Little's ordination, the town contained about one thousand inhabitants. It now contains about three thousand inhabitants.

The township of Wells was called by the Indians Webhannet. A river running from the mouth of the harbour, south-westerly, is now frequently called by that name.

The river now called Mousom, was formerly called Capeporpus river. It is a considerable river, proceeding from a pond in Shapleigh, and running through Sanford and Wells to the sea.

The town abounds with small rivers and brooks, there being but few if any places near the sea, more than half a mile distant, if so much, from a river or a considerable brook. The abundance of water may be the reason why it was first called Wells.

Iron ore has been discovered in several parts of the town, which is found to be of a middling quality.

Fresh cod and other fish are caught in Wells bay, at proper seasons of the year, in sufficient plenty to supply the inhabitants; and the creeks abound with clams.

The town of Wells was formerly much exposed to the ravages of the Indian enemy; and perhaps but few, if any, towns have been more harassed by them. Colonel Storer's garrison was attacked in 1692, by an army consisting of three or four hundred French and Indians, under the command of Labrocree, a Frenchman, assisted by Madoche-wando, and other noted Indian chiefs, who having no cannon, were repulsed by the people in the garrison. At the same time, two sloops, lying in a narrow river, were attacked, which were several times set on fire, and the fire was as often extinguished. The Indians attempted to burn the vessels with a fire raft, which fortunately, by the shifting of the wind, was driven ashore without doing any damage. The engagement continued forty eight hours, when the Indians being discouraged, having lost their chief commander, withdrew. In their retreat, they tortured one man, whom they captivated, and killed all the cattle they could find.

At the commencement of the next war, and on the day it began, the Indians burnt the dwelling house of Mr. Thomas Wells, killed his wife and all his children, he being absent from home. At the same

time the Indians killed Mr. Sayer and his family, who lived in the next house, with sundry other persons, and retired the day before this destruction. Mr. Sayer assisted the Indians in grinding their hatchets. In 1712, a great number of people being at the wedding of Captain Wheelwright's daughter, the Indians surprised several of the company, and captivated the bridegroom, Mr. Plaisted, son to a gentleman of Portsmouth. The Indians, expecting a good ransom for such a prisoner, did not carry him to Canada, but sent in a flag, and offered upon payment of three hundred pounds to release the prisoner. The money was paid, and the prisoner returned. It would be almost an endless task to recite all the particulars which relate to the sufferings of the inhabitants of Wells from the Indians. Very few, if any, years elapsed, during the existence of the Indian wars, without some persons being either killed or captivated, until Governour Dummer's treaty with them in 1725, when a peace was established with them, which continued about twenty years with but little interruption; during which time the number of inhabitants in the town considerably increased; but still the people were in fear, and frequently alarmed by small parties of Indians, until the reduction of Canada, which put an end to Indian wars in this part of the country.

The lower road next the sea is in general sandy; but of late it has been in many places meliorated, by the application of clay, which after incorporation, makes a most excellent road.

The situation of the town, as it respects the back country, is convenient for trade; but the entrances into the harbours are not commodious, sandy bars extending across them. The depth of the water on the bars is from about nine to thirteen feet, at high water; and not more than three feet, at low water. Formerly but little trade was carried on in town; but of late the trade in lumber and ship-building is considerably increased, especially in that part of the town called Kennebunk, where the people have attempted to make a new harbour. In the course of last season, they stopped the natural course of Mousom river, by erecting a dam across it, sufficient for the purpose, and opened a canal, leading from it through a salt marsh, boggy land, and a short beach, about two hundred rods, to a cove at the sea. The canal is at present about seven feet deep, and about twenty feet wide, the river running through it. The proprietors of the canal intend further to prosecute their undertaking the next season; but the final success of it must be left to be determined by time. If the proprietors succeed agreeably to their expectations, it may be of great utility to them and the publick. If they fail, it is hoped that their failure may not serve to discourage useful enterprises, which in many instances have proved, and may prove, very beneficial to the country.

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A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF TOPSHAM, IN THE COUNTY OF  
LINCOLN. BY REV. JONATHAN ELLIS.

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*Sir,*

WHEN I had the honour of conversing with you last summer, at Wiscasset, you desired me to give you an account of the settlement of the town of Topsham, the hope of conveying more authentick information than I then possessed, is the only reason why I have not answered your request before. I have acquired some more knowledge, but have not gratified my wish. With pleasure I impart what I have been able to investigate, and offer it to you, Sir, a tribute of respect, as my endeavour to save from oblivion the knowledge of the first settlement of this country by emigrants from Europe.

Topsham, situated on Merry Meeting bay, which opened such extensive communication by water with the other parts of the country, was much frequented by the Indians. It lay in their rout from Kennebeck to Casco bay, and from Amarascoggin to Kennebeck, which gave them a passage to the sea.

From Merry Meeting bay, down Kennebeck, to the sea, is eighteen miles. From the navigable waters of Merry Meeting to Maquoit, a small bay which opens into Casco, is but little more than three miles; and the carrying place from Merry Meeting to the head of New Meadows river, is not more than half a mile. On this account, Topsham was a hazardous place to make a settlement, exposed to surprise and attack from the savages in almost every direction. The first Europeans, of whom we have any account, took their residence in Topsham, a little prior, or about the beginning of the present century. Stimulated with the prospect of gain, their design appears to have been to traffick with the natives, rather than to effect a permanent settlement. They were three in number, with their families. One built a house, and resided at Fulton's Point; another, at the head of Muddy river; and the third, on Pleasant Point. At each of these places there are now to be seen the cavity of cellars, and the ruin of chimnies. It is probable that the person who resided at Fulton's Point, came some years before the others. In the year 1750, there was a tree of more than twelve inches in diameter, grown out of the cellar. The name of this person is lost. We have the following traditionary account: That he lived for some time on very amicable terms with the natives; apparently, they rejoiced at his residence among them. This inspired him with confidence, suspecting no injury from his neighbours, till he had this melancholy proof of their perfidy. Being absent in his canoe, the savages massacred his family, and burnt or carried off all his property. Returning, with consternation, he viewed the desolation, and fearing a similar fate with his family, went to Georges, and from thence to Europe. The name of the person who settled at the head of Muddy river, is likewise unknown; but his contemporary who settled on Pleasant Point, was Giles. Both

their families were cut off by the savages, and their dwellings burnt. Not suspecting any evil from the Indians, with whom they had lived on good terms, Mr. and Mrs. Giles were in the field, the woman gathering beans, and the man topping his corn, when they were both shot down, and their children captivated. All these were redeemed by the officer of the garrison at Georges, except the oldest, a son of Mr. Giles, whom they retained for three years, when he made his escape, and for some years after was commandant of the garrison at Brunswick. This is the best account I can obtain of the unhappy lot of the first Europeans who resided within the limits of what is since called Topsham.

After these families were killed and captivated by the natives, there was no settlement attempted for a number of years. The peculiar exposure of the situation, and the hostile disposition of the savages, rendered the attempt too hazardous, till about the year 1730, when some ventured to set down in Topsham. From this period, a habitancy has been maintained, though for many years, with much peril and danger. The inhabitants never felt wholly secure from the natives, till after the peace of Versailles, 1763.

So many discouraging circumstances attended the settlement of this town, that the inhabitants increased but slowly. Many lives, compared with the whole number, were lost. Those, who were not killed nor captivated, were exceedingly harassed and perplexed. Fear was on every side. Their houses, which on an alarm they deserted, were burnt: often their cattle were killed. In the year 1750, there were only eighteen families in the town, and seventeen of those were Scottish Hibernians. From this time, by population and new adventurers, the number of inhabitants gradually increased. In 1764 the town was incorporated; and when the last census was taken, it contained eight hundred and twenty-six souls. The town constitutes but one parish, in which is a meeting-house, built by the proprietors, about thirty-five years ago. In 1789 they settled their first minister.

The inhabitants are in general under easy circumstances. The town were never at any expense in supporting the poor; and none ever solicited help. In this instance they are singular from any town of equal date, with which I am acquainted in New England.

The latitude of Topsham is very near  $44^{\circ}$  N. The longitude is  $70^{\circ}$  W. It is the first town in the county of Lincoln, proceeding from the west, easterly. It is bounded on the N. W. by Little river, which divides it from a gore of land unincorporated; N. by Bowdoin and Bowdoinham; E. by Cathance and Merry Meeting bay; S. and S. W. by Amarascoggin, by which it is separated from Brunswick in the county of Cumberland.

The town contains a good proportion of arable, pasture, and meadow; with very little waste land. A part, however, of the sandy soil is not very productive. For a general description, we may consider Topsham as containing equal parts of clayey, sandy, and loamy soil;



some hills, but no mountains; broken with gullies, where it is clayey; about five eighths under improvement.

The water-falls in the rivers afford a number of excellent stands, which are occupied with saw, grist, and fulling mills. At the saw mills, on a moderate computation, there are cut, *communibus annis*, four million feet of boards, plank, joist, &c.

The rivers afford a variety of fish, which are taken in considerable quantities; such as salmon, shad, alewives, and bass; and on their margins is gathered a forage, superiour in quality to that which generally comes under the denomination of meadow hay.

You will see, by the rough draught\* which accompanies this, that Topsham is a peninsula. It is about thirty-two miles in circumference, and more than twenty-five miles are washed with water.

The plan is not laid down by any survey, but is sketched as it exists in my mind. It is pretty accurate as to the relative situation of land and water: and I believe it will give no very incorrect idea, as to the proportion of its parts. It might have had ornament, had I more leisure. Such as it is, with what I have written, are submitted to your candour, by,

Sir, your most obedient,  
Humble servant,

JONATHAN ELLIS.

*The Hon. JAMES SULLIVAN, Esq.*



Sir,

I HERE subjoin the number of Births, and a Bill of Mortality for Topsham, within the term of four years and seven months, or from September 16, 1789, to the present time.

Births, one hundred and fifteen. Deaths, fifty-three.

Under the age of one year	- - - - -	10
From 1	to 5	6
5	— 10	3
10	— 20	5
20	— 30	10
30	— 40	5
40	— 50	2
50	— 60	4
60	— 70	2
70	— 80	3
80	— 90	2
90	— 100	1

\* Deposited in the Library of the Historical Society.

Eleven have died with the consumption; seven with fevers; four, with the general decay of nature, unattended with any particular complaint; one, small pox; one, apoplexy; one, colick; one, rickets; seven, drowned; one, the accidental discharge of a gun. I assign no special cause for the death of those under one year; nor am I able to point out the particular disease of which the others died. I am accurate as to the number of deaths; but it is probable that there have been more births than have come to my knowledge.

Our climate may be considered as friendly to the life of man, though I think our habit of living is not. The great quantity of ardent spirits, that is drank in this country, has an unhappy influence over the man. They impair the natural vigour of the constitution, lead to many needless exposures, and facilitate the progress of decay, as well as implant the seeds of disease.

My meteorological observations, though daily made, are, for want of proper apparatus, too incorrect for the inspection of any other than myself.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JONATHAN ELLIS.

*Topsnam, April 25, 1794.*

MACHIAS, *April 7, 1794.*

DEAR SIR,

I TAKE the liberty to send you the following Description of Machias, with a few remarks that equally apply to the county at large. If it comes within the views of the Historical Society, and you deem it worthy a place in their Collections, it may be presented with my respects.

I am, dear Sir,

With affectionate esteem,

Your friend,

JOHN COOPER.

WILLIAM TUDOR, *Esq.*

A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF MACHIAS, IN THE COUNTY OF WASHINGTON. BY JOHN COOPER, ESQ. SHERIFF OF THE COUNTY.

MACHIAS, the shire town of Washington county, is the furthest from the capital, of any in the commonwealth. Its distance by water, is nearly one hundred leagues; by land, it is computed at four hundred miles.

BOUNDS AND NAME.] The town is bounded on the south and west, by townships, Nos. 22 and 23, on the north and east, by Nos. 18, 15, and 12; containing ten by eight miles square. The name of

the town is altered from the Indian name, Mechisses, given to the river, and so called in the oldest maps : Its signification we are unacquainted with.

FIRST SETTLEMENT.] Governour Winthrop mentions in his Journal, a Mr. Allerton, of Plymouth, who in 1633, set up a trading wigwam at Machias, which consisted of five men ; and a quantity of merchandize. The whole was taken the same year, by order of Governour La Tour. In 1744, a small settlement was made by a few French people at the east falls, on account of the alewife fishery, but was broke up the following year. Since then, we have no account of any other attempts for a settlement, until May, 1763, at which time fifteen persons of both sexes, from Scarborough, in the county of Cumberland, came to Machias, and began a settlement at the west falls. They erected a double saw mill, and in August following, the remainder of their families arrived. The year after, they were joined by many others. During the five succeeding years, their numbers continuing to increase, several applications were made to the legislature of Massachusetts, for a grant of land ; and in April, 1770, a tract of land in the county of Lincoln was, by an act of the general assembly, granted to Ichabod Jones and seventy-nine others, his associates, under certain conditions therein mentioned ; which being fulfilled on their part, the general court by an act, passed June 23, 1784, confirmed their grant, and incorporated said tract, with the inhabitants, into a town by the name of Machias.

SITUATION.] The principal settlements in the town, are at East and West falls, and at Middle river. Machias river, after running a north course, six miles distance from Cross Island (which forms its entrance) separates at a place called the Rim. One branch taking a N. E. direction, runs in length two miles and an half, with a width of thirty rods, to the head of the tide, where are two double saw mills, and one grist mill. The main branch runs a N. W. course for nearly three miles in length, and seventy rods wide, to the head of the tide, where are two double and one single saw mills, and two grist mills. Middle river separates from the main branch, three quarters of a mile below the falls, and runs nearly two miles north, to the head of the tide. The chief settlement is at the West falls, the county courts being held and the jail erected there. The buildings also in general are more decent and compact. The main channel takes its course to these falls, which, though crooked and narrow, admits burthensome vessels to receive their loading at wharves within fifty rods of the mills. This advantage no other part of the town can enjoy.

SCHOOLS AND MINISTER.] The town is divided into four districts, for the support of schools, in which are taught reading, writing, and arithmetick ; and into two districts for the convenience of publick worship. The Rev. James Lyon officiates at the West and East falls alternately. He received and accepted his call in 1772 ; and is the first minister regularly settled to the eastward of St. George's.

ACADEMY.] The general court, by an act passed in March, 1792, established an academy at Machias, by the name of Washington Academy, incorporated a number of gentlemen as trustees, and gave for its support a township of land. This generous donation has enabled the trustees to realize a permanent fund for the academy's use; and measures are pursuing, for carrying into complete effect the benevolent object of the legislature.

POPULATION.] Agreeable to the census taken in 1790, the town contained about eight hundred inhabitants. Since that time, its population has rapidly increased.

EXPORTS.] The exports of Machias consists principally of lumber; such as boards, shingles, clapboards, laths, and various kinds of hewed timber. The cod fishery might be carried on to advantage, though it has been neglected. In 1793, between seventy and eighty tons only were employed in the fishery; and not above five hundred quintals were exported. The mill saws, of which there are seventeen, cut on an average, three million feet of boards yearly. A great proportion of the lumber is usually shipped in British vessels. The total amount of exports annually exceeds fifteen thousand dollars.

SOIL AND PRODUCE.] The soil nearest the river, and such as bears only in its natural state the spruce, fir, and hemlock, is commonly a stiff clay, not fit for tillage, though good for pasturing; but the land in general is well calculated for most purposes of husbandry, and produces in its original state the various species of maple, beech, birch, ash, &c. Barley, pease, beans, and oats, afford the most certain crops. Wheat, rye, flax, and Indian corn, yield a good increase, when duly attended to; and vegetables of various kinds, and of the best quality, may be obtained in plenty, with common cultivation. The white pine is a native of the soil; but Machias has been much indebted to the surrounding townships for its chief supply of timber. The inhabitants derive a great advantage from the meadows and salt marshes, which are generally rich, and pretty equally distributed through the township. The river contains a plenty of salmon, shad, alewives, and herring. These are commonly taken in the months of May, June, and September; and prove a certain support to the poorer people during the winter season.

REMARKS.] The people of Machias, and the townships adjoining, during the late war, were remarkable for their intrepidity and publick spirit. In 1777, when an expedition was planned by the general court, against some parts of Nova Scotia, Machias was appointed the rendezvous. The enemy receiving intelligence of the design, previous to the troops being collected, Sir John Collier, with a ship of forty-four guns, three frigates, and an armed brig, were sent to destroy the town. On this occasion, the invaders were completely repulsed and defeated, having a considerable number killed and wounded, with the loss of only one man killed, and one wounded, on the part of the

invaded, with a single mill, and two or three small buildings burned, that were directly exposed to their first assault.

This is perhaps the only instance during the war, of an armament's being sent by the enemy, for the express purpose of destroying a particular town in the northern states, without succeeding.

After the British troops had taken possession of Penobscot, in 1779, it was expected all the country to the eastward of it, would have submitted to their jurisdiction: yet notwithstanding their proclamations, denouncing vengeance in case of refusal, the inhabitants of Machias, with most of the townships westward, still adhered to their country's cause, and continued to act offensively, until the close of the war. The extensive and well deserved influence of General Campbell, which at all times secured the ready obedience of the militia; the exertions of Colonel Allan, who had the direction of the friendly Indians; and the efforts of the inhabitants of Machias, united, preserved to the commonwealth a valuable extent of territory; as the boundary line between Massachusetts and New Brunswick, when hostilities ceased, was determined rather by possession, than the treaty of peace, or the compass.

The principal object of the original settlers being lumber, more attention was paid to mill-rights than to the soil: consequently the land they first cultivated, being contiguous to their mills, with very few exceptions, was inferior to any in the township; and the town after twenty years settlement, presented to the view only a number of huts, surrounded by land scarcely brought to the first stages of improvement. During the war, their intercourse with Britain being stopped, and having no market for their lumber, they were at first reduced to the extremity of want, and compelled rather by necessity, than inclination, to till the earth with vigour. Their efforts were successful, and more land in the town was profitably cultivated, during five years of the war, than has been improved to equal advantage either before or since. When peace took place, lumber being in great demand for a short time, the farms were again neglected for the mills, and in general assumed their former gloomy aspect.

This partiality for mills and lumber has been, and still is, the bane of Machias and no inconsiderable part of the eastern country. The idea of suddenly acquiring property has the same influence on the millman, as the speculator; and their success is too often attended with similar effects: for one that reaps advantage, ten suffer; patient industry gives place to convulsive efforts; and premature debility is the natural consequence. That particular town or state must be unfortunate, whose dependence for the necessaries of life rests solely on their imports, unless their exports are proportionably valuable, and in certain demand. Hence it is, that the industry of four fifths of the inhabitants, eastward of Penobscot, being exhausted on their mills, and they depending altogether upon importations for their subsistence, the contests of foreign powers injure them as sensibly, as though the war was brought to

their doors. If America is engaged in war, or remains neuter, their lumber is not of sufficient consequence to command a freight: of course the prices of their imports are much increased, while the value of their exports more rapidly diminishes. This has been severely realized during the last year.

The late extensive sales of eastern lands now bid fair to give industry its proper direction, provided as great attention is paid to their settlement, as to their purchase. Should this event take place in any considerable degree (which appearances lead us to expect) the country will soon be relieved from its present embarrassments; and the mutual exertions of the shore, and inland, settler will reciprocally tend to the best interests of each other.

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF MIDDLEBOROUGH, IN THE COUNTY OF PLYMOUTH. BY THE REV. ISAAC BACKUS.

*To the Massachusetts Historical Society.*

Gentlemen,

AS you have begun the third volume of your Collections with an ingenious account of the present state of Middleborough, with very little of its ancient history, I have taken some pains to collect a number of articles of that nature, which you may make what use of that you think proper.

WHEN our Plymouth fathers first sent two messengers,\* to visit old Massasoit at Mount Hope, in July, 1621, they lodged the first night at Namasket, where so many Indians had died a few years before, that the living could not bury the dead; but "their skulls and bones appeared in many places, where their dwellings had been."† Namasket is that part of Middleborough, where the English began their plantation, and had increased to about sixteen families, before Philip began his war, in June, 1675. As soon as it broke out, they removed away, as did also the friendly Indians, to Plymouth, and other eastern places. Philip had been very conversant here; and because his friend John Sausaman informed the English of his preparations for war, Sausaman was murdered on a frozen pond, at Assowamset, and the execution of his murderers hastened on the war. And in the time of it, Philip once sent an army to waylay Capt. Church, in Assowamset-neck; which is in the south part of Middleborough. He was also defeated, in attempting to cross a river upon a tree that had fallen over it. This

\* Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins, with Tisquantum, an Indian, for their guide.

† Prince's Chronology, p. 106.

was the river between Middleborough and Bridgwater.\* Philip was slain on August 12, 1676, soon after which the war was closed in these parts.

The first planters of Middleborough came mainly from Plymouth ; and they returned here after the war, and Mr. Samuel Fuller preached to them, until a church was constituted among them, and he was ordained their pastor in 1694. He was much esteemed as a godly man, and useful preacher. He died greatly lamented, August 24, 1695, *Æt.* 66.†

Mr. Thomas Palmer was their second minister, whose capacity and accomplishments were not small : but the lust of intemperance, and other evils, drew such a cloud over his character, that, by the advice of a council of twelve churches, he was deposed from his office. Though, as he robbed the church of all her records, we have no account of the time when he was ordained, nor when he was deposed ; only as it appears that a party of the church held with him, until about the time of their electing another pastor, which was June 30, 1708, when an act of oblivion was passed upon past transactions.

Their third pastor was Mr. Peter Thacher, who was born in Milton, October 6, 1688. began to preach in Middleborough in September, 1707, and was ordained their pastor, November 2, 1709. He was a faithful and successful minister for near thirty five years. So great a revival of religion was granted among his people in 1741, as caused the addition of one hundred and seventy four communicants to his church in less than three years ; above half of whom were males. But their beloved pastor was taken away by death April 22, 1744.‡

Directly after his removal, a few leading men in the town made violent opposition against the church, about the settlement of another minister. And when the church had voted to hear Mr. Sylvanus Conant from Bridgwater, four sabbaths upon probation, the parish committee went and got another teacher to supply the pulpit the same days ; which caused a great division among them. And when a large majority of the church had chosen Mr. Conant for their pastor, and presented their choice to the parish, their committee made a new regulation of voters, whereby they excluded seven or eight old voters, and admitted about nineteen new ones, and they negatived the election of the church. The church then called a council of five churches, who approved of their choice of Mr. Conant, and he was ordained their pastor, March 28, 1745.

Yet less than a quarter of the church called themselves the standing part of it, and called and settled Mr. Thomas Weld as their minister, in October following : and that party held the meeting house and minis-

\* Church's History, page 9, 60, 62. Hubbard's History of that War, page 177.

† Appendix to Robbins's Ordination Sermon, 1760, page 21.

‡ Prince's Christian History, volume 2, page 99.

terial lands, and the church and her friends built another house for their worship. And the party spirit of that day was so great, that the church could obtain no relief from our legislature for about four years : but when each inhabitant was allowed to choose his own minister, and they were formed into two societies promiscuously, each to support their own minister, they, who called themselves the standing party, soon fell into a quarrel with their own minister, and nailed up their meeting house against him. He then held meetings for a considerable time in his own house, after which he sued the society, and recovered his salary for all that time. At length they got him dismissed, and their society dissolved. But Mr. Conant continued a useful minister, and an exemplary walker, until he was suddenly taken away by the small pox, December 7, 1777.

Their next pastor was Mr. Joseph Barker, from Branford in Connecticut, who was ordained December 5, 1781, and he is still continued with them.

A second precinct was formed in the southwest part of Middleborough, including a part of Taunton, in 1719. About the year 1724, a church was constituted therein, and Mr. Benjamin Ruggles was ordained their pastor ; and he continued with them about thirty years, and then left them without their consent, and went and settled in New Braintree ; but as their records were lost or destroyed, we have no exact account of the time of his ordination, or of his departure.

After trying a number of candidates, Mr. Caleb Turner, from Mansfield, in Connecticut, was ordained their minister, June 25, 1761, in which office he still continues.

In 1743, a third precinct was constituted, in the northwest part of Middleborough, including a part of Bridgwater. A church was formed there in 1756, and Mr. Solomon Reed was installed their pastor, January 26, 1757. He was born in Abington, in 1719, and was ordained at Framingham, in 1747, pastor of a church that was formed by the advice of a council, but could not obtain an incorporation by law, as a society ; therefore he left them in 1756, and came and settled in Middleborough, and was well esteemed here until his death, on May 7, 1785.

Mr. David Gurney, who came from Bridgwater, was ordained their second pastor, December 5, 1787, and still continues with them.

Ketchiquot (or Titicut) mentioned as a place of praying Indians,\* is in this precinct. A baptist church was formed among them ; and Nehemiah, Abel, Thomas Sekins, Thomas Felix, and John Symons, are mentioned as teachers among them. When I came into the place in 1747, John Symons was the minister of that church, and continued so for near ten years, and then he removed to the southward ; and he assisted in ordaining Silas Paul, on Martha's Vineyard, in 1763. One of the Indians in Titicut was prevailed with to give five acres for their meeting-house lot, and two others gave each of them fifteen acres of

\* Historical Collections, volume 1, page 200.



good land for the ministry. As the Indians diminished in the place, they were allowed to sell their lands under the direction of guardians, who were appointed by the government ; the last of which was sold in 1760.

*An Account of the English Baptist Churches in Middleborough.*

Titicut precinct was constituted in February, 1743 ; but as the communicants therein desired such kind of preaching as the majority of voters disliked, the neighbouring ministers would not dismiss their church members, so that they might form a church to act in calling a minister. Therefore they formed a church without leave from those ministers, February 16. 1748, and *the writer* was ordained their pastor, the 13th of April following. In September, 1749, a number of them embraced the baptist principle, and their principles prevailed in the church, until those who disliked the same, went off to other churches, and a baptist church was formed here, January 16, 1756, and the same pastor was installed therein, the 23d of June following, by assistance from Boston and Rehoboth, in which office he is continued to this day.

The second baptist church in Middleborough originated in the following manner : Mr. Thomas Nelson discovered such evils in Mr. Palmer, as gave a turn to his mind about principles ; and upon searching the scriptures, it appeared to him that none but professed believers ought to be baptized ; and he went and joined to the first baptist church in Swansey, which is the first of that denomination in the Massachusetts. In the beginning of 1717, he removed into Assowamset, being the first English family who settled in that neck of land. He obtained occasional preaching at his house from time to time, as he could, until he got Mr. Ebenezer Hinds, from Bridgwater, to remove and preach there steadily, in the spring of 1753. Their society increased and others joined with them farther south-westward, and they formed a baptist church, November, 16, 1757, and Mr. Hinds was ordained their pastor, January 26, 1758, and he now remains with them.

The third baptist church in Middleborough, was constituted in the southeast corner of it, near Carver and Wareham, August 4, 1761, and Mr. Ebenezer Jones, from Raynham, was ordained their pastor, the 28th of October following. A happy revival of religion was granted among them the next year ; yet such a division arose in the church and society, in 1763, as caused his removal from them ; and he travelled and preached in various parts of the country, until he died in the state of New York, in September, 1791.

Mr. Asa Hunt, from Braintree, was their second pastor, who was ordained October 30, 1771 ; and such a blessing was granted upon his labours, as increased the church to one hundred and ninety-five members, in 1783. Yet many trying things appeared among them afterwards, and he was suddenly taken away by death, September 20, 1791.

But the church was still preserved, and religion was again much revived therein, last year, and Mr. Samuel Nelson was ordained their third pas-

tor, January 16, 1794. He is a grandson of the first baptist in Middleborough, and hath two brothers in the ministry elsewhere.

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*A few General Remarks.*

Our fathers began the plantation of New England in the poorest part of it. The land between Plymouth and Wareham, and between Sandwich and Falmouth is so barren, that a number of deer run wild in the woods there, to this day. And there are very few men in any part of the old colony of Plymouth who are very rich, but the people are more upon a level than in most parts of our country. And as it was first planted by a religious, prudent, and industrious people, their posterity retain so much of those excellent qualities, that capital crimes are less known here, than in many other places. There has not been any person hanged in Plymouth county, for above these sixty years past. Neither were the courts interrupted in this county, in 1786, as they were in many other parts of the land. The goodness of God, and not the goodness of men, ought to have all the glory.

As our new plantations have been extended amazingly since the peace of 1763, I conclude that there are as many people now in other places who have sprung from Middleborough, since that peace, as all who are now in the town. This may appear partly from the numeration of the people. For when they were numbered by authority, in the summer of 1776, there were four thousand four hundred and seventy-nine souls in Middleborough; and the next winter they numbered the males, of sixteen years old and above, and found them to be one thousand and sixty-six, of whom there were but five Indians and eight negroes. And in 1791, there were but four thousand, five hundred, and twenty-six souls in Middleborough, which is but forty seven more than there were fifteen years before. And it hath generally been healthy in the place, and families have increased as fast as in former times. And it is well known that a large part of the towns of New Salem and Shutesbury, in the county of Hampshire, and of Woodstock in the state of Vermont, sprang from Middleborough; and some from hence are scattered through all New England, and into many other parts of America.

These things, collected from printed books, church records, other writings, and intelligent persons, are presented to the Historical Society, by their humble servant,

ISAAC BACKUS.

*Middleborough, February 20, 1794.*

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*Postscript.*

I have often wondered that historians should be so incorrect in their dates of important events, as many of them have been. The beginning of Rhode Island colony hath often been set in 1634, or 1635; whereas the town of Providence was not planted until 1636, nor Rhode-

Island till 1638. And in your third volume, p. 5, a gentleman says, "In 1637, New Haven was planted; about the same time, Windsor, Guilford, and Milford." But Windsor was planted in 1635, Hartford in 1636, and New Haven not till 1638.\*

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A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF NANTUCKET. BY WALTER  
FOLGER, JUN.

*SITUATION AND EXTENT.*] **B**ETWEEN  $69^{\circ} 56'$  and  $70^{\circ} 13\frac{1}{2}'$  west longitude. Between  $41^{\circ} 13'$  and  $41^{\circ} 22\frac{1}{2}'$  north latitude. 15 miles in length. 11 miles in breadth.

*BOUNDARIES.*] It is bounded on all sides by the ocean, being about eight leagues to the southward from Cape Cod.

*CLIMATE, SOIL, SEASONS, AND WATER.*] The climate of Nantucket is mild, when compared with the neighbouring country, owing perhaps to its being situated in the ocean. The air is not so hot and sultry in summer, nor so cold in winter, as it is on the main. The inhabitants enjoy a cool sea breeze, which for the most part makes it healthy.

The soil of Nantucket is for the most part light and sandy, if we except some part of the land where the town now stands, and some part of the east end of the island, which is a loamy and rich soil.

There can be but little said of the waters, except that the island is well watered with ponds and springs, but as to their medicinal qualities, if they have any, they have not been discovered. The waters of many wells in the town are impregnated with an earthy and saline substance, which renders them disagreeable to those who are not accustomed to them.

*Bars, &c.*] There is but one bay of any note, and that is formed by a long sandy point, which runs from the east end of the island to the north and westward (on which stands a light-house, erected by the Massachusetts state, in 1784) and the north shore of the island, as far as Eel Point. This makes a fine road for ships, except with the wind at the N. W. when there is a heavy swell.

The harbour is a basin within the bay, the entrance of which is obstructed by a sand-bar, on which there are no more than seven feet and a half of water at low water, and in some places no more than three feet and a half; but within there are twelve and fourteen feet of water.

*ANIMAL PRODUCTIONS BY SEA AND LAND.*] The sea produces many kinds of fish, such as cod, ballibut, sturgeon, shad, herring, bass, eels, and a number of other kinds.

\*Winthrop's Journal, pages 86, 92, 96, 98, 101, 151.

On the land are horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs, which are not very different from those of the neighbouring country.

*POPULATION, INHABITANTS, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS.*] According to an enumeration taken in 1790, Nantucket contained males above sixteen years of age eleven hundred and ninety-three; males under sixteen years ten hundred and sixteen; females two thousand three hundred; blacks of all ages and sexes, not including Indians, one hundred and ten; total of males two thousand two hundred and nine; the whole number of inhabitants was four thousand six hundred and nineteen.

The inhabitants are for the most part a robust and enterprising people, mostly seamen and mechanicks. The seamen are the most expert whalemens in the world: for a proof of which one need only consider the efforts that France and England have been making to draw them away, for the purpose of conducting their fisheries.

One reason perhaps of the Nantucket-men's being so dexterous in killing the whale is, that they have but little opportunity of going in any other service. The boys, as soon as they can talk, will make use of the common phrases, as *townor*, which is an Indian word, and signifies that they have seen the whale twice; and as soon as they are some years older, they are seen rowing in boats for diversion, which makes them expert oarsmen, a thing that is requisite in taking the whale.

The inhabitants are mostly ingenious in using mechanical tools. It is no strange thing to see the same man occupy the station of a merchant, at other times that of a husbandman, of a blacksmith, or of a cooper, or a number of other occupations.

The women are thought to be handsome. They make good wives, tender mothers, kind and obliging neighbours. The inhabitants live together like one great family, not in one house, but in friendship. They not only know their nearest neighbours, but each one knows all the rest. If you should wish to see any man, you need but ask the first inhabitant you meet, and he will be able to conduct you to his residence, to tell what occupation he is of, and any other particulars you may wish to know.

*VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.*] Before we treat of vegetable productions, it may be necessary to inform the readers that the land is held in common; that is, the island is supposed to be divided into twenty seven shares (except some part of the east end of the island, known by the name of Squam, and some few other pieces, which are held as private farms.) Each share is entitled to a certain portion of land, which the owner may take up in any part of the common land and convert it to what use he thinks proper. Each share is subdivided into lesser parts, called cows' commons, which give the proprietor a privilege to turn out as many cows or other cattle, as he owns of such parts in common or other stock, in the proportion of one horse or sixteen sheep to two cows' commons; which stock feed on any part of the land that is not

converted into a field. All the cows feed together in one herd, to the amount of about five hundred. All the sheep feed in one pasture, and each man knows his own by marks made in the ears by cutting them in different forms. In order to shear them, they are all driven into one large yard, where each man goes, picks out his own sheep, and shears them, which commonly takes up two days, and is performed about the 20th June; at which time and place most of the inhabitants assemble for the sake of diversion. The proprietors commonly plant about twenty five acres of corn to a share, which are six hundred and seventy five acres for the whole twenty seven shares, which are in one field, and will produce on an average twelve bushels to the acre; that number multiplied by six hundred and seventy five, gives eight thousand one hundred bushels. The next year the same land is sowed with rye and oats; about eighty one acres with rye. The produce about six bushels to an acre, is four hundred and eighty six bushels. The remainder, five hundred and ninety four acres, is sowed with oats, which produces about fourteen bushels to an acre, that is eight thousand three hundred and sixteen bushels. On the private farms there are about two hundred acres planted with corn, which will yield twenty bushels to the acre, and as many acres for rye and oats.

It may be remarked, that the island is continually wasting on each side by the seas washing the shores.

There have been many times found at the bottom of wells, at the depth of forty and fifty feet, and after digging through several strata of earth, such as clay, &c. shells of the same kind as are now found on the shores of the island; and in all, at the level of the sea, is found the same kind of sand as is on the shores. In many it has the appearance of having been once the boundary between the the sea and land, by its declining from a horizontal level.

*Nantucket, May 21, 1791.*

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A SHORT JOURNAL OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE ISLAND OF NANTUCKET, WITH SOME OF THE MOST REMARKABLE THINGS THAT HAVE HAPPENED SINCE, TO THE PRESENT TIME. BY ZACCHEUS MACY.

**F**IRST, I find that the original right of Nantucket was obtained by Thomas Mayhew of James Forrett, agent to William, earl of Stirling, the 13th day of the tenth month, in the year 1641, at New York; and that by the said Mayhew nine tenths of it were conveyed to nine other proprietors, named below, the 2d day of the seventh month, in the year 1659.

The first meeting of the proprietors was held at Salisbury, the 2d day of the seventh month, in the year 1659, in order to take in their partners.

First, the partner of Thomas Mayhew was John Smith;—of Tristram Coffin—Nathaniel Starbuck;—of Thomas Macy—Edward Starbuck;

—of Richard Swain—Thomas Look ;—of Thomas Barnard—Robert Barnard ;—of Peter Coffin—James Coffin ;—of Christopher Hussey—Robert Pike ;—of Stephen Greenleaf—Tristram Coffin, junior :—of John Swain—Thomas Coleman. William Pile sold his whole tenth to Richard Swain.

At the same meeting, the above named persons agreed to have ten other partners, who should each have half as much land as themselves, called for that reason half share men. They also agreed that John Bishop should have two of the said half shares. And after they came to Nantucket, they granted the following rights :—To Thomas Macy one half share in the year 1663 ;—to Richard Gardiner two ditto, in 1666 ;—to Joseph Gardiner one ditto, in 1667 ;—to Joseph Coleman one ditto, in 1665 ;—to William Worth two ditto, in 1662 and in 1674 ;—to Peter and Eleazer Folger two ditto, in 1662 ;—to John Gardiner two ditto, in 1672 ; to Samuel Stretor one ditto, in 1669 ;—to Nathaniel Wier one half of a sort of a poor one, in 1667. Which in the whole make twenty seven shares. But at this time there are near three hundred proprietors of the island. One share is limited to keep seven hundred and twenty sheep. Sixteen sheep are reckoned equivalent to one horse ; and eight sheep, to one ox or cow. The property is very unequally divided, varying from one sheep commons right to fourteen hundred sheep commons right. Clerks of the sheep yards are appointed, who on their books credit each proprietor with his rights, and make him debtor for his cattle, horses, and sheep. About the 20th of the sixth month, the sheep are driven to the yards, to be sheared. At this time each proprietor gives in to the clerks the number of his sheep, cattle, and horses, that he may be charged with them on the books. And if they be more than he is entitled to by his rights, he hires of his neighbours who have less. But if the proprietors all together have more than their number, the overplus are either killed or transported from the island. Beside the commons, there are sundry lands, swamps, and salt-meadows, which are divided among the proprietors in proportion to their shares, and are made use of for house lots, mowing land, and pastures. A proprietor may keep his sheep either on the common, or on the said lots and pastures, as suits him best. But he is not allowed, when he has more than his number, to remove the overplus from the commons to the pastures : because by the agreement, a share is entitled to keep no more than seven hundred and twenty sheep on the whole commons and pastures taken together.

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*Of the first coming of the English to Nantucket.*

In the year 1659, Thomas Macy removed with his family from Salisbury, in the county of Essex, to the west end of the island, to a place called in the Indian tongue Madakit Harbour. Thither came Edward Starbuck, James Coffin, and one Daget, from Martha's Vineyard, for the sake of gunning, and lived with him as boarders. At

that time there were near *three thousand* Indians on Nantucket. I cannot find that the English had any material quarrel or difficulty with them. They were willing to sell their lands; and the English went on purchasing, beginning at the west end of the island, till in fine they have obtained the whole, except some small rights, which are still retained by the natives.

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*Of the Whale Fishery.*

The whale fishery began at Nantucket in the year 1690. One Ichabod Paddock came from Cape Cod to instruct the people in the art of killing whales, in boats from the shore. This business flourished till about the year, 1760, when the whales appeared generally to have deserted the coast. It is remarkable, that during all that time, not a single man was killed by a whale, or drowned, whilst engaged in this hazardous employment. But it happened once, when there were about thirty boats about six miles from the shore, that the wind came round to the northward, and blew with great violence, attended with snow. The men all rowed hard, but made but little head way. In one of the boats there were four Indians and two white men. An old Indian in the head of the boat, perceiving that the crew began to be disheartened, spake out loud in his own tongue and said, *Momadichchator auqua sarshkee sarnkee finchee eyoo sememoochkee chaquanks wiichee finchee eyoo*: which in English is, "Pull a head with courage: do not be disheartened: we shall not be lost now: there are too many Englishmen to be lost now." His speaking in this manner gave the crew new courage. They soon perceived that they made head way; and after long rowing, they all got safe on shore.

In the year 1718, the inhabitants began to pursue whales on the ocean, in small sloops and schooners, from thirty to forty five tons. The blubber was brought home in large square pieces, and *tried* or boiled in try-houses. In a few years, vessels from sixty to eighty tons were employed, and the oil boiled out in try works at sea. When the late war began with Great Britain, we had a fleet of about one hundred and forty sail, consisting of large sloops, schooners, and brigs. But when the war ended, we were reduced to about thirty old hulks. Our voyages are now long and distant. We are obliged therefore to have vessels so large, that few persons are able to fit them out. For a great many of our most substantial men, allured by the hope of large bounties, have removed from the island; some to England, some to France, and others to Halifax, where they carry on the whale fishery. This is a great damage to us, and perhaps to our country in general. If these persons had carried away with them their part of the poor, it would have lightened our burthens; for we have now left two hundred and fifteen widows, of whom not thirty are able to support themselves without the assistance of their friends and neighbours, and some are maintained by the town. We have besides a great number of poor, and

some who are wretchedly poor. But then, on the other hand, we have a considerable number of able industrious men, who carry on the whale fishery, which is great help to the whole town at this day.

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*Description of the Island.*

Nantucket is about fourteen miles long, east and west, and about three miles and an half wide.\* The south side is very clear of stones. I never saw a stone along the shore bigger than a man's head. The soil is thin, but will bear Indian corn, rye, oats, and feed for our cattle. The north side is in several places, somewhat stoney, and produces pretty good English hay. The wood being entirely gone, and few shrubs left to shelter the ground against the cold winds and hard winters, the profits of our farming business are much reduced. Since my time, we called it only a middling crop, when we got from eighteen to twenty bushels of Indian corn from an acre. But now, when we get from twelve to fourteen bushels, we esteem it a tolerable crop. The profit on our sheep is also much reduced. The rule of our old men was, when they had a hundred lambs, they would kill fifty sheep that year, and leave fifty lambs to keep their stock good, and it would generally do it. But for ten or twelve years past, when we have a hundred lambs if we kill thirty sheep, and leave seventy lambs, it will not leave our stock good.

The town stands near the middle of the island, on the north side, having the harbour on the east, at a place called in the Indian language *Wesko*, which signifies *the white stone*. This white stone lies by the side of the harbour, and is now covered by the wharf.

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*Of the Indians.*

The natives of Nantucket were a kind people, and very friendly to each other. There were no poor persons among them. For when any of them grew old and helpless, and went to a neighbour's house, they were made welcome to stay as long as they pleased. If the English entered their houses, whilst they were eating, they would offer them such as they had, which sometimes would be very good. At their feasts they had several sorts of good food, and very good strong beer. By drinking rum their numbers were so much reduced that in the year 1763, there were but three hundred and fifty-eight left on the island. In that year an uncommon mortal distemper attacked them. It began the 16th of the eighth month, 1763, and lasted till the 16th of the second month, 1764. During that period two hundred and twenty-two died. Thirty-four were sick and recovered. Thirty-six who

\* This account differs from that of Mr. Folger. (See page 153.) As Nantucket is of an irregular shape, it is not easy to determine its length and breadth. Including Sandy Point, the breadth in one part is eleven miles; but the general breadth is not more than three miles and a half.



lived among them, escaped the disorder. Eight lived at the west end of the island, and did not go among them: none of them caught the disease. Eighteen were at sea. With the English lived forty, of whom none died. The Indians are now reduced to four males and sixteen females. Before this period, and from the first coming of the English to Nantucket, a large fat fish, called the blue fish, thirty of which would fill a barrel, was caught in great plenty all round the island, from the 1st of the sixth month till the middle of the ninth month. But it is remarkable, that in the year 1764, the very year in which the sickness ended, they all disappeared, and that none have ever been taken since. This has been a great loss to us.

In the year 1663, King Philip came to the island to kill an Indian, whose name was John Gibbs. He landed at the west end, intending to travel along the shore, under the bank, undiscovered, to the east part of the island, where John lived. But an Indian, happening to discover his plan, ran and gave John word; in consequence of which John made his escape to town, and got Thomas Macy to conceal him. John's crime was speaking the name of the dead, who was supposed to be one of King Philip's near connexions. For the Indians had a custom or law, that no one should speak or name the name of the dead. The English held a parley with Philip, and all the money, which they were able to collect at that time, was barely sufficient to satisfy him for John's life. This story has been handed down to us by our fathers, and we do not doubt the truth of it.

The Indians had a singular way of punishing their children and servants, which was as follows. They took some bayberry root, and scraping off the bark, put it into a bottle; they let it stand awhile, steeping it in water. They would then take the boys, and lay them on their backs, putting a knee on each of the boy's arms; and turning back their heads, by laying hold of the hair, they took some of the water into their mouths, and squirted it into the noses of the boys. This was repeated twice or thrice, till the boys were nearly strangled. After a while, however, they would recover. This mode of punishment, called by the Indians *medomhumar*, or great punishment, has prevailed among them since my time.

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#### Of Peter Folger.

When the English first came to Nantucket, they appointed five men to divide and lay out twenty acres of house lot land, to every share; and Peter Folger was one of the five. But I have remarked, that it is said in the records, that any three out of the five might do the business, provided the said Peter Folger was one of them. From which it is plain, that the people saw something in him superiour to others. I have observed also, that some of our old deeds from the Indian sachems were examined by Peter Folger, and he would write something at the bottom of the deed and sign it, in addition to the signature of the justice; for he understood and could speak the Indian tongue. So that

it is clear to me, that both the English and Indians had a great esteem for Peter Folger; who was grandfather to the famous Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia, lately deceased. His mother was the daughter of Peter Folger, who lived within forty rods of the spot where I was born. And from what I have heard, the whole of North America prided itself as much in Benjamin Franklin, as the people of Nantucket did, in his grandfather. I conclude therefore, that he inherited a part of his noble publick spirit from his grandfather, Peter Folger.

I hope the errors of the above will be excused, as I am now in my seventy-ninth year, and according to the course of nature, am not so capable of setting matters in a clear light as in my younger days.

ZACCHEUS MACY.

*Nantucket, 15th of 5th month, 1792.*

**BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, and DEATHS, in the island of NANTUCKET, communicated by the Rev. Mr. SHAW.**

ANNO 1789.			
Births, viz.	Males	75	Marriages 65
	Females	82	Deaths 57
Total,		157	

N. B. Of the deaths, 11 were caused by pulmonary consumption, and 10 by hectic decay. 10 were males, and 11 females.

ANNO 1790.			
Births, viz.	Males	91	Marriages 68
	Females	83	Deaths 66
Total,		174	

N. B. Of the deaths, 13 were caused by pulmonary consumption, & by hectic decay.

ANNO 1791.			
Births, viz.	Males	89	Marriages 48
	Females	113	Deaths 83
Total,		262	

N. B. Of the deaths, 12 were by pulmonary consumption. 11 by hectic decay. 9 by convulsions.

ANNO 1792.			
Births, viz.	Males	80	Marriages 28
	Females	93	Deaths 58
Total,		173	

N. B. Of the deaths, 6 were by pulmonary consumption. 14 by hectic decay. 12 by convulsions.

## PROGRESS OF THE WHALE FISHERY AT NANTUCKET.

<b>W</b> HALE FISHERY originated at Nantucket in the year 1690, in boats from the shore.			
1715.	6 sloops, 38 tons burden, obtained about 600 barrels of oil, and 11,000 bone		£1,100
1730.	25 sail, from 38 to 50 tons, obtained annually about 3,700 barrels, at £7 per ton		3,200
1748.	60 sail, from 50 to 75 tons, obtained 11,250 barrels at £14		19,684
1756.	80 sail, 75 tons, obtained 12,000 barrels at £18		27,600
1768.	70 sail, 75 tons, obtained 10,500 barrels at £18		23,600
	N. B. Lost ten sail, taken by the French, and foundered.		
1770.	120 sail, from 75 to 110 tons, obtained 18,000 barrels at £40		100,000
<i>From</i>	150 sail, from 90 to 180 tons, upon the coast of		<i>L. M.</i>
<i>1772 to</i>	Guinea, Brazil, and the West Indies, obtained annually 30,000 barrels, which sold in the London market at £44 to £45 sterling		167,000
1775.	N. B. 2,200 seamen employed in the fishery, and 220 in the London trade.		<i>Sterling.</i>
<i>Peace of</i>	7 sail to Brazil from 100 to 150 tons, obtained	2,100	
1783.	5 to the coast of Guinea	600	
	7 to the West Indies	560	
		At £40 per ton	3,260
	N. B. No duty exacted in London.		£16,280
1784.	12 sail to Brazil, obtained	4,000	
	5 to the coast of Guinea	400	
	11 to the West Indies	1,000	
		At £23 to £24	5,400
	N. B. The price fell by the exaction of a duty in London of £18 3s. sterling, per ton.		14,500
1785.	Now at sea.		
	8 sail to Brazil.		
	2 to the coast of Guinea.		
	5 to the West Indies.		

Before the war there were annually manufactured in Nantucket 380 tons of spermaceti candles.\*

\* *This state of the whale fishery in Nantucket, was written in the year 1785.*

A LETTER TO DR. FRANKLIN, FROM GRANVILLE SHARP, ON THE  
SUBJECT OF AMERICAN BISHOPS.

Old Jewry, (London,) October 29, 1785.

Dear Sir,

I **TOUGHT** long ago to have returned thanks for your kind attention to my last letter, by your friendly and obliging answer of the 5th July last, but I was then out upon a long tour into Scotland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, &c. for two months, and have been very much engaged since that time.

The approbation you have been pleased to express of my tract on the *election of bishops* gives me particular satisfaction; and as you have thought proper to favour me with some information on that subject, it becomes my duty to enlarge upon it, and to communicate my sentiments without reserve. Long before this time you will probably have heard of a letter which I wrote to a friend in America, expressing my doubts concerning the validity of Dr. Seabury's consecration by the *nonjuring bishops* in Scotland: a copy of which letter was taken (as I am informed by the clergyman to whom it was sent) in order to be laid before the convention of the Episcopal clergy of three American provinces, intended to be held at Philadelphia, in the last month: the result of which I earnestly wish to hear. You have intimated a probability that the people of America in a certain case, "*may think it right to elect;*" but the Episcopal clergy of America will, of course, be aware that a mere *election* of a presbyter to the office of a bishop, will *not* be sufficient to constitute the Episcopal dignity (nor to confer the kind of authority that is requisite for those who preside, according to the apostolick constitution, in the churches of Christ) without the outward form of *laying on hands* by *other bishops*, after solemn prayer for the *inspiration* of the holy spirit to assist and guide the elected person in the execution of such a solemn charge and trust in the church of Christ, as must render him most awfully responsible for his whole conduct before God and man!

I was anxious that this truly christian and scriptural rite of *laying on hands* should be communicated to the Episcopal church of America, by a channel of continuation from the apostolick times that should be as unexceptionable as possible; and therefore I wished that the first American bishops might be consecrated by our *English bishops*, whose predecessors were particularly instrumental in promoting the reformation from Popery (several of them having sealed their testimony with their blood) and whose doctrine in general has ever since been limited by the test of holy scripture. The authority of the *bishops of Scotland*, who were ejected in the reign of King William and Queen Mary, was also equally unexceptionable at that time, as I have elsewhere declared, and though they were inhumanly persecuted during the remainder of that reign, and for a few years in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, yet they had it in their power, soon afterwards (in the 10th year of that reign) to have continued an *unquestionable* Episcopal church,

though not an *established* one; for their meetings were *tolerated*, at least, and their "letters of orders," acknowledged and authorized by an express act of parliament in 1711 [which I have reason to believe was principally promoted by the interest and continued endeavours (for several preceding years) of my own grandfather\*] on condition that they should take the oaths to the Queen, the Princess Sophia, and all the royal family. But unhappily, through the unreasonable attachment of many of them (or of their successors) to the excluded Popish family, these terms were not generally complied with; whereby they assumed the new character of *Nonjurors* and *Jacobites*, professing attachment to a *foreign authority* that was inimical to the established government: which unhappy disposition afforded a pretence afterwards to the enemies of the Episcopal church of Scotland to obtain a repeal of that just act, and to entirely abolish the reasonable toleration it afforded to the continuance of the Episcopal church of Scotland. (See acts xix. and xxvi. K. Geo. II. in 1746 and 1748) whereby no "*letters of orders*" were allowed, but those of *English or Irish bishops*, after 29th September, 1748: and this extreme severity was exerted, without making the least reserve for discriminating in favour of such Scottish bishops, or Episcopal pastors, who might have qualified themselves for toleration agreeable to the former acts, and therefore the acts of repeal were too plainly acts of unjustifiable violence, which nothing but the critical time in which they were passed (*viz.* during the extreme dejection of the Jacobite party by the happy suppression of the late rebellion in the heart of the kingdom) would have prompted the opposite party in power to adopt; nothing but an opportunity of irresistible power could have emboldened them to proceed to such cruel extremities under the external form of law! But however cruel and unjust this repeal of a mere *toleration* may be deemed towards the *more moderate* part of the bishops and Episcopal pastors of Scotland, yet, it is to be feared, that by far the greatest part of them had not sufficient *moderation* to induce their submission to "*the powers that be,*" and to profess a due christian resolution to *live quietly* under the established government: for it appears that the professed *Nonjurors* were driven by the spirit of party to very unjustifiable lengths; and their attachment to the excluded family induced them (as I have been informed) to receive their *Congés d'Elire* from the *Pretender*: a practice highly derogatory to the rights of the christian church, and therefore justly exceptionable even under a protestant prince, but utterly *inexcusable*, when the submission was *voluntary* to a Popish descendant of the justly excluded family, who had not even a shadow of power or authority to enforce that undue royal interference in episcopal elections!

But this voluntary submission to the *Congé d'Elire* is not my only objection to the nonjuring bishops of Scotland. Their high tory notions of passive obedience, and indefeasible hereditary right, under the

\* His grandfather was Archbishop of York.

influence of a foreign *Pofish* prince, have led them to adopt (as I have been informed) some *usages* which are very exceptionable and apparently *Pofish* ! For, it is said, that they not only mix *water* with the wine in the commemoration of the Lord's supper (which is without authority of the holy scripture, howsoever the *tradition*, which they allege, of *primitive times*, may seem to favour it) but they also adulterate even *the water* in the other sacrament of baptism (contrary both to *primitive tradition* and *the scriptures*) with a mixture of *chrism* or *oil*, *salt*, &c. when *pure water* alone is commanded ! And so dangerous it is to be *wise above what is written*, that *frayers for the dead*, and *extreme unction* have also been admitted (it seems) as *usages* among them !

These are my reasons for wishing, that the first American bishops may receive their consecration rather from our *English bishops*, than from the *nonjurors* of Scotland. And I have good authority to say, that several of the English bishops (and I have not the least reason to suspect that any of the rest entertain different sentiments on this point) are very desirous to promote the episcopal church of Christ in America or elsewhere upon true christian principles, without any idea of acquiring the least ascendancy thereby, which might be derogatory to the independence of free national churches: and though they are, at present, so unhappily bound up by the *act of uniformity*, that they cannot dispense with the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, yet I am assured on the best authority, that they will endeavour to obtain a due sanction or power to do so (even if an express act of parliament should be thought necessary to effect it) whenever a proper requisition shall be made to consecrate a bishop, or bishops, for America, provided the elected persons sent from thence, bring with them the necessary testimonials of their ecclesiastical qualifications, morality, election, &c. (for the scriptural rubrick is to *lay hands suddenly on no man*) and I have ample reason to think that all due attention will be paid to so just a demand.

Be pleased to excuse the trouble I give you in perusing so long a letter, for it was not in my power to express all that I wished to communicate on this important subject in fewer words.

I remain, with true respect and esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your obliged humble servant,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

*His Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq.*

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HE observes that he had written before to a friend in America upon this subject. That friend was President Manning, of Providence. He wrote to him upon it in the winter before, when he sent a present of books to Providence college; and a copy of the answer thereto is before me, dated Providence, July 26, 1785, which mentions, that said

letter about bishops, was dated December 30, 1784, and the President says,

“YOUR letter relating to ecclesiastical matters, after perusal, I communicated to my ministering brethren of the episcopal church in my vicinity, who took a copy of it. I then took it to New York, and communicated it to some of the members of congress; lent it to Dr. *Prevost* the *rector*, who desired liberty to copy it, which I granted him; withal, requesting him to communicate it to his brethren. He proposed doing so, and laying it before the convention of the episcopal clergy, of Virginia and New York, inclusive, to meet at Philadelphia in September next.”

In answer to this, Mr. Sharp wrote December 11, 1785, and said,

“I AM much obliged to you for so candidly communicating my former letter, respecting the *nonjuring bishops of Scotland*, to so many respectable persons, and especially to Dr. *Prevost*, as his intention was to lay a copy of it before the general convention of the episcopal churches at Philadelphia. Having received a letter from Dr. *Franklin* (written just before his departure from *Passy*) on the subject of *episcopacy*, I thought it right to acquaint him that I had already wrote a letter on that subject to a friend in America (without mentioning names) wherein I had expressed my doubts concerning the *nonjuring bishops of Scotland*; and as these doubts and suspicions have been confirmed in my late journey to Scotland, wherein I received much more information concerning them than I was aware of, when I wrote to you, I thought it my duty to declare it without reserve in a letter to Dr. *Franklin*; and the same reasons, which prompted me to write him, induce me to send also to you a copy of that letter; because it was not for the sake of individuals that I wrote so long a letter, but for the information of the publick. However, if you think there is any impropriety in communicating the copy of a letter addressed to an individual, before he himself may have received it, you will do well to conceal the address of the letter, and forbear to mention Dr. *Franklin*'s name in the matter; but I must entirely leave to your better judgment the propriety of doing so or not.

“I am happy to find you have reason to think, that “in process of time the slavery of the Africans throughout the United States must be abolished: that the plan formed for the peopling of the new states does not admit of personal slavery, and as these will be contiguous to those where it still obtains, owners of slaves will derive but little advantage, as stepping over the line will ensure them their liberty. This will surely be a desirable happy effect! but yet I cannot help being jealous lest *custom* (which has for many years so shamefully prevailed in America) of taking up runaway slaves and delivering them up to their masters, for the sake of the advertised rewards, should still continue, if it is not prohibited by express laws, and a repeal of those by which it was wickedly encouraged; because *use* (even to a proverb) is *second nature*.”

I have therefore enclosed an argument on that subject, which I drew up many years ago, when I first began to vindicate the rights of poor negro slaves in England, against the established opinions of some great lawyers (the Lords Hardwick and Talbot, Judge Blackstone, &c.) and my endeavours, thank God, were not in vain, but proved in the end, completely effectual to the enfranchisement of every slave (I mean every *domestick* or *private* slave) that touches English ground!

I remain,

With great esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your obliged humble servant,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

“ P. S. I have an earnest desire to see an account of the determination of the late convention of the episcopal churches, at Philadelphia.

“ *Rev. Mr. Manning.*”

The foregoing letter to Dr. Franklin hath been transcribed with great care, from the copy which Mr. Sharp sent to President Manning, which is now before me; and the extracts of the other letters have also been carefully made, for the use of the Massachusetts Historical Society, by their humble servant,

ISAAC BACKUS.

*Middleborough, May 6, 1794.*

A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF RAYNHAM, IN THE COUNTY OF BRISTOL, FEBRUARY 6, 1793. BY THE REV. PETERES FOBES, LL. D.

**R**AYNHAM is distant from Boston, the capital of the state, about thirty-six miles; in a southerly direction. This town, which, with a number of others, originally belonged to the old township of Taunton, was taken off and incorporated, in the year 1731. It is bounded on the east by Bridgewater; on the west by Taunton; on the south by the river called Taunton Great river, and on the north by Eastown, Bridgewater, and a part of Nippaniquet pond. It is about eight miles in length and four miles and a half wide. This town makes a part of those lands which originally were known by the name of Cohanat, in the colony of New Plymouth. They were first purchased of Massasoit, the Indian chief, by Elizabeth Pool and her associates.

The lands in general are level and smooth. A stranger, riding through the town, will form but an indifferent opinion of the whole, if he judges from that part only, which he sees. The roads are excellent,



but the soil is penurious. This however is not characteristick of the whole. The soil, in general, has sufficient variety, and yields, under the hand of industry, almost every kind of production in tolerable plenty. Rye and Indian corn are in general raised here with great ease, and in such quantities as not only to supply the inhabitants, but to afford considerable for market. There are indeed two kinds of soil here, of which the farmers frequently complain. The one is the clayey cold kind; the other is the light spungy soil: but as these are often found near together, and will, by mixing, correct and meliorate each other, this complaint, it is hoped, will not long continue.

The timber here growing is principally oak, white, red, and black oak; walnut, maple, black and white birch, elm, pine, cedar, locusts, spruce, beech, buttonwood, hornbine, and sassafras; the last of which, when used for posts, or any other way, is found to be the most incorruptible of any wood hitherto known.

A considerable part of the town lies upon a circular bend of Taunton river. This river is between seven and eight rods wide, and affords a great plenty of herrings and other fish: but so unfavourable is it, in this place to seining or fishing, that the exclusive privilege of fishing is annually sold for less than *twelve shillings*, while the same privilege in Bridgewater and Middleborough, (towns which lie above this) is annually sold for more than *two hundred and fifty pounds*. Justice perhaps in this case pleads for indulgence from government, or the grant of some artificial convenience, where nature seems to have denied one. Besides the great river, there are several other useful streams, upon which, in different places, stand six saw mills, three grist mills, one furnace, a forge, and fulling mill. It is remarkable, that notwithstanding the quantity of pine timber sawed at these mills, the logs rafted down the river, and the pine consumed in furnaces, in slitting mills, and common fires; yet it is confidently affirmed, that there is now standing in this town as much pine timber as on the first day of its settlement; such has been the growth of swamp pine. But of no other kind of wood or fuel can it be said, that the growth has been equal to the consumption. The large quantities of coals, consumed in carrying on the iron manufacture in all its branches, has, within a few years past, greatly enhanced the value of wood. This has already occasioned emigrations, and will probably produce more. But when the rapid growth of wood in general, of white birch and pine in particular, is considered; when the late use of this species of pine, as an article of firing, which is known to grow faster in our most barren uplands, than even in the swamps; but especially when some of the late discoveries in the philosophy of heat, and its operations on the human body, become more generally known, it is very probable that the want of fuel will not be the cause of so much complaint.

Upon the northerly part of the town, there is a large and valuable tract of cedar swamp; and towards the centre, are two considerable tracts more. The one is called the Dead, and the other, Titicut swamp.

On the easterly side of the town is a pond, which is about two miles in circumference. It joins to Titicut swamp, and is supplied with pike, or pickerel, perch, and other kinds of fish. On the westerly boundary are two ponds more, called the Forge, and Fowling ponds. There is also a large pond, which makes part of the northerly boundary of this town, and divides it from Bridgewater.

This pond is two miles in length and one in breadth, and is called Nippaniquit, or Nippahonsit pond. Here alewives in millions annually resort, and leave their spawns. An excellent kind of ore, and various kinds of fish are found here. Allured, perhaps, by the pleasures of fishing, and the beauty of the prospect, that curious political character, Dr. Benjamin Church, of Boston, came here; and in the year 1768, built an elegant house upon one of the elevated sides of this pond.

Although the lands in this town are in general level and smooth, yet there are some considerable elevations or hills. The principal ones are known by the names of Tareall and Smooch hill. The first is exceedingly fruitful; the other is equally barren. There is another situated near the line between this and the town of Taunton, which is called Steep hill.

The first meeting house was built the year preceding the incorporation of the town. It then contained about thirty families; over which, in the month of October 1731, was ordained the Rev. John Wales, father of the Rev. Doctor Samuel Wales, late Professor of Divinity at Yale College in Connecticut. He was blessed with talents, which rendered him very amiable and entertaining in social life. In publick prayer, his performances were eminent, and on some occasions almost unequalled. He was a faithful plain preacher; and having served in the gospel ministry thirty-four years, he died February 23d, 1765, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. To him succeeded the Rev. Peres Fobes, LL. D. He was graduated at Cambridge college, 1762, ordained November 19th, 1766, and is now in the twenty-seventh year of his happy ministry, among a happy people.

The first meeting house was conveniently situated for the first inhabitants; and continued, as the place of publick worship, for more than forty-two years, that is until June 9th, 1771; when a new meeting house was erected nearly in the centre of the town. It stands upon a level spot of ground, near the intersection of two roads. It has an elegant steeple lately built, is pleasantly situated, decently painted, and is about the distance of three miles from the county court house.

The number of families in this town is near two hundred, which, according to the late census, contains about a thousand souls. Of this number nearly one sixth part are of the baptist denomination; of whom some attend worship with the congregationalists in the meeting house, others attend baptist meetings in the neighbouring towns; and some are contented with few occasional meetings at private houses. If it has been said of the baptists in general, that they were rather un-

friendly to government and learning, yet in justice to that denomination it ought now to be said, that they are improving in their friendly regard to both.

If the salubrity of the air and soil can be accurately determined by a philosophical instrument, called an eudiometer : yet, among us, it is perhaps best known at present, by the health and longevity of the inhabitants. From a careful inspection of the bills of mortality, which in this place have been kept for more than twenty years past, and which might here have been inserted, it appears that the air is by no means unfavourable to health and long life. In one family born in this place, there were living not long since, five brothers and one sister, whose ages, taken together, amounted to more than five hundred years.

The people of this town are principally farmers, with a proportion of mechanicks, traders, and professional characters. Besides the usual business of husbandry, numbers are here employed in the manufactories, of bar iron, hollow ware, nails, irons for vessels, iron shovels, pot ash, shingles, &c. These, together with the late rapid increase of buildings, as well as improvements in agriculture and iron manufacture, bear unquestionable attestation to the industry and enterprise of the people.

Raynham has been considered as one of the most patriotick towns in the state. The inhabitants, especially those who attend publick worship here, have been distinguished for their zealous attachment to republican government, to learning, to military discipline, and church musick.

The unanimity and ardour of their publick decisions during the late war ; their cautious, but spirited exertions, their prompt and peaceable compliances with the numerous calls of government in the days of exigence and danger, are well known ; and perhaps ought the rather to be remembered, as their patience long endured the trial of cruel opposition, and the shock of ridicule, from the tongues, the pens, the publick votes, and contradicting examples of great numbers all around them. The people here can appeal to the living and the dead, when they say that not among their number was ever yet found, either a tory, a paper money man, or insurgent. Fired at the name of insurgency, and hearing that a conspiracy was formed to prevent the sitting of the October court of 1786, the troops of this little town, consisting of two small companies, roused unanimous ; and at the first call of their leaders, mustered in arms, marched alone to Taunton, entered the court house as a preoccupant guard, there lay upon their arms through the whole of the night, preceding the day of the court's sitting ; and in open defiance of all the bloody threats of an unprincipled and outrageous mob, in constant expectation of hundreds in arms ready for battle, they stood firm, but alone ; until the next day about noon, when by a reinforcement of troops from the county of Plymouth, and a number gleaned from different parts of this county, they formed, and under the command of General Cobb, the insurrection was crushed.

the supreme court sat, and government was triumphant\* ; but from the whole county of Bristol, not another whole company appeared, except the two companies from Raynham ! On the last regimental muster at Taunton, the equipment and military appearance of the two Raynham companies met with distinguished approbation from the inspecting general ; by him they were pronounced equal to any in the state.

As a proof of taste, and of real attachment to literature, it ought to be known, that for more than fifteen years past, a kind of academical school has been constantly taught in this town. It began in the year 1773, under the care of the Rev. Peres Fobes ; and a large number of youth, from different towns and states, were instructed here, not only in the languages, but in the arts and sciences. When he could no longer attend, another instructor was employed, and a school of a similar kind set up, at the expense chiefly of a few individuals in the town ; and with little intermission, it has continued in the same place to this day.

A publick social library, consisting of a valuable collection of books has lately been established here, and through the last season, five English schools, besides a grammar school were taught in this town. At present there are six schools, four of which are now taught by respectable grammarians. Add to this, that four young men, from this town (two of whom lately settled in the ministry) have been graduated at different colleges, within a few years past ; and six others from this place are now members of colleges. If this should not be thought *cæteris paribus*, an instance without a parallel, it will perhaps be admitted as an evidence of literary zeal. But, in the opinion of the publick, perhaps, that which chiefly gives this little town a claim to publick attention, is, that here once lived PHILIP, the Indian King ; and here still remain some pleasing monuments of antiquity and of great natural curiosity. They can here mark the place, and point with the hand to their children, and say, “ Our ears have heard, and our fathers have told us,” *there once lived the tawny chief, the dread of women and children, a terror that walked in darkness, haunted in dreams, and butchered at noon-day.* On that spot of ground stood his house ; my great grand parent knew him ; he once sold him an ox for beef, and often supplied him with iron made with his own hands, in yonder forge, which he himself built, and was the first America ever saw. See, there yet stands the friendly dome, the once well-known garrison, to which our friends in numbers fled, eager for life and panting in horror of Indian foes—and see—but let history speak—”

The first adventurers from England to this country, who were skilled in the forge iron manufacture, were two brothers, viz. James and Henry Leonard. They came to this town in the year 1652, which was about two years after the first settlers had planted themselves upon this spot ; and in the year 1652, these Leonards here built the first forge in America. Henry not long after moved from this place to the Jerseys and settled there. James, who was the great progenitor, from

\* See *Minot's History of the Insurrection.* p. 59.

whom the whole race of the Leonards here sprung, lived and died in this town. He came from Ponterpool in Monmouthshire, and brought with him his son Thomas, then a small boy, who afterwards worked at the bloomery art, with his father in the forge. This forge was situated on the great road; and having been repaired from generation to generation, it is to this day still in employ. On one side of the dam, at a small distance from each other, stand three large elms and one oak tree. Two of the elms are near three feet in circumference, and are still flourishing. These trees are now almost a hundred and twenty years old; which, with the ancient buildings and other objects around, present to the eye a scene of the most venerable antiquity. In the distance of one mile and a quarter from this forge, is a place called the Fowling Pond, on the northerly side of which once stood King Philip's house. It was called Philip's hunting house, because, in the season most favourable to hunting, he resided there, but spent the winter chiefly at Mount Hope, probably for the benefit of fish. Philip and these Leonards, it seems, long lived in good neighbourhood, and often traded with each other: and such was Philip's friendship, that as soon as the war broke out, which was in 1675, he gave out strict orders to all his Indians, never to hurt the Leonards. During the war, two houses near the forge were constantly garrisoned. These buildings are yet standing. One of them was built by James Leonard, long before Philip's war. This house still remains in its original gothick form, and is now inhabited, together with the same paternal spot, by Leonards of the sixth generation. In the cellar under this house, was deposited, for a considerable time, the head of King Philip; for it seems that even Philip himself shared the fate of kings; he was decollated, and his head carried about and shewn as a curiosity, by one Alderman, the Indian who shot him.

There is yet in being an ancient case of drawers, which used to stand in this house, upon which the deep scars and mangled impressions of Indian hatchets are now seen: but the deeper impressions made on those affrighted women, who fled from the house, when the Indians broke in, cannot be known. Under the door steps of the same building now lie buried the bones of two unfortunate young women, who, in their flight here, were shot down by the Indians, and their blood was seen to run quite across the road: but more fortunate was the flight of Uriah Leonard, who, as he was riding from Taunton to the forge in this place, was discovered and fired upon by the Indians. He instantly plucked off his hat, swung it around, which startled his horse, and in full career, he reached the forge dam, without a wound; but several bullets were shot through the hat he held in his hand, and through the neck of the horse near the mane, from which the blood on both sides gushed and ran down on both his legs.

While deacon Nathaniel Williams, with some others, were at work in the field, on the south side of the road, about half a mile from the forge, one of the number discovered a motion of the bushes, at a little distance; he immediately presented his gun and fired; upon which

the Indians were heard to cry, *Cocoosh*, and ran off : but soon after one of the Indians was found dead near the fowling pond. Near the great river are now to be seen the graves of Henry Andross, and James Philips, who, with James Bell and two sons, were killed by a number of Indians, who lay in ambush. This happened in the place called Squabette.

The place already mentioned, by the name of Fowling Pond, is itself a great curiosity. Before Philip's war, it seems to have been a large pond, nearly two miles long, and three quarters of a mile wide. Since then, the water is almost gone, and the large tract it once covered, is grown up to a thick set swamp, of cedar and pine. That this, however, was once a large pond, haunted by fowls, and supplied with fish in great plenty, is more than probable, for here is found, upon dry land, a large quantity of white floor sand ; and a great number of that kind of smooth stones, which are never found, except on shores, or places long washed with water. There is also on the east side a bank of sand, which is called the Beaver's Dam, against which the water must formerly have washed up ; and if so, the pond must once have been of such amplitude as that above mentioned. Add to this, that a large number of Indian spears, tools, pots, &c. are found near the sides of this pond. This indicates that the natives were once thick settled here. But what could be their object ? What could induce Philip to build his house here ? It was, undoubtedly, fishing and fowling, in this, *then* large pond. But more than all, there is yet living in this town a man of more than ninety years old, who can well remember, than when he was a boy, he had frequently gone off in a canoe, to fish in this pond ; and says, that many a fish had been caught, where the pines and cedars are now more than fifty feet high. If an instance, at once so rare, and well attested, as this, should not be admitted as a curious scrap of the natural history of this country ; yet it must be admitted as a strong analogical proof, that many of our swamps were originally ponds of water : but more than this, it suggests a new argument in favour of the wisdom and goodness of that Divine Providence, which "*changes the face of the earth,*" to supply the wants of man, as often as he changes from uncivilized nature, to a state of cultivation and refinement.

There is one remarkable circumstance, relative to the soil which environs this pond, and that is, its prolific virtue in generating ore. Copious beds of iron ore, in this part of the country, are usually found in the neighbourhood of pine swamps ; or near to soils, natural to the growth of pine or cedar. In this case, if there is sufficient to filtrate the liquid mine, before it is deposited in beds, there will be found a plenty of bog ore. Now all these circumstances remarkably coincide, in the vicinity of this pond, and the effect is as remarkable : for in this place, there has been almost an inexhaustible fund of excellent ore, from which the forge has been supplied, and kept going for more than eighty years ; besides large quantities carried to other works, and yet here is

ore still ; though, like other things in a state of youth, it is weak and incapable of being wrought into iron of the best quality. The signs already mentioned, as indicating ore, will afford to the philosopher an easy clue, for investigating the process of nature in the production of ore. In this way only, it must be determined, whether the original seeds, or pullulating particles of the ore, be lodged in the soil, or in the pine ; and what is the process, the pabulum and period of its growth, through all its various stages, to maturity. The subject, perhaps, is new and unexplored ; but by a number of well-conducted experiments, in the hands of genius, it promises a reward, which will add new riches to science, if not to the country. The time may come, when it will be easy, and as common, to raise a bed of bog ore as a bed of carrots.

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APPENDIX. OF THE FAMILY OF LEONARD.

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THE following genealogical sketch is intended to show that longevity, promotion to publick office, and a kind of hereditary attachment to the iron manufacture, are all circumstances, remarkably characteristic of the name and family of LEONARD.

THE great progenitor, James Leonard, lived to be more than seventy years old. He had three brothers, five sons, and three daughters, all whose ages, upon an average, amounted to more than seventy-four years. His son Uriah had five sons and four daughters : Of his sons four lived to be more than eighty, and all his daughters above seventy-five. Thomas, the oldest son of James, was a distinguished character. He held the office of a justice of the peace, a judge of the court, a physician, a field officer, and was eminent for piety. Sacred to his memory, an eulogy was printed in 1713, by the Rev. Samuel Danforth of Taunton, one of the most learned and eminent ministers of his day. This Thomas had five sons, of whom four lived above seventy years. His son George was a justice of the peace and a military officer. In Norton, in a poem published by a character of eminence, on occasion of his death, in 1716 ; he is styled " the prudent, pious, worthy, and worshipful Major George Leonard, Esq." He had four sons and three daughters. His oldest son George was a colonel, and a judge both of the probate and common pleas : he lived to be more than eighty ; he had one son and two daughters : His son is the Honourable George Leonard, Esq. late member of congress : His oldest daughter is the wife of the Rev. David Barnes, and the mother of David Barnes, Esq. attorney at law. The other daughter was the wife of the late Colonel Chandler of Worcester.

The second son of Major George, was Nathaniel, a pious, worthy minister, who settled in Plymouth. He lived more than seventy years ; and he had a son Abiel, who was a minister in Connecticut, and a chaplain in the American army in the revolution war.

The third son of Major George was Ephraim : he was a colonel, a judge of the court, and a man of eminent piety : he lived to be more than eighty. He had one child only, viz. Daniel, who is now chief justice of the islands of Bermuda : he also has but one son, Charles, now a student at Cambridge college.

Two of the daughters of Major George lived to be aged. One was the wife of Colonel Thomas Clap, formerly a minister of Taunton ; the other was the wife of a respectable clergyman.

Samuel Leonard, the fourth son of Thomas, was a man of distinguished piety. He held the offices of a deacon, a captain, and justice of the peace. He had four sons and five daughters. Two of his sons were captains, one a justice of the peace, and all of them deacons. Three are yet alive, one above eighty, and two above seventy. His third son Elijah has a son of his own name lately settled in the ministry. His oldest daughter was the parent of Dr. Simeon Howard of Boston. His second daughter was the wife of Rev. John Wales of this town, and the mother of Rev. Dr. Samuel Wales, professor of divinity at Yale College. The other daughters were the wives of respectable characters, and all in publick offices. Elkanah, the fifth son of Thomas, had three sons, two of whom lived to see more than seventy. One was a captain, the other a major, a lawyer, and one of the most distinguished geniuses of his name and day. He left two sons, both captains, and above sixty. One of them, viz. Zebulon, has an only child, that is now the wife of Dr. Samuel Shaw.

John was another son of Thomas. He had four sons and three daughters, who all lived to be above eighty. A daughter of the oldest son, was the wife of the Rev. Eliab Byram, and the parent of the present wife of Josiah Dean, Esq. of this town, who himself is also a lineal descendant, and the present owner of the forge first built by his great ancestor.

Thus far of the posterity of Thomas the oldest son of the progenitor. James, the second son of James, bore his own name. He had four sons and three daughters : three of his sons lived to be near eighty ; and two of the daughters above ninety. One of them was the wife of Doctor Ezra Dean ; and the other was the parent of Gershom Crane, esq. who lived to be almost an hundred years old, and was the father of the present Doctor Jonathan Crane, esq. The oldest son of James was Captain James Leonard, who had three sons and five daughters, two of his sons were military officers, and all of them lived nearly to the age of seventy. His oldest daughter was the wife of Thomas Cobb, esq. and the mother of the Hon. David Cobb, esq. speaker of the house, member of congress, &c. The second son of James was Stephen Leonard : he was a justice of the peace, and a judge of the court of common pleas. He had four sons, three of whom lived to be aged : one was the Rev. Silas Leonard of New York ; the oldest was Major Zephaniah Leonard, esq. and judge of the court. He had five sons of whom four are yet alive, three of them had a publick education at Yale College. The oldest is Capt. Joshua, who now inhabits the an-



cient paternal building, and is nearly seventy : he has a son of his own name, who at the age of twenty-two, was an ordained minister in Connecticut. The second son is Colonel Zephaniah Leonard. He has held the offices of an attorney at law, a justice of the peace, and is now sheriff of the county. He has three sons, two of whom are now members of college. The third son is Apollon Leonard, esq. one of the special justices of the county. The youngest son, is Samuel Leonard, lately appointed a justice of the peace. He is a respectable, opulent merchant, and has a number of promising sons, that wait only for the proper age, to receive such an education, as will add still greater honour to the ancient honourable family and name they bear. Such has been the longevity and promotion to publick offices, in two branches of this family only. The circumstance of a family attachment to the *iron manufacture* is so well known, as to render it a common observation in this part of the country, viz. *where you can find iron works, there you will find a LEONARD.*

Henry, the brother of James, went from this place, to the Jerseys, and was one of the first who set up iron works in that state. He was the progenitor of a numerous and respectable posterity in that part of America.

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EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE REV. ISAAC BACKUS, ON THE SUBJECT OF IRON ORE.

Sir,

Middleborough, July 25, 1794.

“**V**AST quantities of iron, both cast and wrought, have been made in this part of the country, for more than an hundred years past ; but it was chiefly out of bog ore, until that kind was much exhausted in these parts, and then a rich treasure was opened in Middleborough, which had been long hid from the inhabitants. About the year 1747, it was discovered that there was iron mine in the bottom of our great pond at Assowamset ; and after some years, it became the main ore that was used in the town, both at furnaces and forges, and much of it has been carried into the neighbouring places for the same purpose. Men go out with boats, and make use of instruments much like those with which oysters are taken, to get up the ore from the bottom of the pond.

I am told that, for a number of years, a man would take up and bring to shore, two tons of it in a day ; but now it is so much exhausted, that half a ton is reckoned a good day's work for one man. But in an adjacent pond is now plenty, where the water is twenty feet deep, and much is taken up from that depth, as well as from shoaler water. It has also been plenty in a pond in the town of Carver, where they have a furnace upon the stream which runs from it. Much of the iron which is made from this ore is better than they could make out of bog ore, and some of it is as good as almost any refined iron. The quantity of this treasure, which hath been taken out of the bottom of clear

ponds, is said to have been sometimes as much as five hundred tons in a year. But I must leave the computation of the quantity and the value of it to others, while I admire the goodness of God, who openeth so many ways for the support and comfort of men, though we are often so ungrateful to Him."

Rev. Dr. BELKNAP, *Corresponding Secretary of the Historical Society.*

LITERARY ADVERTISEMENT.

WE have the pleasure of announcing to the publick, that there is now preparing for the press, *A history of the ancient Colony of PLYMOUTH in New England*, including, the present counties of Plymouth, Barnstable, and Bristol in Massachusetts, with part of the county of Bristol, in Rhode Island. Containing a geographical description, with a particular account of the political and ecclesiastical state of every town, from its first settlement to the present day. To which will be prefixed, a complete map of the whole.

By PERES FOBES, LL.D.

Minister of the Gospel in Raynham, and Professor of Natural Philosophy in the College of Rhode-Island.

THE writer has undertaken this work at the request of several characters of literary eminence ; and though he has already obtained a considerable part of the materials, and is now ready to engage, (should health continue) that no labour or pains shall on his part be omitted, yet he cannot proceed, but in confidence of the patronage and assistance of his fellow citizens. To secure which he hopes they will consider, that the subject of the proposed history is, the first settlement of our own country ; that it recites the hardy virtues and painful struggles of our ancestors, in the race of liberty and glory ; that whilst it describes that venerable spot of New England which is "the mother of us all," it will attempt to rescue from oblivion some interesting facts, of aboriginal date, which tradition only has hitherto preserved.

It is to be regretted that much useful information on other subjects, besides that of the *medicinal plants* of this country is now irrecoverably lost, and much more of equal concern to the present and future generations is every day sinking into oblivion. Whilst we are waiting for the productions of elegant pens, are we not in danger of losing some valuable gems in the history of our country ? The admonition therefore is, " *What thou doest, do quickly.*"

## I.

LETTERS FROM REV. JOHN ELIOT OF ROXBURY, TO HON. ROBERT BOYLE.

*Roxbury, Sept. 30, 1670.**Right Honourable,*

**Y**OUR constant care of, and steadfast affection unto this Indian work (which the Lord hath in great undeserved mercy to me, put under my hand, a weak and unworthy instrument herein) do greatly oblige my heart to honour you, and pray, that it may be remembered by the Lord in that great day, when he will say [come ye blessed] unto all the sincere benefactors unto his people. You have also added no small encouragement unto me, in that worthy gift, which your honour is pleased to bestow upon me, viz. Pool's Synopsis, or *Critica Sacra* upon the whole bible, which though it be not yet come, is under the care and faithful hand of my worthy and true friend Mr. Ashurst; for which desirable gift I return unto your honour my humble thanks. Touching the present state of this work with the Indians, I have written to our worshipful commissioners, who will send it unto your honour, governour of the honourable corporation; and therefore I shall keep silence of that matter here. And whereas your honour will see, that I have undertaken and begun a kind of academical reading unto them, in their own language, thereby to teach the teachers and rulers, and all that are desirous of learning: I find by experience, that it will be very necessary to have some entertainment of food, for all the principal men at least, which do come; for many are to come a great way, and had we but food to entertain them, when they come there, it would be some encouragement. And I have some thoughts, if God give life and means, to read medicine, and call for such roots (for they altogether use the root, and not the herb) as they have experience of; especially had I wherewith to recompense any, that bring in a desirable experiment. There hath been a rare work of God this summer in a great pond at Watertown, where all the fish died, and were not willing to die in the waters, but as many as could thrust themselves on shore, and there died; not less than twenty cart load, by estimation, lying dead, all at once, round about the pond. An eel was found alive in the sandy border of the pond, and being cast into the water, she wriggled out again, as fast as she could, and died on the shore. An inhabitant of the town, living by the pond, his cattle use daily to drink there; but then, for three days together, they refused there to drink, but after three days, they drank of the pond, as they were wont to do. When the fish began to come ashore, before they died, many were taken and eaten, both by English and Indians, without any hurt; and the fish were very good. Now the disease of the stone groweth frequent among the English, and beginneth among the Indians; which stirreth me to search, and I clearly find, that a crude stomach provides the matter, and cold in and about the bladder and ure-

ters is the efficient of the stone, especially in those, whom I have conversed with, as may be demonstrated. But I am over bold to presume to meddle so far unto your honour. I therefore shall cease to give you any further trouble at present. So committing you to the Lord, and to the word of his grace, I remain,

Your honour's to serve you  
in the service of the Lord Jesus,  
JOHN ELIOT.

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II.

*Roxbury, October 23, 1677.*

Right honourable nursing fathers,

**T**HE poor praying Indians do thankfully acknowledge, that (under God, our heavenly father, and under Jesus Christ, our redeemer, who redeemeth us out of all our troubles) you have been the means and instruments in his hand, to save and deliver us. God moved your hearts to own us, in that black day, when all were against us, and we were almost ready to be swallowed up in destruction; which dark time we ought not to forget, nor your owning kindness unto us in that dark day.

And since that, your charity hath greatly revived and refreshed us. Many of our aged, decrepid, fatherless, and widows, still wear the garments, not yet worn out, which your charity did, the last winter, clothe us withal. And although we yet know not what our honoured commissioners will do for us, whose favour we doubt not of; yet understanding, that some doubt is raised about your countenancing and encouraging our rulers, who are of us, and live among us, and without whose presence and assistance, the Lord's work of soul-instruction and edification will soon faint, sink, and come to nothing; our humble petition is, first to God, that he, who hath hitherto, would still move your hearts for our good and welfare; and next, our petition is unto yourselves, that we may have the countenance of your favour, to countenance and own our rulers among us, without whose countenance, our teachers will be of little power, especially among our youth and rising generations, who do not yet favour the things of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and among strangers, who have not yet tasted how good the Lord is, though for their protection and safety they have crowded in upon us.

Noble hearted Sir, your gift I do still religiously keep, for some special and eminent service of the Lord, in the Lord's time. In our first war with the Indians, God pleased to shew us the vanity of our military skill, in managing our arms, after the European mode. Now we are glad to learn the skulking way of war. And what God's end is, in teaching us such a way of discipline, I know not. By our late eastern war it hath pleased God to shew us our weakness by sea, as formerly by land. The Indians took many of our fishing vessels and

the men that belonged to them, and forced them to sail whither they desired ; many of the men delivered themselves and their vessels ; many Indians were slain, some English. The history of these actions I have not : others do attend that service, to whom I leave it. The Governour of New-York sent a strength this summer, and took possession of a northern port, where they fixed and fortified themselves : since whose coming thither, the Indians have not stirred much. Little action hath passed, but I hear not of any peace made. The Yorkers have taken in hand a chargeable design : what profit will come of it, I know not ; time will discover that : whether their intention be to promote religion, or only trading, I know not. It pleased the Lord, very lately to permit a small handful (not twenty) of the late scattered rod to make a sore direption upon Hatfield and Deerfield, at Connecticut ; where about twelve persons were killed, more than twenty carried away captive, or lost ; seven dwellings burned, and sundry barns full of corn ; and since they have appeared at Hadley, burned the mill. They had parley with them, treated about restoring the captives, agreed of a time and place of meeting ; but the Indians failed to appear. These last actions have very much discouraged our people from repairing the destroyed towns, which some were beginning to do.

We had a Sachem of the greatest blood in the country submitted to pray to God, a little before the wars : his name is Wanalaunet : in the time of the wars he fled, by reason of the wicked actings of some English youth, who causelessly and basely killed and wounded some of them. He was persuaded to come in again. But the English having ploughed and sown with rye all their lands, they had but little corn to subsist by. A party of French Indians (of whom some where of the kindred of this Sachem's wife) very lately fell upon this people, being but few and unarmed, and partly by persuasion, partly by force, carried them all away. One, with his wife, child, and kinswoman, who were of our praying Indians, made their escape, came in to the English, and discovered what was done. These things keep some in a continual disgust and jealousy of all the Indians. I shall give your honour no farther trouble at present. We entreat your prayers, and commit you to the Lord, and rest

Your honour's to serve you  
in the Lord Jesus,

JOHN ELIOT.

III.

*Roxbury, Nov. 4, 1680.*

Right honourable, charitable, indefatigable, nursing father,  
**W**HEN good works of pure charity are sown three hundred fold thick, and that by a living hand, Lord, what a reaping time or harvest will there be ! Sir, you are eminently mindful of that Gospel charge, 1 Tim. vi. 17, 18, 19. *Charge them that be rich in this world,*

*that they be not high minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who, giveth us richly all things to enjoy. That they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate, laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come ; a foundation not of grace unto justification, by way of merit, but a foundation of degrees of glorification, when God will in free mercy distribute his gifts of glory, according to our improvements of our talents in the exercise of grace : he that gained ten talents, shall have ten cities.*

I know it will please your charitable heart to hear how it fareth with those, that are your alumni. We are in great affliction by the Mauquaoy Indians ; more than sixty at several times have been killed or captivated ; a narrative whereof major Gookin presented to lord Culpepper, who was affected with it. Also he presented a copy thereof to Sir Edmond Andros, who was likewise affected with it, though it is said, that he might have prevented it. We hope he will move in it, and our Mr. Pinchon is gone up to join with Sir Edmond to endeavour a peace. Major Gookin intendeth to present your honour with a copy of the same narrative. The Eastern Indians do offer to renew peace with us, and to submit themselves to be taught to pray unto God. A chief Sachem was here about it, a man of a grave and discreet countenance. Our praying Indians, both in the islands, and on the main, are, considered together, numerous ; thousands of souls, of whom some true believers, some learners, and some are still infants, and all of them beg, cry, entreat for bibles, having already enjoyed that blessing, but now are in great want. Your honour's liberality in English bibles is a great favour, which we with all thankfulness receive ; but the bible in their own tongue, must help them to understand it. We are at the 19th chap. of the Acts ; and when we have impressed the new testament, our commissioners approve of my preparing and impressing also the old. Your honour's bounty of thirty pounds towards our sending the gospel to those remote Indians, that speak the language, whereinto the bible is translated, I do religiously keep it, to be improved to the same end, to which your honour gave it, of which service I am still in hope, having more intelligence, that there is such a people.

But by the immaturity of some occurrences, and the intentions of the ships speedy sailing, I cannot give your honour any further diversion at this time : entreating your prayers, I commit you to God, and rest,

Your honour's to serve you

in any service of Jesus Christ,

JOHN ELIOT.

## IV.

Roxbury, March 15, 1682-3.

Right honourable, charitable, nursing father,

**T**HIS winter the worshipful Mr. Stoughton (commissioner) delivered to major Gookin (a pillar in our Indian work) and to me, the sum of six pounds, as the product of your honour's gift of charity; which we did diligently distribute to Christian Indians, two aged blind women, others lame in their limbs, others decrepid with age; all which do bless you, the giver, and do praise God, the fountain; and we, your dispensers of so great charity, do thankfully accept of so good an office, as to be the disposers of so charitable gifts unto the poor servants of Jesus Christ.

The Lord's work still goeth on among them, and though many of the younger sort, since the wars (where their souls received a wound) have declined, and too much miscarried, yet now (through the grace of Christ) they are on the repenting and recovering hand; of which your honour may hear more, when the work is prosecuted, and brought unto a good effect.

The great work, that I travel about, is, the printing the old testament, that they may have the whole bible. They have had the whole, in the first impression, and some of the old they still have, and know the worth and use of it; and therefore they are importunately desirous of the whole. I desire to see it done before I die, and I am so deep in years, that I cannot expect to live long: besides, we have but one man (*viz.* the Indian printer) that is able to compose the sheets, and correct the press, with understanding. For such reasons, so soon as I received the sum of near forty pounds for the bible work, I presently set the work on foot; and one tenth part, or near, is done: we are in Leviticus. I have added some part of my salary, to keep up the work, and many more things I might add, as reasons of my urgency in this matter. Touching those remote Indians, to the North-West, whose language agreeth with ours, so that they and we can speak to each other's understanding, we have not as yet so full intelligence of them, as to make a report thereof. But I do both pray and wait for some information that way. And for the furtherance thereof, I do carefully reserve your honour's gift of thirty pounds, to be improved in that service, when the Lord shall please to open a door thereunto. The Mauquaoy Indians have not stirred to fall upon us this last year; but we are not yet fully settled in peace, because they declare the Eastern Indians to be their enemies; and the way unto them is through us; and our Wameset Indians, who are our most northerly plantation, are in danger to be their thoroughfair. And this putteth us into many fears; but our hope and help is in God, our eyes are unto him; this world is a place and state, wherein God's people must expect nothing steadfast, all things mutable and afflicting. But I shall cease to give your honour any farther trouble at present; therefore, commending you to the Lord, and to the word of his grace, I rest

Your honour's to serve you in Christ Jesus,

JOHN ELIOT

## V.

*Boston, June, 21, 1683.*

Right honourable, nursing father,

**Y**OUR hungry alumni do still cry unto your honour for the milk of the word in the whole book of God, and for the bread of life which they have fed upon in the whole bible, and are very thankful for what they have, and importunately desirous to enjoy the whole book of God. It is the greatest charity in the world to provide for their souls. Should your honour please but to change the object of your bountiful charity from their bodies to their souls, here is enough already sent over to accomplish the work ; they only stay for that word from your honour's *fiat*. My age makes me importunate. I shall depart joyfully, may I but leave the bible among them, for it is the word of life ; and there be some godly souls among them, that live thereby. The work is under great incumberments and discouragements. My heart hath much ado to hold up my head ; but doth daily drive me to Christ ; and I tell the Lord, that it is his word, and your hearts are in his hand. I do therefore commit the whole to the Lord, and leave both it and myself to the Lord, who hath not left me wholly destitute. But I shall give your honour at present no farther trouble, for I am surprised with this opportunity of writing : therefor, committing your honour to the Lord, I rest,

Your honour's to serve you

in the Lord,

JOHN ELIOT.

## VI.

*Roxbury, November 27, 1683.*

Right honourable, right charitable, and indefatigable, nursing father,

**A**LTHOUGH my hasty venturing to begin the impression of the old testament, before I had your honour's *fiat*, may have moved (as some intimate) some disgust, yet I see that your love, bounty, and charity, doth still breathe out encouragement unto the work, by supplies of four hundred and sixty pounds unto the work, for which I do humble thankfulness to your honour, and take boldness to entreat favour for two requests.

First, I pray, that you would please to accept an apology for my haste. I am deep in years, and sundry say, if I do not procure it printed while I live, it is not within the prospect of human reason, whether ever, or when, or how, it may be accomplished. It is Christ's work, and for the good of souls, which is my charge to attend, and run adventures to accomplish, especially when, divine providence brought into my hand some small encouragement to begin. But if this apology be short (though capable of much enlargement) yet then,



My second humble request is, that you would please to draw a curtain of love over all my failures, because love will cover a multitude of transgressions. The work goeth on now with more comfort, though we have had many impediments, partly by sickness of the workmen, for it is a very sickly and mortal time with us, as also the rigour of the winter doth now obstruct us. The work goeth on, I praise God; the sabbath is sanctified in many places, and they have still fragments of their old bibles, which they make constant use of.

I desire to take boldness to propose a request. A vessel carried away a great number of our surprised Indians, in the time of our wars, to sell them for slaves; but the nations, whither they went, would not buy them. Finally, she left them at Tangier; there they be, so many as live, or are born there. An Englishman, a mason, came thence to Boston: he told me, they desired I would use some means for their return home. I know not what to do in it; but now it is in my heart to move your honour, so to meditate, that they may have leave to get home, either from thence hither, or from thence to England, and so to get home. If the Lord shall please to move your charitable heart herein, I shall be obliged in great thankfulness, and am persuaded, that Christ will, at the great day, reckon it among your deeds of charity done unto them, for his name's sake. But I shall give your honour no farther trouble at present. I humbly request your prayers for me. So, commending you to the Lord, and to the word of his grace, I rest,

Your honour's to serve you

in our Lord Jesus,

JOHN ELIOT.

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VII.

*Roxbury, April 22, 1684.*

Right honourable and indefatigable benefactors,

**T**HIS last gift of four hundred pounds for the reimpression of the Indian bible doth set a diadem of beauty upon all your former acts of pious charity, and commandeth us to return unto your honours all thankful acknowledgments, according to our abilities. It pleased the worshipful Mr. Stoughton to give me an intimation, that your honours desired to know the particular present estate of the praying Indians; and also, when Moses's Pentateuch is printed, to have some copies sent over, to evidence the real and good progress of the work.

Your honour's intimation hath the force of a command upon me, and therefore I shall briefly relate the religious walking and ways of the praying Indians. They do diligently observe and keep the sabbath, in all the places of their publick meetings to worship God. The example of the English churches, and the author-

ity of the English laws, which major Cookin doth declare unto them, together with such mulcts, as are inflicted upon transgressors; as also and especially, the clear and express command of God, which they and their children learn and rehearse daily in their catechisms; these all together have fully possessed and convinced them of their duty, to keep holy the sabbath day. So that the sanctifying of the sabbath is a great and eminent part of their religion. And though some of the vain and carnal sort among them are not so girt to it, as were to be desired, yet the grave and religious sort do constantly worship God, every sabbath day, both morning and evening, as the English do.

The acts of worship, which they perform in their publick meetings, are as followeth.

The officer beginneth with prayer, and prayeth for all men, rulers, ministers, people, young, old, sick, well, English or Indians, &c. according to that word, 1 Tim. ii. 12. *I will that first of all prayers be made;* &c. I say, the officer beginneth with prayer, viz. where they have an officer ordained, as it is almost in all the churches. But we have more publick assemblies, that meet every Lord's day, to worship God, than we have churches. There is not yet a church gathered in every place, where they meet to worship God and keep the sabbath; but where it is so, they choose some able godly man (the best they can) to manage the worship among them: him they call their teacher, and he beginneth with prayer, &c. When prayer is ended, they call forth such as are to answer the catechism; and though this is sometimes omitted in some places, yet that is the way they walk in, and it is often practised. When catechism is ended, a chapter is read, sometimes in the old testament, and sometimes in the new; and sundry of the young men are trained up, and called forth to this service, sometimes one, sometimes another.

When the chapter is read, a psalm is sung, which service sundry are able to manage well.

That finished, the preacher first prayeth, then preacheth, and then prayeth again. If it be the day for the Lord's supper to be celebrated, the church address themselves unto it, and the minister doth exactly perform it, according to the scriptures. When that service is done, they sing a psalm, according to the pattern of Christ; then he blesseth the church, and so finisheth the morning service.

In the afternoon they meet again, and perform all the parts of worship, as they did in the morning; which done, if there be any infant to be baptised, they perform that service according to the scriptures; which done, the deacon calleth for contributions; which done, if there be any act of publick discipline (as divers times there is, there being many failures among us) then the offender is called forth (being with care and diligence prepared) and is exhorted to give glory to God, and confess his sin; which being penitent, they gladly accept him, forgive him, and receive

him. If it be not a satisfactory confession, they shew him his defect, they admonish and exhort him to a more full confession; and so he is left to some other time. This finished, he blesseth the church, and so dismisseth the assembly.

Moreover, Major Gookin hath dedicated his eldest son, Mr. Daniel Gookin, unto this service of Christ; he is a pious and learned young man, about thirty-three years old, hath been eight years a fellow of the college; he hath taught and trained up two classes of our young scholars unto their commencement; he is a man, whose abilities are above exception, though not above envy. His father, with his inclination, advised him to Sherburne, a small village near Natick, whose meeting-house is about three miles, more or less, from Natick meeting-house. Mr. Gookin holdeth a lecture in Natick meeting-house once a month; which lecture, many English, especially of Sherburne, do frequent. He first preacheth in English, to the English audience, and then the same matter is delivered to the Indians, by an interpreter, whom, with much pains, Mr. Gookin hath fore-prepared. We apprehend, that this will (by God's blessing) be a means to enable the Indians to understand religion preached in the English tongue, and will much further Mr. Gookin in learning the Indian tongue. Likewise Major Gookin holdeth and manageth his courts in the English tongue; which doth greatly further the Indians in learning law and government in the English tongue; which is a point of wisdom in civilizing them, that your honours have manifested your desires, that it might be attended.

The places, where the Indians meet to worship God, and sanctify the sabbath, are many; the most are stated places, others are occasional. The stated places, in the Massachusetts, since the wars, are contracted into four, Natick, Ponkipog, Wameset, and Chachaubunkkakowok\*. The occasional meetings are at places of fishing, hunting, gathering chesnuts, in their seasons. Also since the wars, the Mauquaoy's, making incursions upon the praying Indians, did cause them to make divers forts, to live safely in, and then they did there meet to worship God, and keep the sabbath.

In Plymouth Patent, there are about ten places, where they meet to worship God.

An intelligent person, of Martyn's Vineyard, reckoned up unto me ten places, where God is worshipped every Lord's day in that island.

At Nantucket there be about five places of prayer and keeping sabbaths.

The reason of this dispersion of places of publick meeting to worship God, is this; there is but here and there a spot of good land, fit for planting corn, with accommodation of fishing; these spots of good land lie at a great distance from each other; some four or five miles, some eight or nine miles: some ten or twelve miles. so that it is impossible for them, especially with women and children, to meet at one place;

\* Or Chabanakongkomun. See Coll. of Hist. Soc. vol. 1. p. 199.

therefore all, that live together at one place, meet to worship God on the sabbath day.

Thus I have briefly represented before you, right honourable, at your command, the present estate of the praying Indians, in respect of their religion. And what I have here expressed, for the substance of the things, I know them to be true; and I have often so practised among them.

By this it appeareth, that they are, in some good measure, able (by the light of the scriptures, and by the example of the churches of Christ, and by such instruction as they have had) to practise and manage the whole instituted publick worship of God among themselves, without the presence or inspection of any English among them, which is no small addition and advancement to the kingdom of Christ; and I doubt not but it shall add much comfort and joy to your souls here, and shall add much weight of glory to your souls hereafter, who have been so diligent, liberal, and constant in your supplies for the encouragement of this work of Christ.

And it is no small comfort to me, whom divine providence and grace hath made one of the poor instruments, to instruct and manage them unto this estate in Christ Jesus, whereunto they have attained.

As for the sending any numbers of Moses's Pentateuch, I beseech your honours to spare us in that; because so many as we send, so many bibles are maimed, and made incomplete, because they want the five books of Moses. We present your honours with one book, so far as we have gone in the work, and humbly beseech, that it may be acceptable, until the whole be finished; and then the whole impression (which is two thousand) is at your honours command. Our slow progress needeth an apology. We have been much hindered by the sickness this year. Our workmen have been all sick, and we have but few hands, one Englishman, and a boy, and one Indian; and many interruptions and diversions do befall us; and we could do but little this very hard winter. But I shall give your honours no further trouble at this time, only requesting the continuance of your prayers and protection. So I remain,

Your honour's to serve you

in our Lord Jesus,

JOHN ELIOT.

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POSTSCRIPT.

The people of Natick have procured some friend of Sherburne, to draw up a letter to me, which I make bold to present to your honours view, being here enclosed. If I have been over bold herein, I beseech your honours to pardon me.

## VIII.

*Roxbury, August 29, 1686. in the  
third month of our overthrow.*

Right honourable, unweariable, nursing father,

**I** HAVE nothing new to write but lamentations, and I am loath to grieve your loving and noble soul.

Our Indian work yet liveth, praised be God ; the bible is come forth, many hundreds bound up, and dispersed to the Indians, whose thankfulness I intimate and testify to your honour. The Practice of Piety is also finished, and beginneth to be bound up. And my humble request to your honour is, that we may again reimpose the primer and catechism ; for though the last impression be not quite spent, yet quickly they will ; and I am old, ready to be gone, and desire to leave as many books as I can. I know not what to add in this distressing day of our overthrow ; so I commit your honour to the Lord, and rest,

Your honour's to serve you,

in Jesus Christ,

JOHN ELIOT.

## IX.

*Roxbury, July 7, 1688.*

Right honourable, deep learned, abundantly charitable, and constant nursing father,

*Sir,*

**I** AM drawing home, and am glad of an opportunity to take my leave of your honour with all thankfulness. Sir, many years since you pleased to commit 30*l.* into my hand, upon a design for the promoting Christ his kingdom among the Indians ; which gift of yours I have religiously kept, waiting for an opportunity so to improve it ; but God hath not pleased yet to open such a door. I am old, and desire to finish that matter, and take the boldness to request your honour, that it may be thus disposed of. It being in the hand of Major Gookin's relict widow, and he died poor, though full of good works, and greatly beneficent to the Indians, and bewailed by them to this day ; therefore let his widow have 10*l.* his eldest son, who holds up a lecture among the Indians and English 10*l.* and the third 10*l.* give it to Mr. John Cotton, who helped me much in the second edition of the bible. And also I must commit to him the care and labour of the revision of two other small treatises, viz. Mr. Shepherd's Sincere Convert and Sound Believer, which I translated into the Indian language many years since ; and now I hope, that the honourable corporation will be

at the charge to print them, by your honour's favour and countenance. But I cannot commit them to the press without a careful revisal, which none but Mr. Cotton is able to help me to perform.

The work in general seemeth to my soul to be in and well toward a reviving. Many churches of confessors of Christ are in motions to gather into church estate, who do carefully keep the sabbath. And out of these professors of religion, we do gather up and call in such as are willing to confess Jesus Christ, and seek salvation by him. Touching other matters, what our losses and changes be, and how trading, &c. are spoiled, I am silent; but my prayer to God is, Isaiah i. 25, 26. *And I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy tin, and I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning, &c.* So do, O Lord.

Sir, the Lord prolong your days, and fill you with all grace, until you arrive at the fulness of glory, where I leave you, and rest,

Your honour's

to serve you in Jesus Christ,

JOHN ELIOT.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES RESPECTING  
 SANDWICH AND MARSHPEE, JAN. 1794. BY REV. GIDEON HAW-  
 LEY, A. M.

**A** MONG the first emigrants from England, who settled at Sandwich, were Mr. Richard Bourne and Mr. Thomas Tupper, both of them persons of a religious turn, and the latter a little tinged with the fanaticism, so prevalent about that time in the country, from which they came. These men, as I learn by tradition, carried on at Sandwich the religious exercises, and officiated publicly on the Lord's day, each of them having his party: but as they were in all a small congregation, they did not separate, but agreed, that the officer, who had the most adherents at meeting for the time being, should be *the minister for the day*. In process of time, the congregation settled Mr. Smith, in whom they united. This minister had for a time officiated at Barnstable; but Mr. Hinckley, who was afterwards governour, made uneasiness; and his party was so great, that Mr. Smith requested a dismission. He was asked to what church he would be dismissed? His answer is said to have been, "that he would be dismissed to the grace of God." When one of the disaffected party in a pet, said, "And what if the grace of God won't receive you?" After a dismission, and it is supposed a recommendation, Mr. Smith travelled southward, and for a time officiated on Long-Island, and then went into the Jerseys, where he left some of his posterity: But finally returned and settled the pastor of the church at Sandwich. From this gentleman are descended the Smiths in the upper end of this county, and those of Pembroke: and, it has been said, that the member of congress, by the name of Smith, from S. Carolina, is from this same family.

Religious matters being settled at Sandwich, Bourne and Tupper turned their attention to the business of gospelizing the Indians. The attention of Mr. Tupper was towards the Indians to the northward and westward of Sandwich, where he founded a church near Herring River, by which a meeting house stood in 1757, which had been supplied with a succession of ministers by the name of Tupper; and continued to be until the decease of the Rev. Elisha Tupper, (the great-grandson of Thomas) who died 1787, aged four score years. The first missionary, went by the name of Capt Tupper, being a military man as well as an evangelist. The family of Tupper have furnished the town of Sandwich and other places with some worthy characters; and some of them have been men of abilities. It may be observed, that the corpse of Elisha was brought ten\* miles in severe winter weather, and deposited by his ancestors, in the Sandwich burying ground.

Richard Bourne turned his views to the Indians on the southward and eastward of him. But the time when he came to Marshpee, my chronology has not ascertained. The first account of him is in 1658, when he was present and assisted in the settlement of a boundary between the Indians here and the proprietors of †Barnstable. He was a noted man; and by his letters he appears to have been acquainted with orthography. He was also a man of some considerable property in cash, which he brought with him from his native land. And it appears from his location of land in several places, that he was acquainted with the affairs of the present, as well as of the future world; and he transmitted a good inheritance in real estate to his children. And his foresight and judgment, and also the goodness of his mind towards the Indians, appear from his procuring at his own expense, as it is said he did, this extensive patent for the South Sea Indians, as they are styled in the deeds. For there is no place I ever saw, so adapted to an Indian town as this. It is situated on the Sound, in sight of Martha's Vineyard, and cut into necks of land, and hath two inlets from the sea; being well watered by three fresh rivers, and three large fresh ponds, lying in the centre of the plantation. And in the two salt water bays are very great plenty of fish of every description; and in the rivers are trout, herring, &c. And in the woods till lately, have been a variety of wild game, consisting of deer, &c; and adjacent to the rivers and ponds, otters, minks, and other amphibious animals, whose furs have been sought for, and made a valuable remittance to Europe ever since my knowledge of these Indians.

Mr. Bourne obtained a deed of this territory from Quachatisset and others to these South Sea Indians, after the year 1660. He was a man of that discernment, that he considered it as vain to propagate christian knowledge among any people, without a territory, where they might remain in peace from generation to generation, and not be ousted.

\* He died at Pokesset.

† See Plymouth Colony Records.

Therefore Richard and his son Shearjashub were not content with having Indian deeds authenticated in the best manner, according to the forms of that day, but Shearjashub, after his father's decease, obtained from the court of Plymouth a ratification of these deeds, and an entailment of these lands, bounded by ponds, &c. that were immoveable, to these Indians and their children forever; "so that no part or parcel of them could be bought by, or sold to, any white person or persons, without the consent of *all the said Indians*, not even with the consent of the general court."\* Mr. Bourne, having obtained the deeds as above, pursued his evangelical work, and was finally, in the year 1670, ordained a pastor of an Indian church in this place, formed of his own disciples and converts; which solemnity was performed by the famous Eliot and other ministers, who assisted upon the occasion.†

I am not certain as to the exact time of his decease, but find his death mentioned in the year 1685, and suppose it to be an event which had but recently happened. I suppose also that he died at Sandwich town: For he was buried on his own land, not far from the house of John Smith deceased, and where the widow Smith now lives. But as there was no monument by the grave, the spot cannot now be ascertained, where his bones are deposited. But I suppose them to be buried at the left hand of the Dock lane, as you go down to the harbour. His house stood, as I am informed, and if I mistake not the remains of its vestiges may be found, near the fence which divides Mrs. Williams's and Mrs. Fear Bourne's land, which their late husbands bought of Mr. Fessenden.‡

Mr. Bourne left no successor in the ministry, but an Indian, named Simon Popmonet. His son Shearjashub Bourne, esq. succeeded his father in the Marshpee inheritance, where he resided until his death, living in reputation, and presiding over the Indians in this district; and often representing the town of Sandwich both under the old and new charter, at the general court. He carried on a lucrative trade with the Indians; but I cannot find, that he made any trespasses on their lands, or was instrumental in bringing about an alienation of any part thereof. He was alive in 1718, but deceased within two years after that term. His youngest son Ezra succeeded him in his Marshpee interest and in his offices, and was made before his death president of the sessions, and first justice of the court of common pleas. And to the day of his death he had a very great ascendancy over the Indians in Marshpee. He died in September 1764, having nearly completed his 88th year of life. In him I lost a good friend.

He was the father of the Rev. Joseph Bourne, a missionary to the Marshpee Indians, and of liberal education§, who was ordained here

\* See old Colony Records.

† Hutchinson's History. See also Gookin's Historical Collections. chap ix. § 3.

‡ For a further account of Richard Bourne, see Gookin's Historical Collections, chap. viii.

§ Graduated 1722.



in 1729, and resigned his mission in 1742. He was also the father of Col. S. Bourne of Bristol, who was likewise liberally educated. And it hath been considered as remarkable, that Ezra Bourne should at this time have three grandsons, members of congress, viz. one from Massachusetts, another from Rhode-Island, and a third from the state of New-York.

Joseph Bourne, the missionary, lived till 1767, and died, leaving no issue. He very much complained of the ill treatment of the Indians, and of the neglect of the commissioners in regard to his support; nevertheless, he much encouraged and assisted the present missionary in his labours, who sustained a great loss by his death. For when he was able, he constantly attended the publick worship, and, when the congregation sang the English psalmody, he read the psalm in a very serious and proper manner. It has been observed that Richard Bourne died about 1685—That Simon Popmonet was his successor in this pastorate, who lived till about the time Mr. Joseph Bourne was ordained. Simon left several children, who all of them lived to a great age, and some of them were very respectable for Indians. The last of them died in the year 1770.

After Joseph Bourne resigned his mission, Solomon Briant, an Indian, was ordained pastor of the Marshpee church, who was a sensible man, and a good Indian preacher in their own dialect. He lived until he was about eighty† years old; and when he had the sole management of church affairs in this place, he admitted many members, but some who were not so circumspect as professors ought to have been.

The present missionary was troubled with them, for a long time after his settlement here. It was not agreeable to the gentlemen of this county in general, or to the commissioners in Boston, to have Solomon Briant ordained here; but it was brought about by a party of whites, to defeat the settlement of a gentleman, who was preaching to these Indians with that view. He was a man of liberal education, but being a native of Barnstable, some people did not like his connexions, and the Bourne interest was not in his favour. Mr. Joseph did not like him, and although he was dismissed from his pastorate, his influence, as he had the Indian language, was very great among his Indian neighbours and others. After this gentleman, the Rev. Mr. Smith, having for want of a support been dismissed from the first church in Yarmouth, was nominated by the ministers of the county, and recommended to the commissioners in Boston to fill this mission; but he was a native of Barnstable, and, upon that and other accounts, unpopular in this vicinity, and the Indians did not like to hear him, and excused themselves by saying, that they had a minister whom they liked. Mr. Smith afterwards settled at Pembroke, and lived in reputation; and, as he told me when he was about four score, he considered it as a very happy circumstance in his life, that he was not settled at Marshpee. He lived and died in reputation, and left a respectable family. This mission declined, and the

† He died May 8th 1775.

commissioners of Boston were considered as culpable, in not properly encouraging Mr. Smith, who would have established himself here by his wise and prudent conduct, in case his employers had supported him.

The Hon. Thomas Hubbard, about this time being one of the commissioners, was sent by their board to visit these Indians, and observed their great need of an English minister; and as I was in the service of the commissioners, and a missionary to the western Indians, he spoke of this people to me.

I had no inclination to come this way. I had formed an unfavourable idea of this part of the country. After Deacon Hubbard made his report to the commissioners in Boston, the Rev. Mr. Green of Barnstable was desired by that board, to have the inspection of this people, and to preach a monthly lecture to them, which he faithfully discharged. This was not enough, for the distance between the centre of this district, and Mr. Green, was not less than twelve miles; and therefore he was too far off to answer the purpose of an instructor among a people similar to these Indians, who must have line upon line, and precept upon precept, and be taught in season and out of season, in the house and by the way.

After the war had broke out in the year 1755, although it was in the western parts, it did not affect the mission to the Iroquois or Six Nations, until the year 1756. I was in that country till the month of May, and in the beginning of June, 1756, arrived at Boston, and took a warrant to officiate in Col. Gridley's regiment as chaplain; and soon joined the army above Albany, going against Crown Point. After the campaign, I went about seventy miles beyond Albany in the way to my mission; but could not safely penetrate into the wilderness; my mission being nearly an hundred miles beyond any plantation of whites. Cherry Valley, the nearest settlement of whites, was four days journey from the seat of my mission. Before my arrival at this place, which was late in December, winter had set in with severity. I had therefore returned into New-England, and spent the winter at Housatunnuck.

In the spring, by a letter from Sir William Johnson, which the Indians desired him to write me, I was invited back to my mission.

About the same time, by repeated letters from General Lyman, I was desired to be his chaplain the ensuing campaign. And not long after had a letter from Mr. Davies of Virginia, afterwards president of Nassau Hall, desiring me to take a mission to the Cherokee Indians, he having heard of the difficulties attending my mission to the Iroquois. However, after the receipt of my letter from Sir William, and as soon as I could get ready, I set out to go into the Indian country. I endeavoured to get a companion, or person to attend me; but could obtain none suitable for the service. I came to Green Bush, opposite to the city of Albany, and by a person who had had the small pox, sent for two gentlemen of my acquaintance, viz. Mr. Depoyster\* and the

\* Abraham Depoyster, esq. a wealthy merchant.

Rev. Mr. Frilinghensen \* to come over the ferry and advise me ; who condescended to attend me upon the occasion. They informed me that the small pox was almost every where in my way, and that I should be in danger both from the enemy, and from the infection. I then rode back to Stockbridge, and as the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Edwards was † going to Boston, I went with him. Coming to that town, the commissioners ordered a meeting, and voted to send me upon a visit to the several Indian plantations below the town of Plymouth, and particularly to the Marshpee tribe, where I was empowered to fix a spot for a new meeting house for those Indians, and prepare them for the reception of an English minister, which had been in vain attempted at one time and another for a course of years. I was directed to visit the Herring Pond Indians and those at Portnumacut and Yarmouth. The Rev. Mr. Prince of Boston wrote a letter to his brother-in-law, the Hon. Ezra Bourne, esq. who married his sister, which was much in my favour. Deacon Hubbard wrote another of the same tenour, to his friend the Rev. Mr. Greene of Barnstable. I had great attention paid me ; was popular, particularly at Marshpee ; and the more so, as I was a stranger, and did not come with a view to obtain a settlement here.

This part of the country did not strike me agreeably : The Indians appeared abject ; and widely different from the Iroquois. They were clad according to the English mode ; but a half naked savage was less disagreeable, than Indians, who had lost their independence. I will only observe that I executed my mission in a manner agreeable to all concerned, and at my return the Indians had an ample petition drafted by Mr. Joseph Bourne, addressed to the commissioners, soliciting my appointment to the charge of this mission.

After this a scene opens, which if properly related, might instruct and entertain the curious. I am, &c.

G. HAWLEY.

[N. B. *It is wished that Mr. Hawley would continue this narrative.*]

\* Minister of the Dutch Church.

† The last visit Mr. Edwards made to Boston.

## A LIST OF THE GOVERNOURS AND COMMANDERS IN CHIEF OF MASSACHUSETTS AND PLYMOUTH.

*Note.....The year begins in January.*

KINGS of ENGLAND.	GOVERNOURS of MASSACHUSETTS, under the first Charter, chosen annually by the People.	GOVERNOURS of PLYMOUTH, chosen annually by the People.
1603. James I.		1620. John Carver.
1625. Charles I.		1621. Wm. Bradford.
	1630. John Winthrop.	1633. Ed. Winslow.
	1634. Thomas Dudley.	1634. Tho. Prince.
	1635. John Haynes.	1635. Wm. Bradford.
	1636. Henry Vane.	1636. Ed Winslow.
	1637. John Winthrop.	1637. Wm. Bradford.
	1640. Thomas Dudley.	1638 Tho. Prince.
	1641. Richard Bellingham	1639. Wm Bradford.
	1642. John Winthrop.	
	1644. John Endicot.	1644. Edw. Winslow.
	1645. Thomas Dudley,	1645. W. Bradford.
	1646. John Winthrop.	
1649. The Commonwealth.	1649. John Endicot.	
1654. Oliver Cromwell,	1654. Richard Bellingham.	
	1655. John Endicot.	
		1657. Tho. Prince.
1658. Richard Cromwell.		
1660. Charles II.		
	1665. Richard Bellingham	
	1673. John Leveret.	1673. Josias Winslow.
	1679. Simon Bradstreet.	
1685. James II.	<i>First Char. dissolved by the King.</i>	1680. Tho. Hinckley, who held his place, except in the interruption by Andros, till the junction with Massachusetts, in the year 1692.
	1686. Joseph Dudley, Pres.	
	1687. Sir Ed. Andros, Gov.	
1689. William and Mary.	1689. Sir Edmund deposed by the people, and Simon Bradstreet elected President, or Governour.	
	GOVERNOURS of MASSACHUSETTS, under the Second Charter, appointed by the KING.	
	692. Sir William Phips.	
1694. William III.	1694. William Stoughton, Lt. Gov.	
	699. Earl of Bellamont.	
	700. William Stoughton, Lt. Gov.	
1702. Anne.	1702. <i>May</i> The Council. Joseph Dudley.	
1714. George I.	1714. <i>Feb.</i> The Council. <i>Mar.</i> Joseph Dudley.	
	1715. William Tailer, Lt. Gov.	
	1716. Samuel Shute.	
	1723. William Dummer, Lt. Gov.	
1727. George II.	1728. William Burnet	
	1729. William Dummer, Lt. Gov.	
	1730. William Tailer, Lt. Gov.	
	Jonathan Belcher.	
	1741. William Shirley.	
	1749. Spencer Phips, Lt. Gov.	
	1753. William Shirley.	
	1756. Spencer Phips, Lt. Gov.	
	1757. <i>April.</i> The Council. Thomas Pownal.	

1760. George III.

1760. Thomas Hutchinson, *Lt. Gov.*  
 1760. Francis Bernard.  
 1770. Thomas Hutchinson, *Lt. Gov.*  
 1771. Thomas Hutchinson.  
 1774. Thomas Gage.

SINCE the REVOLUTION.

Oct. A Provincial Congress.

1775. *July.* The Council.

GOVERNOURS of MASSACHUSETTS, under the new Constitution, chosen annually by the People.

1776. Massachusetts became an Independent State.

1780. *Oct.* John Hancock.

1785. *Feb.* Thomas Cushing, *Lt. Gov.\**  
 James Bowdoin.

1787. John Hancock.

1793. *Oct.* Samuel Adams, *Lt. Gov.†*

1794. Samuel Adams.

\* Commander in Chief, upon the resignation of Gov. Hancock.

† Commander in Chief upon the death of Gov. Hancock.

A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF TRURO, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE, 1794.

TRURO is situated east south east from Boston ; between  $41^{\circ} 57'$ , and  $42^{\circ} 4'$  N. latitude ; and between  $70^{\circ} 4'$ , and  $70^{\circ} 13'$  W. longitude from the Royal Observatory at Greenwich. The length of the township, as the road runs, is about fourteen miles ; but, in a straight line, about eleven miles. The breadth, in the widest part, is three miles ; and, in the narrowest part, not more than half a mile. It is bounded on the north west by Province town ; and on the south, by Wellfleet : the Atlantick ocean washes it on the north east and east ; and Barnstable bay and Cape Cod harbour, on the west. The distance of the meeting house from Boston, is fifty seven miles, in a straight line ; but as the road runs, the distance is one hundred and twelve miles, and forty miles from the court house in Barnstable. As both the eastern and western shores are curved, and approach each other toward the northwest, the form of the township is very nearly a spherical triangle.

In the north part of the township, there is a small harbour, called East harbour, which is shoal and of little use. East of it is situated a body of salt marsh, which is continually diminished by the blowing in of the sand. A village not far from it, containing fourteen houses, is known by the same name.

Another village, called the Pond, consisting of forty houses, is situated about a mile south. It receives its name from a small pond which lies near it. The high and steep banks on the bay are here intersected by a valley, which runs directly from the shore, and soon divides itself into two branches. In this valley the houses stand, and are defended from the winds, whilst the entrance of it affords a convenient landing place. The bending of the land which forms Cape harbour, shelters this landing from some winds, but when the wind blows directly on shore, it comes across a bay near eight leagues wide. It has

been supposed by some, that a small harbour might easily be made here, by driving three rows of piles in the water parallel with the shore, and weaving branches between them, which would soon collect a pier or bank of sand. Others are of opinion, that a wharf of timber and stone, placed on the outer bar, would most effectually answer the purpose. It is conceived, that one six or seven feet in height, and about four hundred yards in length, would form a convenient harbour. At low ebbs there are three feet of water within the bar. There was an attempt many years ago to make a harbour here, and it has frequently been contemplated since ; but though the work would contribute very much to the prosperity of this village, yet partly from a want of enterprise in the people, and partly from a deficiency of rich men, has never been seriously engaged in, or prosecuted with success.

A mile south of this village, the bank on the bay is intersected by another valley, called the Great Hollow. This valley and another near it, towards the south east, contain twenty eight houses.

This village is separated from the Pond by a high hill, which commands an extensive prospect of the ocean, Cape harbour, and the opposite shore, as far as Monument and the high lands of Marshfield. Upon this hill stands the meeting house, which is seen a great distance at sea.

Beyond the Great Hollow, a river or creek is forced into the land from the bay, and approaches within a few rods of the ocean. At the mouth of this river is a tide harbour. The river divides itself into three branches, on which are three bodies of salt marsh, viz. the Great Meadow, Hopkins's Meadow, and Eagle's Neck Meadow. These branches give a water communication to a great number of the inhabitants with boats, scows, &c. The situation of this harbour is such as justly claims attention ; and if repaired, would be of publick utility. It lies nearly south-east from Cape Cod harbour, above three leagues distant, and a little to the northward of what is called the Shoal Ground, without Billingsgate Point : So that in heavy gales of wind at the north west, it would be a safe retreat for vessels, either driving from their anchors in Cape harbour, or drifting into Barnstable bay ; and would prevent their running on Truro shore, which has been the fate of many who have endeavoured to avoid falling on the above mentioned shoal ground ; and it might thus be the means of saving much property, and perhaps some lives. Pamet harbour is about a hundred yards wide at the mouth, but wider within. A wharf sixty yards in length, fourteen feet wide on the ground, and sharp on the top, and ten feet in height, would make a safe and good harbour, and by estimation, would cost, built with timber and filled up with stones, about eighteen hundred and fifty dollars. Though the top of the wharf would be covered with high water, yet it would break the sea in twelve or thirteen feet of water. There are several houses scattered near the river. The houses at the extremity of the marsh are known by the name of the Head of Pamet.

The part of the township south of Pamet river, adjoining the bay, is called Hog's Back. The houses, thirty-five in number, are built in valleys between the hills; but there is no collection of them which is entitled to the name of a village. Between Hog's Back and Wellfleet, there is another body of meadow or salt marsh, which is made by the water that at spring tides, flows between Bound Brook island and the main.

Except the bodies of salt marsh, which have been mentioned, the soil of the township is sandy, barren, and free from rocks and stones. No part of it produces English grass fit for mowing; and it can scarcely be said to be clad with verdure at any season of the year. The inhabitants entirely depend upon their salt marshes for winter fodder for their cattle, which in summer pick up a scanty subsistence from the fields and swamps. The soil however produces Indian corn and rye, about half sufficient, and turnips, potatoes, and pumpkins, sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants. Other vegetables are not raised in plenty. The people make their summer butter; but their winter butter, their beef, flour, cheese, and beans, of which they make considerable use, are procured from the markets at Boston.

As the soil is a deep sand, the roads are universally bad. The township is composed of hills and narrow valleys between them, running principally at right angles with the shore. The tops of some of the hills spread into a plain. From those in the north part of the township, nothing can be discerned, except the meeting house, a few windmills, and here and there a wood. The hill upon which the meeting house stands, branches from the high land at Cape Cod, well known to seamen. This high land commences at the Clay Pounds, or clay banks, adjoining the ocean, about a mile due east from the Pond, and extends to the south as far as the Table Land in Eastham. The inhabitants consider the Clay Pounds as an object worthy the attention of strangers. The high banks are here excavated in a semicircular form. In the midst of this hollow, the sides of which are perpendicular, a cone of blue clay rises from a broad base. Not far from this there is another semicircular excavation, and a hill of clay not so regularly formed. The land near these clay banks is superiour to any other part of the township. There is a collection of six houses. The eastern shore of Truro is very dangerous for seamen. More vessels are cast away here than in any other part of the county of Barnstable. A light house near the Clay Pounds, should Congress think proper to erect one, would prevent many of these fatal accidents.

Both the eastern and western shores are a light sand, which is moveable by the winds. Northwest of East harbour, the beach may be said to extend quite across the township, though there are still a few trees and bushes. This part of Truro has no houses, and the land exactly resembles Province town, a description of which the reader may find in the Massachusetts Magazine for 1791. Near this place, at the head of Stout's creek, on the north eastern shore, the Humane Society have built a hut for the relief of shipwrecked seamen. The inner shore is here

encroaching upon the bay and salt marsh, whilst the outward shore is probably losing as much from the ocean. There are proofs, that the former has gained nearly half a mile in less than sixty years. Stout's creek, once several hundred yards wide, and where a number of tons of salt hay were annually cut, now scarcely exists, being almost entirely choked up with sand blown in from the beach. On other parts of the western shore of Truro, the water appears to be gradually gaining upon the land. There is no probability however, that the township will be soon overwhelmed by the ocean, as some apprehend, the land being so high, that it must during many ages resist the force of the waves.

The soil in every part of the township is continually depreciating, little pains being taken to manure it. Not much attention is paid to agriculture, as the young men are sent to sea very early in life. In general they go at the age of twelve or fourteen, and follow the sea until they are forty-five or fifty years of age. The husbandry of the inhabitants is simple. The method of tilling the land is this: After ploughing, it is planted with Indian corn in the spring, and in July is sowed with rye. The hillocks formed by the hoe are left unbroken, and the land lies uncultivated six or seven years; at the end of which it goes through the same course of cultivation. Formerly fifty bushels of Indian corn were raised on an acre; but the average produce at present is not more than fifteen or twenty. The soil was once good for wheat, the mean produce of which was fifteen or twenty bushels an acre. But wheat has not been raised during the last forty years. The soil is not only injured by inattention and bad husbandry, but also by the light sand which is blown in from the beach. It likewise suffers very much from another cause. The snow, which would be of essential service to it, provided it lay level and covered the ground, is blown into drifts and into the sea. Large tracts of land have now become unfit for cultivation. There are however no such appearances of desolation, as are exhibited on the plains of Eastham, where an extensive, and what was once a fertile spot, has become a prey to the winds, and lies buried under a heap of barren sand.

There remains as much woodland in this township, as in any other below Harwich. The natural growth is, pitch pine, and white, black, and red oak; the former, chiefly on the southern; and the latter, on the northern side of Pamet river. Apple trees are not plenty. There are however several small orchards, and all of them in valleys, where they are defended from the winds. Few trees are now planted; so that the orchards as well as the forests, are continually lessening, and probably in a few years will disappear.

Beside the pond already mentioned, there are five other small ponds; one of them near the head of Pamet; the other four, in the southern part of the township. There are several swamps, none of which are large; but not a single brook, and very few springs which appear. The water in the wells, which is very little above the level of the ocean, is in general soft and excellent. Wells dug near the shore, are dry at



low water, or rather at what is called young flood, but are replenished with the flowing of the tide.

A traveller from the interior part of the country, where the soil is fertile, upon observing the barrenness of Truro, would wonder what could induce any person to remain in such a place. But his wonder would cease, when he was informed, that the subsistence of the inhabitants is derived principally from the sea. The shores and marshes afford large and small clams, quahaugs, razor shells, periwinkles, muscles, and cockles. The bay and ocean abound with excellent fish and with crabs and lobsters. The sturgeon, eel, haddock, cod, frost fish, pollock, cusk, flounder, halibut bass, mackerel, herring, and alewife,† are most of them caught in great plenty, and constitute a principal part of the food of the inhabitants. Beside these fish for the table, there is a great variety of other fish : among which are the whale, killer or thrasher, humpback, finback, skrag, grampus, black fish, porpoise, (grey, bass, and streaked) snuffer, shark, (black, man-eating, and shovel-nosed) skate, dog fish, sun fish, goose fish, cat fish, and sculpion ; to which may be added the horseshoe and squid.—The cramp fish has sometimes been seen on the beach. This fish, which resembles a sting-ray in size and form, possesses the properties of the torpedo, being capable of giving a smart electrical shock. The fishermen suppose, but whether with reason or not the writer will not undertake to determine, that the oil extracted from the liver of this fish is a cure for the rheumatism.

Sea fowl are plenty on the shores and in the bay ; particularly the gannet, curlew, brant, black duck, sea duck, old wife, dipper, shel-drake, penguin, gull, plover, coot, widgeon, and peep.

Formerly whales of different species were common on the coasts, and yielded a great profit to the inhabitants, who pursued them in boats from the shore. But they are now rare, and the people, who are some of the most dexterous whalers in the world, are obliged to follow them into remote parts of the ocean. Two inhabitants of Truro, Captain David Smith and Captain Gamaliel Collings, were the first who adventured to the Falkland islands in pursuit of whales. This voyage was undertaken in the year 1774, by the advice of Admiral Montague of the British navy, and was crowned with success. Since that period the whalers of Truro have chiefly visited the coasts of Guinea and Brazil. A want of a good market for their oil has however of late compelled them to turn their attention to the codfishery. In this they are employed on board of vessels belonging to other places. Other inhabitants of Truro are mariners in the merchants' service. Being in general industrious and faithful, they soon rise to the command of a vessel. Many of the masters employed from Boston and other ports, are natives of Truro.

† Formerly the blue fish was common, but some years ago it deserted the coast. See page 159.

A subsistence being easily obtained, the young people are induced to marry at an early age ; many of the men under twenty three, and many of the women under twenty. A numerous family is generally formed after a few years.

There are schools for the instruction of children and youth. But though education is more attended to of late, than it was some years ago, yet it is much to be wished that the importance and advantage of it were still more considered.

Only four persons from Truro have had a college education.

The climate of the place is said to be favourable to health and longevity. Complaints of the nervous kind, however, are very common.

Though Truro in respect of soil is inferior to every other township in the county, except Wellfleet and Province town, both of which have convenient harbours ; yet, in spite of every disadvantage, it has become full of inhabitants. In the time of the contest between Great Britain and America, four masters of vessels with their men, the greatest part of whom belonged to Truro, were lost at sea. Many died in the prison-ship at New-York. But since that period, as migrations from the township have been rare, though formerly frequent, the inhabitants have increased.

In the year 1790, when the census was taken, there were eleven hundred and ninety-three inhabitants.\* Thirty years ago, the number of the inhabitants was nine hundred and twenty four ; and of dwelling houses, one hundred and seven. At present there are one hundred and sixty five dwelling houses ; none of which, except three, are more than one story in height. Five of the houses being situated near the bounds of Wellfleet, the families belonging to them attend publick worship there. The houses being small, are in general finished immediately after they are erected. The meeting house is painted, and in good repair. The inhabitants in general are very constant in their attendance on publick worship.

There is one water mill and three wind mills for the grinding of Indian corn and rye. The elderly men and small boys remain at home to cultivate the ground : the rest are at sea, except occasionally, two thirds of the year. The women are generally employed in spinning, weaving, and knitting ; but there are no other manufactures.

The flax, cotton, and the greatest part of the wool, are procured from Boston.

In 1697 some purchases of land were made of the Indians, as appears from an old book of records kept by the town. The settlement of Truro, the Indian name of which was Parnet, commenced about the year 1700. On the 29th of October, 1705, it was erected into a town, to be called Dangerfield. On the 16th of July, 1709, it was incorporated by the name of Truro.

\* In 1793 there were in Truro three hundred and thirty polls, which, allowing four persons to one poll, make thirteen hundred and twenty inhabitants ; above seventy to a square mile.

A church was formed at the time of the ordination of the first minister, according to the church books of records; and the male members, who united in embodying the church, were seven, besides the pastor.

The first minister, Rev. John Avery, was ordained November 1st, 1711. He died April 23d, 1754, in the 69th year of his age, and 44th of his ministry. The inhabitants of Truro, who personally knew Mr. Avery, speak of him in very respectful terms. As a minister, he was greatly beloved and admired by his people, being a good and useful preacher, of an exemplary life and conversation. As a physician he was no less esteemed. He always manifested great tenderness for the sick; and his people very sensibly felt their loss in his death. His eldest son, John Avery, esquire, is still living in Boston; and one of his grandsons, John Avery, junior, esquire, has during many years been secretary of the commonwealth.

Rev. Caleb Upham was ordained October 29th, 1755. He died April 9th, 1786, in the 63d year of his age, and 31st of his ministry. Mr. Upham was a good scholar, an animated preacher, a warm friend to his country, and an honest man. A taste for poetry was apparent in all his compositions. He left behind him a poem in manuscript, the subject of which is taken from the book of Job. He was ever attentive to the real good of his people, and exerted himself with zeal and fidelity in their service.

The present minister of Truro, Rev. Jude Damon, was ordained October 15th, 1786.

**A BILL OF MORTALITY IN TRURO, FOR SEVEN YEARS, BEGINNING JANUARY 1ST, 1787.**

*Died in 1787.*

Under	2 years	3
Between	5 and 10	1
	10 20	3
	20 30	3
	70 80	2
	80 90	1

13, first year.

*Died in 1788.*

Under	2 years	2
Between	10 and 20	4
	30 40	1
	60 70	1
	70 80	4
	80 90	1

13, second year.

*A Topographical Description of Truro.**Died in 1789.*

Under	2 years	3
Between	30 and 40	2
	40 50	3
	50 60	1
	70 80	2
	80 90	1

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 12, *third year.*
*Died in 1790.*

Under	2 years	3
Between	20 and 30	4
	30 40	3
	40 50	2
	50 60	1
	60 70	2
	70 80	1
	80 90	1

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 22, *fourth year.*
*Died in 1791.*

Under	2 years	10
Between	5 and 10	1
	10 20	2
	20 30	3
	50 60	1
	60 70	2
	70 80	1

---

 20, *fifth year.*
*Died in 1792.*

Under	2 years	4
Between	10 and 20	1
	20 30	2
	40 50	1
	50 60	1
	60 70	2
	80 90	2

---

 13, *sixth year.*
*Died in 1793.*

Under	2 years	4
Between	10 and 20	2
	20 30	2
	30 40	2

 } 4 young men lost at  
 } sea, Dec. 1793.

50	60	1
60	70	4
70	80	2
80	90	1

---

18×4×22, seventh year.

*The number of deaths in seven years.*

Under	2 years	34
Between	2 and 5	0
	5 10	2
	10 20	12
	20 30	14
	30 40	4
	40 50	8
	50 60	6
	60 70	5
	70 80	11
	80 90	12
		7

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115 Total.

*The number of Baptisms in seven years, 278.*

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[ROGER WILLIAMS's *Key into the Language of the Indians of New-England*, has become exceedingly scarce. The only copy, of which we have any knowledge, is one presented to the library of the Historical Society. As it has been much sought after by the curious, we shall extract the most valuable part of it. It was printed in London, in 1643, in a small 18mo. volume; and is divided into thirty two chapters. Each chapter contains a vocabulary, "framed chiefly after the Narraganset dialect," interspersed with observations on the manners and customs of the Indians. The chapter is concluded with spiritual observations, and three or four verses of rhymes. In the following extracts, the conclusions of the chapters are omitted, and the greatest part of the vocabulary. A sufficient number of Indian words is however retained, to serve as a specimen of the language.]

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A KEY INTO THE LANGUAGE OF AMERICA: OR AN HELP TO THE LANGUAGE OF THE NATIVES, IN THAT PART OF AMERICA, CALLED NEW ENGLAND. TOGETHER WITH BRIEF OBSERVATIONS OF THE CUSTOMS, MANNERS, AND WORSHIPS, &c. OF THE AFORESAID NATIVES. IN PEACE AND WAR, IN LIFE AND DEATH. BY ROGER WILLIAMS OF PROVIDENCE IN NEW ENGLAND.

*To my dear and well beloved friends and countrymen, in Old and New England.*

**I** PRESENT you with a Key : I have not heard of the like yet framed, since it pleased God to bring that mighty continent of America to light. Others of my countrymen have often, and excellently, and lately, written of the country, and none that I know beyond the goodness and worth of it.

This Key respects the native language of it, and happily may unlock some rarities concerning the natives themselves, not yet discovered.

I drew the materials in a rude lump at sea, as a private help to my own memory, that I might not, by my present absence, lightly lose what I had so dearly bought in some few years' hardship and charges among the barbarians. Yet being reminded by some, what pity it were to bury these materials in my grave at land or sea ; and withal remembering how oft I have been importuned by worthy friends of all sorts to afford them some help this way ; I resolved, by the assistance of the Most High, to cast those materials into this Key, pleasant and profitable for all, but specially for my friends residing in those parts.

With this Key I have entered into the secrets of those countries, where ever English dwell, about two hundred miles, between the French and Dutch plantations. For want of this, I know what gross mistakes myself and others have run into.

There is a mixture of this language, north and south, from the place of my abode, about six hundred miles. Yet within the two hundred miles, aforementioned, their dialects do exceedingly differ ; yet not so but, within that compass, a man may, by this help, converse with thousands of natives all over the country ; and by such converse, it may please the Father of mercies to spread civility, and in his own most holy season, christianity : for one candle will light ten thousand. and it may please God to bless a little leaven, to season the mighty lump of these peoples and territories.

It is expected, that having had so much converse with these natives, I should write some little of them.

Concerning them, a little to gratify expectation, I shall touch upon four heads :

First, by what names they are distinguished.

Secondly, their original and descent.

Thirdly, their religion, manners, customs, &c.

Fourthly, that great point of their conversion.

To the first, their names are of two sorts :

First, those of the English giving : as natives, savages, Indians, wild men, (so the Dutch call them Wilden) Abergeny men, pagans, barbarians, heathen.

Secondly, their names which they give themselves.

I cannot observe, that they ever had, before the coming of the English, French, or Dutch, among them, any names to difference themselves from strangers, for they knew none ; but two sorts of names they had, and have amongst themselves.

First, general, belonging to all natives, as Ninnuock, Ninnimissinnu-wock, Eniskeetompauwog, which signify men, folk, or people.

Secondly, particular names, peculiar to several nations of them amongst themselves, as Nanhigganeuck, Massachusuck, Cawasunseuck, Cowweseuck, Quintikooock, Quunniepeuck, Pequuttoog, &c.

They have often asked me, why we called them Indians, natives, &c. and understanding the reason, they will call themselves Indians, in opposition to English, &c.

For the second head proposed, their original and descent.

From Adam and Noah that they spring, it is granted on all hands. But for their later descent, and whence they came into those parts, it seems as hard to find, as to find the wellhead of some fresh stream, which running many miles out of the country to the salt ocean, hath met with many mixing streams by the way. They say themselves, that they have sprung and grown up in that very place, like the very trees of the wilderness.

They say, that their great God Cawtantowwit created those parts, as I observed in the chapter of their religion. They have no clothes, books, nor letters, and conceive their fathers never had: and therefore they are easily persuaded, that the God that made English men, is a greater God, because he hath so richly endowed the English above themselves. But when they hear, that about sixteen hundred years ago, England and the inhabitants thereof were like unto themselves, and since have received from God, clothes, books, &c. they are greatly affected with a secret hope concerning themselves.

Wise and judicious men, with whom I have discoursed, maintain their original to be northward from Tartaria. And at my now taking ship at the Dutch plantation, it pleased the Dutch governour, in some discourse with me about the natives, to draw their line from Iceland; because the name Sackmakan, the name for an Indian prince about the Dutch, is the name for a prince in Iceland.

Other opinions I could number up. Under favour I shall present, not mine opinion, but my observations, to the judgment of the wise.

First, others and myself have conceived some of their words to hold affinity with the Hebrew.

Secondly, they constantly anoint their heads, as the Jews did.

Thirdly, they gave dowries for their wives, as the Jews did.

Fourthly, and which I have not so observed amongst other nations as amongst the Jews and these, they constantly separate their women, during the time of their monthly sickness, in a little house alone by themselves, four or five days, and hold it an irreligious thing for either father, or husband, or any male, to come near them.

They have often asked me, if it be so with women of other nations, and whether they are so separated: and for their practice they plead nature and tradition.

Yet again I have found a greater affinity of their language with the Greek tongue.

1. As the Greeks and other nations and ourselves call the seven stars, or Charles' wain, the bear ; so do they, Mosk, or Paukunnawaw, the Bear.

2. They have many strange relations of one Wetucks, a man that wrought great miracles amongst them, walking upon the sea, &c. with some kind of broken resemblance to the Son of God.

Lastly, it is famous that the southwest, Sowwaniu, is the great subject of their discourse. From thence their traditions. There they say, at the southwest, is the court of their great God Cawtantowwit. At the southwest are their forefathers' souls. To the southwest they go themselves, when they die. From the southwest came their corn and beans, out of the great God Cawtantowwit's field : and indeed the further northward and westward from us, their corn will not grow ; but to the southward, better and better. I dare not conjecture in these uncertainties. I believe they are lost ; and yet hope, in the Lord's holy season, some of the wildest of them shall be found to share in the blood of the Son of God.

To the third head, concerning their religion, customs, manners, &c. I shall here say nothing, because in those thirty two chapters of the whole book, I have briefly touched those of all sorts, from their birth to their burial.

Therefore, fourthly, to that great point of their conversion, so much to be longed for, and by all New English so much pretended, and I hope in truth :

For myself, I have uprightly laboured to suit my endeavours to my pretences : and of later times, out of a desire to attain their language, I have run through varieties of intercourses with them, day and night, summer and winter, by land and sea. Particular passages tending to this, I have related divers, in the chapter of their religion.

Many solemn discourses I have had with all sorts of nations of them, from one end of the country to another, so far as opportunity, and the little language I have, could reach.

I know there is no small preparation in the hearts of multitudes of them. I know their many solemn confessions to myself, and one to another, of their lost wandering conditions.

I know strong convictions upon the consciences of many of them and their desires uttered that way.

I know not with how little knowledge and grace of Christ, the Lord may save ; and therefore neither will despair nor report much.

But since it hath pleased some of my worthy countrymen to mention of late in print, Wequash, the Pequot captain, I shall be bold so far to second their relations, as to relate my own hopes of him, though I dare not be so confident as others.

Two days before his death, as I passed up to Quunnihticut\* river. it pleased my worthy friend, Mr. Fenwick. whom I visited at his house in Say-brook fort, at the mouth of that river, to tell me, that my old

\* Connecticut. The author's mode of spelling Indian words is carefully preserved.



friend Wequash lay very sick. I desired to see him ; and himself was pleased to be my guide two miles, where Wequash lay.

Amongst other discourse concerning his sickness and death, in which he freely bequeathed his son to Mr. Fenwick, I closed with him concerning his soul. He told me, that some two or three years before, he had lodged at my house, where I acquainted him with the condition of all mankind, and his own in particular ; how God created man and all things ; how man fell from God, and his present enmity against God, and the wrath of God against him until repentance : said he, " Your words were never out of my heart to this present ; " and said he, " Me much pray to Jesus Christ." I told him, so did many English, French, and Dutch, who had never turned to God, nor loved him. He replied in broken English : " Me so big naughty heart : me heart all one stone !" Savoury expressions, using to breathe from compunct and broken hearts, and a sense of inward hardness and unbrokenness. I had many discourses with him in his life ; but this was the sum of our last parting, until our general meeting.

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## KEY INTO THE LANGUAGE OF THE INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND.

### CHAP. I.

#### Of Salutation.

**T**HE natives are of two sorts, as the English are : some more rude and clownish, who are not so apt to salute, but upon salutation, re-salute lovingly. Others, and the general, are sober and grave, and yet cheerful in a mean, and as ready to begin a salutation as to re-salute, which yet the English generally begin, out of a desire to civilize them.

What cheer, Netop ? is the general salutation of all English toward them. Netop is *friend* ; Netompauog, *friends*.

They are exceedingly delighted with salutations in their own language.

Cowaunckamish ; *my service to you*. This word, upon special salutations, they use ; and upon some offence conceived by the Sachim, or *prince*, against any, I have seen the party do obeisance, by stroking the prince upon both his shoulders, and using this word, Cowaunkamish, or Cuckquenamish ; *I pray your favour*.

Otan ; *a town*. Otanick noteshem : *I came from the town*. In the Narroganset countny, which is the chief people in the land, a man shall come to many towns, some bigger, some lesser, it may be a dozen, in twenty miles travel.

They call Old England Acawmenoakit, which is as much as from *the land on t'other side*. Hardly are they brought to believe that that water is three thousand English miles over.

Wetu ; *a house* Matnowetuomeno : *I have no house*. As commonly a single person hath no house, so after the death of a husband or wife,

they often break up house, and live here and there awhile with friends, to allay their excessive sorrow.

Wesuonck ; *a name.* Matnowesuonckane ; *I have no name.* Obscure and mean persons amongst them have no names. Again because they abhor to name the dead (death being the king of terrors to all natural men ; and though the natives hold the soul to live forever, yet not holding a resurrection, they die and mourn without hope ; in that respect, I say) if any of their Sachims or neighbours die, they lay down those names as dead.

This is one incivility amongst the more rustical sort, not to call each other by their names, but Keen ; *you* : Ewo ; *he*.

They are remarkably free and courteous, to invite all strangers into their houses ; and if they come to them upon any occasion, they request them to come in, if they come not in of themselves.

I have acknowledged amongst them an heart sensible of kindnesses, and have reaped kindness again from many, seven years after, when I myself had forgotten.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of Eating and Entertainment.*

**N**OKEHICK ; *parched meal*, which is a ready very wholesome food, which they eat with a little water, hot or cold. I have travelled with near two hundred of them at once, near a hundred miles through the woods, every man carrying a little basket of this at his back, and sometimes, in a hollow leather girdle about his middle, sufficient for a man three or four days. With this ready provision, and their bow and arrows, are they ready for war, and travel at an hour's warning. With a spoonful of this meal, and a spoonful of water from the brook, have I made many a good dinner and supper.

Aupummineanash ; *the parched corn.* Aupuminea-nawsaump ; *the parched meal boiled with water at their houses*, which is the wholesomest diet they have. Msickquatash ; *boiled corn whole.* Manusquusedash, *beans.* Nawsaump ; *a kind of meal pottage unparched.* From this the English call their *samph*, which is the Indian corn, beaten and boiled, and eaten hot or cold, with milk or butter ; which are mercies beyond the natives' plain water, and which is a dish exceeding wholesome for the English bodies.

They generally all take tobacco ; and it is commonly the only plant which men labour in ; the women managing all the rest. They say they take tobacco for two causes : first, against the rheum, which causeth the tooth-ake, which they are impatient of : secondly, to revive and refresh them, they drinking nothing but water.

Whomsoever cometh in, when they are eating, they offer them to eat of that which they have, though but little enough prepared for

themselves. If any provision of fish or flesh come in, they make their neighbours partakers with them. If any stranger come in, they presently give him to eat of what they have. Many a time, and at all times of the night, as I have fallen in travel upon their houses, when nothing hath been ready, have themselves and their wives risen to prepare me some refreshing.

Mihukmecha kick; *Tree-eaters*: a people so called (living between three or four hundred miles west into the land) from their eating Mih-tuck-quash, that is, *trees*. They are men eaters: they set no corn, but live on the bark of chestnut and walnut, and other fine trees. They dry and eat this bark with the fat of beasts, and sometimes of men. This people are the terrour of the neighbour natives.

Mohowaugsuck, or Mauquauog, from moho, *to eat*; the *Cannibals*, or *Men-eaters*, up into the west, two, three, or four hundred miles from us.

### CHAP. III.

#### *Concerning Sleep and Lodging.*

**T**HEY will sleep without the doors contentedly, by a fire under a tree, when sometimes some English, for want of familiarity and language with them, are fearful to entertain them. In summer time, I have known them lie abroad often themselves, to make room for strangers, English or others.

Wauwhautowaw anawat; *there is an alarm*, or *there is a great shouting*. Howling and shouting is their alarm, they having no drums nor trumpets. But whether an enemy approach, or a fire brake out, this alarm passeth from house to house: yea commonly, if any English or Dutch come amongst them, they give notice to strangers by this sign. Yet I have known them buy and use a Dutch trumpet, and known a native make a good drum, in imitation of the English.

Matannauke, or Mattannaukanash; *a finer sort of mats to sleep on*.

They plentifully lay on wood, when they lie down to sleep, winter or summer: abundance they have, and abundance they lay on: their fire is instead of our bed clothes. And so themselves, and any that have occasion to lodge with them, must be content to turn often to the fire, if the night be cold; and they who first wake, must repair the fire.

When they have had a bad dream, which they conceive to be a threatening from God, they fall to prayer at all times of the night, especially early before day.

Once travelled to an island of the wildest in our parts, where, in the night, an Indian, as he said, had a vision or dream of the sun, whom they worship for a God, darting a beam into his breast; which he conceived to be the messenger of his death. This poor native called his friends and neighbours, and prepared some little refreshing for

them ; but himself was kept waking and fasting, in great humiliations and invocations, for ten days and nights. I was alone, having travelled from my bark, the wind being contrary ; and little could I speak to them to their understanding, especially because of the change of their dialect or manner of speech ; yet so much, through the help of God, I did speak, of the true and living only wise God, of the creation of man and his fall from God, &c. that at my parting, many burst forth, " Oh, when will you come again, to bring us some more news of this God ? "

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CHAP. IV.

*Of their Numbers.*

**N**QUIT ; *one.* Neese ; *two.* Nish ; *three.* Yoh ; *four.* Napan-na ; *five.* Quutta ; *six.* Enada ; *seven.* Shwosuck ; *eight.* Pas-kugit ; *nine.* Piuck ; *ten.* Piuck nabna quit ; *eleven.* Piucknab neese ; *twelve.* Neesneecheck ; *twenty.* Shwincheck ; *thirty.* Yowinichack ; *forty.* Napannetashincheck ; *fifty.* Nquit pawsuck ; *one hundred.* Nquittemittannug ; *one thousand.\**

Having no letters nor arts, it is admirable how quick they are in casting up great numbers, with the help of grains of corn, instead of Europe's pens or counters.

*Numbers of the masculine gender.*

Pawsuck Skeetomp ; *one man.*

Neeswock Shuog Yowock Napannetasuog Quittasuog	}	Skeetomp-auog	{	<i>Two</i> <i>Three</i> <i>Four</i> <i>Five</i> <i>Six</i>	}	<i>Men.</i>
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*Of the feminine gender.*

Pawsuck Wauchos ; *one hill.*

Neenash Swinash Yowunnash Napannetashinash	}	Wauchosash	{	<i>Two</i> <i>Three</i> <i>Four</i> <i>Five</i>	}	<i>Hills.</i>
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CHAP. V.

*Of their Relations of Consanguinity, &c.*

**N**NIN ; *man.* Nninuog ; *men.* Skeetomp ; *man.* Squaws ; *woman.* Squaws-suck ; *women.* Kichize ; *an old man.* Homes ; *an old man.* Homesuck ; *old men.* Kutchinnu ; *a middle aged man.* Wuskeene ; *a youth.* Wenise ; *an old woman.* Wasick ; *a husband.*

\* By combining the Indian numbers together, the author continues the enumeration to one hundred thousand. But this was probably much further than the natives went themselves.

Weewo, or Mittummus, or Wullogana; *a wife.* Osh; *a father.* Nosh; *my father.* Cosh; *your father;* Okasu, or Witchwhaw; *a mother.* Wussese; *an uncle.* Papoos; *a child.* Nonanese; *a sucking child.* Weemat; *a brother.*

They hold the band of brother-hood so dear, that when one had committed a murder and fled, they executed his brother; and it is common for a brother to pay the debt of a brother deceased.

Weticks; *a sister.* Watoncks; *a cousin.* Kihituckquaw; *a virgin marriageable.*

Their virgins are distinguished by a bashful falling down of the hair over their eyes.

There are no beggars amongst them, nor fatherless children unprovided for.

Their affections, especially to their children, are very strong: so that I have known a father take so grievously the loss of his child, that he hath cut and stabbed himself with grief and rage.

This extreme affection, together with want of learning, makes their children saucy, bold, and undutiful.

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## CHAP. VI.

### *Of the Family and Business of the House.*

**N**ICKQUENUM, *I am going home,* is a solemn word amongst them; and no man will offer any hinderance to him, who after some absence, is going to visit his family, and useth this word Nickquenum.

Wetuomemese; *a little house,* which their women and maids live apart in, four, five, or six days, in the time of their monthly sickness: which custom, in all parts of the country, they strictly observe; and no male may come into that house.

The Indians have houses with one, two, or three fires.

Abockquosinash; *the mats of the house.* Wuttapuissuck; *the long poles,* which commonly men get and fix, and then the women cover the house with mats, and line them with embroidered mats, which the women make, and call them Munnotaubana, or *hangings,* which amongst them make as fair a show as hangings with us.

Wuchickapeuck; *birchen bark,* and *chestnut bark,* which they dress finely, and make a summer covering for their houses.

Two families will live comfortably and lovingly in a little round house, of some fourteen or sixteen feet over, and so more and more families in proportion.

They point with the hand to the sun, by whose height they keep account of the day, and by the moon and stars by night, as we do by clocks and dials.

They are as full of business, and as impatient of hinderance (in their kind) as any merchant in Europe.

Commonly they never shut their doors, day nor night ; and it is rare that any hurt is done.

Wunnaug ; *a tray*. Kunam ; *a spoon*.

Instead of shelves, they have several baskets, wherein they put all their household stuff. They have some great bags or sacks made of hemp, which will hold five or six bushels.

Tackunck, or Weskhunck ; *their pounding mortar*. Their women constantly beat all their corn with hand. They plant it, dress it, gather it, barn it, beat it, and take as much pains as any people in the world ; which labour is questionless one cause of their extraordinary ease of childbirth.

Chauquock ; *a knife*. Whence they call Englishmen Chauquaquock, that is, *Knife-men* ; stone formerly being to them instead of knives, awl-blades, hatchets, and hoes.

It is almost incredible what burthens the poor women carry of corn, of fish, of beans, of mats, and a child besides.

Most commonly their houses are open : Their door is a hanging mat, which being lift up, falls down of itself. Yet many of them get English boards and nails, and make artificial doors and bolts themselves ; and others make slighter doors of birch or chestnut bark, which they make fast with a cord in the night time, or when they go out of town, and then the last, that makes fast, goes out at a chimney, which is a large opening in the middle of their house.

The women nurse all their children themselves : yet, if she be an high or rich woman, she maintains a nurse to tend the child.

Many of them begin to be furnished with English chests ; others, when they go forth of town, bring their goods, if they live near, to the English, to keep for them ; and their money they hang it about their necks, or lay it under their heads, when they sleep.

They have amongst them natural fools, either so born, or accidentally deprived of reason.

Many of them, naturally princes, or industrious persons, are rich ; and the poor amongst them will say, they want nothing.

Mauo ; *to cry and bewail* : Which bewailing is very solemn amongst them, morning and evening, and sometimes in the night. They bewail their lost husbands, wives, children, brethren, or sisters, sometimes a quarter, half, yea a whole year, and longer, if it be for a great prince. In this time, unless a dispensation be given, they count it a profane thing either to play, as they much use to do, or to paint themselves for beauty, but for mourning ; or to be angry, and fall out with any.

Generally all the men throughout the country have a tobacco bag, with a pipe in it, hanging at their back.

Sometimes they make such great pipes, both of wood and stone, that they are two feet long, with men or beasts carved, so big or massy, that a man may be mortally hurt by one of them ; but these commonly come from the Mauquaugs, or the Men-eaters. They have an excellent art to cast our pewter and brass into very neat and arti-

ficial pipes. They take their Wuttammauog, that is, *a weak tobacco*, which the men plant themselves, very frequently. Yet I never see any take so excessively, as I have seen men in Europe; and yet excess were more tolerable in them, because they want the refreshing of beer and wine, which God had vouchsafed Europe.

Wuttammagon; *a pipe.* Hopuonck, *a pipe.*

Chicks; *a cock, or hen*: A name taken from the English *chick*, because they had no hens before the English came.

Nquussutam; *I remove house*: Which they do upon these occasions: From thick warm vallies, where they winter, they remove a little nearer to their summer fields. When it is warm spring, when they remove to their fields, where they plant corn.

In middle of summer, because of the abundance of fleas, which the dust of the house breeds, they will fly and remove on a sudden to a fresh place. And sometimes, having fields a mile or two, or many miles asunder, when the work of one field is over, they remove house to the other. If death fall in amongst them, they presently remove to a fresh place. If an enemy approach, they remove into a thicket or swamp, unless they have some fort to remove unto.

Sometimes they remove to a hunting house in the end of the year, and forsake it not until snow lie thick; and then will travel home, men, women, and children, through the snow, thirty, yea fifty or sixty miles. But their great remove is from their summer fields to warm and thick woody bottoms, where they winter. They are quick, in half a day, yea sometimes at few hours' warning to be gone, and the house up elsewhere; especially, if they have stakes ready pitched for their mats.

I once in travel lodged at a house, at which, in my return, I hoped to have lodged again there the next night; but the house was gone in that interim, and I was glad to lodge under a tree.

The men make the poles or stakes; but the women make and set up, take down, order, and carry the household stuff.

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## CHAP. VII.

### *Of their Persons and Parts of Body.*

**U**PPAQUONTOP; *the head.* Wesheck; *the hair.* Muppacuck; *a long lock.*

Some cut their hair round, and some as low and as short as the sober English. Yet I never saw any so to forget nature itself, in such excessive length and monstrous fashion, as to the shame of the English nation, I now with grief see my countrymen in England are degenerated unto.

Wuttip; *the brain.* In the brain their opinion is, that the soul, of which we shall speak in the chapter of religion, keeps her chief seat and residence.

For the temper of the brain, in quick apprehensions and accurate judgments, to say no more, the most high and sovereign God and Creator hath not made them inferiour to the Europeans.

The Mauquauogs make a delicious monstrous dish of the head and brains of their enemies.

The tooth ake is the only pain which will force their stout hearts to cry. I cannot hear of any disease of the stone amongst them, the corn of the country, with which they are fed from the womb, being an admirable cleanser and opener. But the pain of their women's child-birth never forces their women so to cry, as I have heard some of their men in the tooth ake. In this pain they use a certain root dried, not much unlike our ginger.

They are most skilful in cutting off the heads of their enemies in fight. For whenever they wound, and their arrow sticks in the body of their enemy, if they be valorous and possibly may, they follow their arrow, and falling upon the person wounded, and tearing his head a little aside by his lock, they in the twinkling of an eye, fetch off his head, though but with a sorry knife.

I know the man yet living, who, in time of war, pretended to fall from his own camp to the enemy, proffered his service in the front with them against his own army from whence he had revolted. He propounded such plausible advantages, that he drew them out to battle, himself keeping in the front: but on a sudden, shot their chief leader and captain; and being shot, in a trice fetched off his head, and returned immediately to his own again, from whom in pretence, though with this treacherous intention, he had revolted. His act was false and treacherous; yet herein appear policy, stoutness, and activity.

Wuttah; *the heart*: Wunnetu nitta; *my heart is good*. This speech they use, whenever they profess their honesty; they naturally confessing that all goodness is first in the heart.

They are much delighted after battle, to hang up the hands and heads of their enemies.

They call a blackamore (themselves are tawny by the sun and their anointings, yet they are born white) Suckautacone; *a coal-black man*. For Sucki is *black*, and Wautacone, *one that wears clothes*: whence English, Dutch, French, Scotch, they call Wautaconauog, or *Coat-men*.

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## CHAP. VIII.

### *Of Discourse and News.*

**T**HEIR desire of, and delight in news, is great as the Athenians. A stranger that can relate news in their own language, they will style him Manitto, *a God*.

Their manner is upon any tidings, to sit round, double or treble or more, as their numbers be. I have seen near a thousand in a round,



where English could not well near half so many have sitten. Every man hath his pipe of tobacco; and a deep silence they make, and attention give to him that speaketh. And many of them will deliver themselves, either in a relation of news, or in a consultation, with very emphatical speech and great action, commonly an hour, and sometimes two hours together.

Coanaumwem; *you speak true.* Wunnaumwaw ewo; *he speaks true.* These are words of great flattery which they use to each other, but constantly to their princes, at their speeches, for which, if they be eloquent, they esteem them Gods, as Herod among the Jews.

One of the Indians, when I had discoursed about many points of God, of the creation, of the soul, of the danger of it, and the saving of it, he assented; but when I spake of the rising again of the body, he cried out, "I shall never believe this."

Wunnaumwayean; *if he says true.* Canonicus, the old Sachim of the Narroganset bay, a wise and peaceable prince, once in a solemn oration to myself, in a solemn assembly, using this word, said, "I have never suffered any wrong to be offered to the English, since they landed, nor never will." He often repeated this word, "Wunnaumwayean Englishman, *if the Englishman speak true*, if he mean truly, then shall I go to my grave in peace, and hope that the English and my posterity will live in love and peace together." I replied, that he had no cause, I hoped, to question Englishman's Wunnaumwauonck, that is, *faithfulness*, he having had long experience of their friendliness and trustiness. He took a stick, and broke it into ten pieces, and related ten instances, laying down a stick to every instance, which gave him cause thus to fear and say. I satisfied him in some presently, and presented the rest to the governours of the English, who, I hope, will be far from giving just cause to have barbarians to question their Wunnaumwauonck, or *faithfulness*.

Coannaumatous; *I believe you.* This word they use just as the Greek tongue doth that verb πισωωω, for believing or obeying, as it is often used in the new testament; and they say, Coannaumatous; *I will obey you.*

The ablative case absolute they much use, and comprise much in little.

This question they oft put to me: "Why come the Englishmen hither?" and measuring others by themselves, they say, "It is because you want firing." For they, having burnt up the wood in one place, wanting draughts to bring wood to them, are fain to follow the wood, and so to remove to a fresh new place for the wood's sake.

If it be time of war, he that is a messenger runs swiftly, and at every town the messenger comes, a fresh messenger is sent. He that is the last, coming within a mile or two of the court, or chief house, he hollows often, and they that hear answer him, until by mutual hollowing and answering, he is brought to the place of audience, where by this means is gathered a great confluence of people to entertain the news.

Wussuckwheke, or Wussuckwhonck; *a letter*, which they so call from Wussuckwhommin, *to paint*; for having no letters, their painting comes the nearest.

They have often desired me to write letters for them, upon many occasions, for their good and peace, and the English also, as it hath pleased God to vouchsafe opportunity.

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CHAP. IX.

*Of the Time of the Day.*

**T**HEY are punctual in measuring their day by the sun, and their night by the moon and the stars; and their lying much abroad in the air; and so living in the open fields, occasioneth even the youngest of them to be very observant of those heavenly lights.

They are punctual in their promises of keeping time; and sometimes have charged me with a lie, for not punctually keeping time, though hindered.

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CHAP. X.

*Of the Season of the Year.*

**S** EQUAN; *spring*. Neepun, or Quasquusquan; *summer*. Taquonck; *autumn*. Papone; *winter*.

They have thirteen months, according to the several moons; and they give to each of them significant names.

Nquittecautummo; *one year*. If the year prove dry, they have great and solemn meetings from all parts, at one high place, to supplicate their Gods, and to beg rain; and they will continue in this worship ten days, a fortnight, yea three weeks, until rain come.

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CHAP. XI.

*Of Travel.*

**I**T is admirable to see, what paths their naked hardened feet have made in the wilderness, in most stony and rocky places.

The wilderness being so vast, it is a mercy, that for hire a man shall never want guides, who will carry provisions and such as hire them over the rivers and brooks, and find out oftentimes hunting houses and other lodgings at night.

I have heard of many English lost, and have often been lost myself; and myself and others have often been found and succoured by the Indians.

They are generally quick on foot, brought up from the breasts to running; their legs being also from the womb stretched and bound up in a strange way on their cradle backward, as also anointed. Yet

have they some that excel: so that I have known many of them run between fourscore or an hundred miles in a summer's day, and back within two days. They do also practise running of races: and commonly in the summer, they delight to go without shoes, although they have them hanging at their backs. They are so exquisitely skilled in all the body and bowels of the country, by reason of their huntings, that I have often been guided, twenty, thirty, yea, sometimes forty miles, through the woods, a straight course, out of any path.

Having no horses, they covet them above other cattle, rather preferring ease in riding, than their profit by milk and butter from cows and goats; and they are loath to come to the English price for any.

Cuppi-machaug; *thick wood—a swamp.* These thick woods and swamps, like the bogs to the Irish, are the refuge for women and children in war, whilst the men fight. As the country is wonderful full of brooks and rivers, so doth it also abound with fresh ponds, some of many miles compass.

They are joyful in meeting of any in travel, and will strike fire either with stones or sticks, to take tobacco, and discourse a little together.

Sometimes a man shall meet a lame man, or an old man, with a staff; but generally a staff is a rare sight in the hand of the eldest, their constitution is so strong. I have upon occasion travelled many a score, yea many a hundred miles amongst them, without need of stick or staff, for any appearance of danger amongst them. Yet it is a rule amongst them, that it is not good for a man to travel without a weapon, nor alone.

I once travelled with near two hundred, who had word of near seven hundred enemies in the way; yet generally they all resolved, that it was a shame to fear and go back.

If any robbery fall out in travel, between persons of different states, the offended state sends for justice. If no justice be granted and recompense made, they grant a kind of letter of mart to take satisfaction themselves. Yet they are careful not to exceed in taking from others, beyond the proportion of their own loss.

I could never hear that murders or robberies are comparably so frequent, as in parts of Europe, amongst the English, French, &c.

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CHAP. XII.

*Of the heavenly Lights.*

**K**EESUCK; *the heavens.* Nippawus; *the sun.* Keesuckquand; a name of the sun, by which they acknowledge it and adore it for a God.

Nanepaushat, or Munnannock; *the moon.* Yo wompanammit; *the moon is so old,* which they measure by the setting of it, especially when it shines till Wompan, or day.

Anockquus; *a star.* By occasion of their frequent lying in the fields or woods, they much observe the stars; and their very children

can give names to many of them, and observe their motions; and they have the same words for their rising, courses, and setting, as for the sun and moon.

Mosk, or Paukunnawaw; the *Great Bear*, or *Charles' Wain*, which words Mosk, or Paukunnawaw signify a *bear*; which is so much the more observable, because in most languages, that sign or constellation is called the *Bear*.

Mishannock; *the morning star*.

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CHAP. XIII.

*Of the Weather.*

IT may be wondered, why since New England is about twelve degrees nearer to the sun, yet some part of winter, it is there ordinarily more cold than here in England. The reason is plain. All islands are warmer than main lands and continents. England being an island, England's winds are sea winds, which are commonly more thick and vapoury, and warmer winds. The northwest wind, which occasioneth New England cold, comes over the cold frozen land, and over many millions of loads of snow. And yet the pure wholesomeness of the air is wonderful; and the warmth of the sun such in the sharpest weather, that I have often seen the natives' children run about stark naked in the coldest days, and the Indian men and women lie by a fire in the woods, in the coldest nights; and I have been often out myself such nights, without fire, mercifully and wonderfully preserved.

Neimpauog; *thunder*. Neimpauog peskhomwock; *thunderbolts are shot*. From this the natives conceiving a consimilitude between our guns and thunder, they call a *gun* Peskunck; and *to discharge* Peskhommin, that is, *to thunder*.

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CHAP. XIV.

*Of the Winds.*

WAUPI; *the wind*. Some of them account seven winds; some, eight or nine. And in truth, they do upon the matter reckon and observe not only the four, but the eight cardinal winds, although they come not to the accurate division of the thirty-two, upon the thirty-two points of the compass, as we do.

The southwest wind is the pleasingest, warmest wind in the climate, most desired of the Indians, making fair weather ordinarily; and therefore they have a tradition, that to the southwest, which they call Sowwanu, the Gods chiefly dwell; and hither the souls of all their great and good men and women go.

This southwest wind is called by the New English, the sea turn; which comes from the sun in the morning, about nine or ten of the

clock southeast, and about south, and then strongest southwest in the afternoon and towards night, when it dies away. It is rightly called the sea turn, because the wind commonly, all the summer, comes off from the north and northwest in the night, and then turns again about from the south in the day.

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CHAP. XV.

*Of Fowl.*

**N**PESHAWOG, or Pussekese-suck; *fowl.* Wompissacuk; *the eagle.* Neyhom; *the turkey.* Paupock; *the partridge.* Aunc-kuck; *the heath cock.* Chogan; *the black bird.*

Of this sort there be millions, which be great devourers of the Indian corn, as soon as it appears out of the ground. Against these birds the Indians are very careful both to set their corn deep enough, that it may have a strong root, not so apt to be plucked up (yet not too deep, lest they bury it, and it never come up:) as also they put up little watchhouses in the middle of their fields, in which they, or their biggest children lodge, and early in the morning, prevent the birds from devouring the corn.

Kokokehoh, or Ohemous; *the owl.* Kaukont; *the crow.*

These birds, although they do the corn also some hurt, yet scarce will one native amongst an hundred kill them; because they have a tradition, that the crow brought them at first an Indian grain of corn in one ear, and an Indian or French bean in another, from the great God Cawtantowwit's field in the southwest, from whence they hold came all their corn and beans.

Honck, or Wompatuck; *the goose.* Wequash; *the swan.* Mun-nucks; *the brant.* Quequecum; *the duck.*

The Indians having abundance of these sorts of fowl upon their waters, take great pains to kill any of them with their bow and arrows; and are marvellous desirous of our English guns, powder, and shot, though they are wisely and generally denied by the English. Yet with those which they get from the French and some others, Dutch and English, they kill abundance of fowl, being naturally excellent marksmen, and also more hardened to endure the weather, and wading, lying, and creeping on the ground.

I once saw an exercise of training of the English, when all the English had missed the mark set up to shoot at, an Indian with his own piece, desiring leave to shoot, only hit it.

Kitsuog; *cormorants.* These they take in the night time, where they are asleep on rocks off at sea, and bring in at break of day great store of them.

They lay nets on shore, and catch many fowls upon the plains, and feeding under oaks upon acorns, as geese, turkies, cranes, &c.

Wuskowhan; *the pigeon*. Wuskowhan-nanaukit; *pigeon country*. In that place these fowl breed abundantly, and by reason of their delicate food, especially in strawberry time, when they pick up whole large fields of the old grounds of the natives, they are a delicate fowl, and because of their abundance, and the facility of killing them, they are and may be plentifully fed on.

Sachim; a little bird about the bigness of a swallow, or less, to which the Indians give that name, because of its Sachim or *princelike* courage and command over greater birds: that a man shall often see this small bird pursue, and vanquish, and put to flight, the crow and other birds far bigger than itself.

Sowanakitauwaw; *they go to the southward*. That is the saying of the natives, when the geese and other fowl, at the approach of winter, betake themselves in admirable order, and discerning their course even all the night long.

Chépewaukitauog; *they fly northward*. That is when they return in the spring.

There are abundance of singing birds, whose names I have little as yet inquired after.

Taunek; *the crane*. Wushowunan; *the hawk*: Which the Indians keep tame about their houses, to keep the little birds from their corn.

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## CHAP. XVI.

### *Of the Earth and the Fruits thereof.*

**A**UKE, or Sanaukamuck; *earth or land*. Seip, *a river*. Sepoese; *a little river*. Sepoemese; *a little rivulet*.

The natives are very exact and punctual in the bounds of their lands, belonging to this or that prince or people, even to a river, brook, &c. And I have known them make bargain and sale amongst themselves for a small piece or quantity of ground; notwithstanding a sinful opinion amongst many, that christians have right to heathen's land.

Wompimish; *the chestnut tree*. Wompimineash; *chestnuts*. The Indians have an art of drying their chestnuts, and so to preserve them in their barns for a dainty all the year.

Paugautémisk; *the oak*. Anauchemineash; *acorns*. These acorns also they dry, and in case of want of corn, by much boiling they make a good dish of them: yea sometimes in plenty of corn, do they eat these acorns for a novelty.

Wussoquat; *the walnut tree*. Wusswaquatomineug; *walnuts*. Of these walnuts they make an excellent oil, good for many uses, but especially for the anointing of their heads. And of the chips of the walnut tree (the bark taken off) some English in the country make excellent beer, both for taste, strength, colour, and inoffensive opening operation.

Sasaunckapamuck; *the sassafras tree.* Mishquawtuck; *the cedar tree.* Cowaw-esuck; *the pine, young pine.* Wenomesippaguash; *the vine tree.* Maskituash; *grass.* Wekinash; *the reed.* Quussuckomineanug; *the cherry tree.*

Wuttahimneash; *strawberries.* This berry is the wonder of all the fruits growing naturally in those parts. It is of itself excellent: so that one of the chiefest doctors of England was wont to say, that God could have made, but God never did make, a better berry. In some parts, where the natives have planted, I have many times seen as many as would fill a good ship within few miles compass. The Indians bruise them in a mortar, and mix them with meal, and make strawberry bread.

Wuchipoquameneash; a kind of sharp fruit like a barberry in taste.

Sasemineash; another sharp cooling fruit, growing in fresh waters all the winter, excellent in conserve against fevers.

Wenomeash; *grapes.* Attitaash; *whortleberries:* Of which there are divers sorts, sweet like currants, some opening, some of a binding nature.

Sautaash are these currants dried by the natives, and so preserved all the year, which they beat to powder, and mingle it with their parched meal, and make a delicate dish which they call Sautauthig, which is as sweet to them as plum or spice cake to the English.

They also make great use of their strawberries, having such abundance of them, making strawberry bread, and having no other food for many days; but the English have exceeded, and make good wine both of their grapes and strawberries also, in some places, as I have often tasted.

Ewachim-neash; *corn.* There be divers sorts of this corn, and of the colours; yet all of it, either boiled in milk, or buttered, if the use of it were known and received in England (it is the opinion of some skilful in physick) it might save many thousand lives in England, occasioned by the binding nature of English wheat; the Indian corn keeping the body in a constant moderate looseness.

Aukeeteaumen; *to plant corn.* The women set or plant, weed and hill, and gather and barn, all the corn and fruits of the field. Yet sometimes the man himself, either out of love to his wife, or care for his children, or being an old man, will help the woman, which, by the custom of the country, they are not bound to.

When a field is to be broken up, they have a very loving, sociable, speedy way to dispatch it: all the neighbours, men and women, forty, fifty, a hundred, &c. join, and come in to help freely.

With friendly joining they break up their fields, build their forts, hunt the woods, stop and kill fish in the rivers; it being true with them as in all the world, in the affairs of earth or heaven: By concord, little things grow great; by discord, the greatest come to nothing: *Concordiâ res parvæ crescunt, discordiâ maximè dilabuntur.\**

\* Sallustii Bell. Jug.

Anashig; *a hoe*. Anashommin; *to hoe, or break up*. The Indian women to this day, notwithstanding our hoes, do use their natural hoes of shells and wood.

They carefully dry the corn upon heaps and mats many days, before they barn it up, covering it up with mats at night, and opening it, when the sun is hot.

The women of the family will commonly raise two or three heaps of twelve, fifteen, or twenty bushels a heap, which they dry in round broad heaps; and if she have help of her children or friends, much more.

Askutasquash; their *wine apples*; which the English from them call *squashes*; about the bigness of apples, of several colours; a sweet, light, wholesome refreshing.

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CHAP. XVII.

*Of Beasts.*

**PENASHIMWOCK**; *beasts*. Netasuog; *cattle*: This name the Indians give to tame beasts, yea and birds also which they keep tame about their houses.

Muckquashim; *the wolf*. Moattoquus; *a black wolf*.

Tummock, Noosup, or Sumhup; *the beaver*. This is a beast of wonder, for cutting and drawing great pieces of trees with his teeth, with which and sticks and earth, I have often seen fair streams and rivers dammed and stopped up. Upon these streams thus dammed up, he builds his house with stories, wherein he sits dry in his chambers, or goes into the water at his pleasure.

Mishquashim; *a red fox*. Pequawus; *a gray fox*. The Indians say they have black foxes, which they have often seen, but never could take any of them. They say they are Manittooes; that is, Gods, spirits, or divine powers, as they say of every thing which they cannot comprehend.

Ausup; *the rackoon*. Nkeke; *the otter*. Pussough; *the wild cat*.

Ockquutchaun-nug; a wild beast of a reddish hair, about the bigness of a pig, and rooting like a pig: from whence they give this name to all our swine.

Mishanneke; *the squirrel*. Anequus; *a little coloured squirrel*.

Wautuckques; *the cony*. They have a reverend esteem of this creature, and conceive there is some deity in it.

Attuck, or Noonatch; *the deer*. Moosquin; *a fawn*. Wawwunnes; *a young buck*. Kuttiomp, or Paucottawaw; *a great buck*. Aunan-quuncke; *a doe*. Quunequawese; *a little young doe*. Cow-suck; *cows*. Goatsuck; *goats*. Hogsuck; *swine*.

This plural termination *suck*,\* is common in their language; and therefore they add it to our English cattle, not else knowing what names to give them.

\* It appears from the author's vocabulary, that in the Indian language, the plural is formed by adding og, ock, ug, or uck (the pronun-



Anum ; *a dog.* Yet the variety of their dialects and proper speech, within thirty or forty miles of each other, is very great, as appears in that word : Anum, the Cowweset dialect ; Ayim, the Narroganset ; Arum, the Quunnieuck ; Alum, the Neepmuck. So that although some pronounce not *L* nor *R*, yet it is the most proper dialect of other places, contrary to many reports.

Moos-soog ; *the great ox,* or rather *red deer.* Askug ; *a snake.* Moaskug ; *the black snake.* Seseck ; *the rattle snake.*

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CHAP. XVIII.

*Of the Sea.*

**W**ECHEKUM, or Kitthan ; *the sea.* Paumpagussit ; *the sea God.* or that name which they give that deity or god-head, which they conceive to be in the sea.

Mishoon ; an Indian *boat,* or *canoe,* made of pine, or oak, or chestnut tree. I have seen a native go into the woods with his hatchet, carrying only a basket of corn with him and stones to strike fire. When he had felled his tree, being a chestnut, he made a little house or shed of the bark of it ; he puts fire, and follows the burning of it with fire, in the midst in many places. His corn he boils, and hath the brook by him, and sometimes angles for a little fish. But so he continues burning and hewing, until he hath within ten or twelve days, lying there at his work alone, finished, and getting hands, launched his boat ; with which afterwards he ventures out to fish in the ocean.

Mishittouwand ; *a great canoe.* Mishoonemese ; *a little canoe.* Some of them will not well carry above three or four ; but some of them, twenty, thirty, forty men.

Sepakehig ; *a sail.* Their own reason hath taught them to pull off a coat or two, and set it up on a small pole, with which they will sail before the wind ten or twenty miles.

It is wonderful to see how they will venture in those canoes, and how, being oft overset, as I have myself been with them, they will swim a mile, yea two or more, safe to land. I having been necessitated to pass waters divers times with them, it hath pleased God to make them many times the instruments of my preservation : and when sometimes in great danger I have questioned safety, they have said to me, " Fear not ; if we be overset, I will carry you safe to land."

I have known thirty or forty of their canoes filled with men ; and near as many more of their enemies, in a sea fight.

*iation of which is probably nearly the same) for the masculine ; and ash, and sometimes og, &c. for the feminine. [See chap. iv.] Beside these syllables, we meet with a few instances of ana, and ick or chick. It must be noted, that between these terminations and the noun in the singular, one or more consonants or vowels are frequently interposed.*

## CHAP. XIX.

## Of Fish and Fishing.

**N**AMAUS; *a fish*. Pauganaut, tamwock; *cod*; which is the first that comes, a little before spring.

Quunnamaug-suck; *lampries*; the first that come in the spring into fresh rivers.

Aumsuog, or Munnawhatteaug; fish somewhat like herrings.

Missuckeke; *the bass*. The Indians, and the English too, make a dainty dish of the head of this fish; and well they may, the brains and fat of it being very much, and sweet as marrow.

Kauposh; *the sturgeon*. Divers parts of the country abound with this fish; yet the natives, for the goodness and greatness of it much prize it; and will neither furnish the English with so many, nor so cheap, that any great trade is like to be made of it, until the English themselves are fit to follow the fishing. The natives venture out one or two in a canoe, and with an harping iron, or such like instrument, stick this fish, and so haul it into their canoe. Sometimes they take them by their nets, which they make strong of hemp.

They will set their nets thwart some little river or cove, wherein they kill bass at the fall of the water, with their arrows or sharp sticks, especially if headed with iron gotten from the English.

Wawwhunnekesuog; *mackerel*. Mishquamauquock; *red fish, salmon*. Osacontuck; a fat sweet fish, something like a haddock.

Mishcup, or Sequanamauk; *the bream*. Of this fish there is abundance, which the natives dry in the sun and smoke; and some English begin to salt. Both ways they keep all the year; and it is hoped, they may be as well accepted as cod at market, and better, if once known.

Taut-auog; *sheeps-heads*. Neeshauog, Sassammauquock, or Nquit-teconnauog; *eels*. Tatakommauog; *forpoises*.

Potop; *the whale*. In some places whales are often cast up. I have seen some of them, but not above sixty feet long. The natives cut them in several parcels, and give and send them far and near, for an acceptable present or dish.

Ashaunt-teaug; *lobsters*. Opponenauhock; *oysters*.

Sickishuog; *clams*. This a sweet kind of shell fish, which all Indians generally over the country, winter and summer, delight in: and at low water, the women dig for them. This fish and the natural liquor of it they boil; and it makes their broth and their Nasaump (which is a kind of thickened broth) and their bread seasonable and savoury, instead of salt. And for that the English swine dig and root these clams, wheresoever they come, and watch the low water, as the Indian women do; therefore of all the English cattle the swine, as also because of their filthy disposition, are most hateful to all natives; and they call them filthy cut-throats.

Sequunock; *the horse fish*. Poquauhock: This the English call *hens*; a little thick shell fish, which the Indians wade deep and dive for; and after they have eaten the meat there, in those which are good, they break out of the shell, about half an inch of a black part of it, of

which they make their Suckauhock, or *black money*, which is to them precious.

Meteauhock ; *the periwinkle* : Of which they make their Wompam, or *white money*, of half the value of their Suckauhock, or *black money*.

The natives take exceeding great pains in their fishing, especially in watching their seasons by night : so that frequently they lay their naked bodies many a cold night, on the cold shore, about a fire of two or three sticks ; and oft in the night search their nets ; and sometimes go in, and stay longer in frozen water.

Moamitteaug ; a little fish ; half as big as sprats, plentiful in winter.

Poponaumsuog ; a winter fish, which comes up in the brooks and rivulets : some call them *frost fish*, from their coming up from the sea into fresh brooks, in times of frost and snow.

Quonosuog ; a fresh fish, for which the Indians break the ice in fresh ponds, when they also take many other sorts : for to my knowledge the country yields many sorts of other fish, which I mention not.

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CHAP. XX.

*Of their Nakedness and Clothing.*

**T**HEY have a two-fold nakedness.

First, ordinary and constant, when although they have a beast's skin, or an English mantle on, yet that covers ordinarily but their hinder parts, and all the foreparts from top to toe, except their secret parts covered with a little apron, are open and naked.

Their male children go stark naked, and have no apron, until they come to ten or twelve years of age : their female, they, in a modest blush cover with a little apron of an hand breadth, from their very birth.

Their second nakedness is, when their men often go abroad, and both men and women within doors, leave off their beast's skins or English cloth, and so, excepting their little apron, are wholly naked. Yet but few of the women but will keep their skin or cloth, loose or near to them, ready to gather it up about them. Custom hath used their minds and bodies to it, and in such a freedom from any wantonness, that I have never seen that wantonness amongst them, as with grief I have heard of in Europe.

Acoh ; *their deer skin*. Tummockquashunck ; *a beaver's coat*. Nkequashunck ; *an otter's coat*. Mohewonck ; *a ragoon skin coat*. Natoquashunck ; *a wolf skin coat*. Mishannequashunck ; *a squirrel skin coat*. Neyhommauashunck ; *a coat or mantle*, curiously made of the fairest feathers of their Neyhommauog, or *turkies*, which commonly their old men make, and is with them as velvet with us.

Within their skin or coat they creep contentedly, by day or night, in house or in the woods, and sleep soundly, counting it a felicity, and indeed an earthly one it is, *intra pelliculam quemque tenere suam*.

Autah, or Autawhun ; *their apron*. Caukoanash ; *stockings*. Mo-cussinash, or Mockussinhash ; *shoes*. Both these shoes and stockings they make of their deer skin worn out, which yet being excellently tanned by them, is excellent for to travel in wet and snow ; for it is so well tempered with oil, that the water clean wrings out ; and being hung up in their chimney, they presently dry without hurt, as myself have often proved.

Saunketippo, or Ashonaquo ; *a hat, or cap*.

Moose ; the skin of a great beast, as big as an ox ; some call it a red deer. They commonly paint these moose and deer skins, for their summer wearing, with variety of forms and colours.

Petouwassinug ; *their tobacco bag* ; which hangs at their neck, or sticks at their girdle, and is to them instead of an English pocket.

Our English clothes are so strange unto them, and their bodies so inured to endure the weather, that when some of them have had English clothes, in a shower of rain, I have seen them rather expose their skins to the wet than their clothes ; and therefore they pull them off, and keep them dry.

While they are amongst the English, they keep on the English apparel ; but pull off all, as soon as they come again into their own houses and company.

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## CHAP XXI.

### *Of their Religion.*

**M**ANIT, or Manittoo ; *God*. He that questions whether God made the world, the Indians will teach him. I must acknowledge I have received in my converse with them many confirmations of those two great points, Heb. xi. 6. viz. 1. That God is. 2. That he is a rewarder of all them that diligently seek him.

They will generally confess, that God made all : but then in special, although they deny not that Englishman's God made Englishmen, and the heavens and earth there ; yet their Gods made them, and the heaven and earth where they dwell.

I have heard a poor Indian lamenting the loss of a child, at break of day, call up his wife and children, and all about him to lamentation, and with abundance of tears cry out : " O God, thou hast taken away my child ! thou art angry with me. O turn thine anger from me, and spare the rest of my children."

If they receive any good in hunting, fishing, harvest, &c. they acknowledge God in it.

Yea, if it be but an ordinary accident, a fall, &c. they will say God was angry and did it.

But herein is their misery. First, they branch their godhead into many Gods. Secondly, attribute it to creatures.

First, many Gods. They have given me the names of thirty-seven, all which in their solemn worships they invoke.

Cautantowwit ; the great south west God, to whose house all souls go, and from whom came their corn and beans, as they say.

Wompanand ; the eastern God. Chekesuwand ; the western God. Wunnanameanit ; the northern God. Sawwanand ; the southern God. Wetuomanit ; the house God. Squauanit ; the woman's God. Muckquachuckquand ; the children's God.

I was once with a native, dying of a wound, given him by some murtherous English, who robbed him and run him through with a rapier, from whom in the heat of his wound, he at present escaped from them : but dying of his wound, they suffered death at New Plymouth, in New England : This native dying, called much upon Muckquachuckquand, which of other natives I understood, as they believed, had appeared to the dying young man many years before, and bid him, when he was in distress, call upon him.

Secondly, as they have many of these feigned Deities, 'so worship they the creatures, in whom they conceive doth rest some Deity : Kee-suckquand ; the sun God. Nanepaushat ; the moon God. Paumpagussit ; the sea God. Yotaanit ; the fire God.

When I have argued with them about their fire God, " Can it, say they, be but this fire must be a God, or divine power, that out of a stone will arise in a spark, and when a poor naked Indian is ready to starve with cold in the house, and especially in the woods, often saves his life, doth dress all our food for us, and if it be angry, will burn the house about us, yea if a spark fall into the dry wood, burns up the country ?" (though this burning of wood to them they count a benefit, both for destroying vermin, and keeping down the weeds and thickets.)

*Præsentem narrat qualibet herba Deum.*

Besides there is a general custom amongst them, at the apprehension of any excellency in men, women, birds, beasts, fish, &c. to cry out, Manittoo, that is, it is a God : as thus, if they see one man excel others in wisdom, valour, strength, activity, &c. they cry out Manittoo ; a God. And therefore when they talk amongst themselves of the English ships and great buildings, of the ploughing of their fields, and especially of books and letters, they will end thus, Mannittoowock ; they are Gods : Cummanittoo : you are a God, &c. A strong conviction natural in the soul of man, that God is filling all things, and that all excellencies dwell in God, and proceed from him, and that they only are blessed who have that Jehovah for their portion.

Nickommo ; a feast, or dance. Of this feast they have publick and private, and that of two sorts.

First, in sickness, or drought, or war, or famine.

Secondly, after harvest, after hunting, when they enjoy a calm of peace, health, plenty, prosperity ; then they have Nickommo, a feast, especially in winter.

Powwaw ; a priest. Powwauog ; priests. These do begin and order their service and invocation of their Gods, and all the people follow, and join interchangeably in a laborious bodily service, unto

sweating, especially of the priest, who spends himself in strange antick gestures and actions, even unto fainting.

In sickness, the priest comes close to the sick person, and performs many strange actions about him, and threatens and conjures out the sickness. They conceive that there are many Gods, or divine powers within the body of a man; in his pulse, his heart, his lungs, &c.

I confess to have most of these their customs by their own relation: for after being once in their houses, and beholding what their worship was, I never durst be an eye witness, spectator, or looker on, lest I should have been partaker of Satan's inventions and worships.

They have an exact form of king, priest, and prophet. Their kings or governours do govern: Their priests perform and manage their worship: Their wise and old men, of which number the priests are also, make solemn speeches and orations, or lectures, to them concerning religion, peace, or war, and all things.

He or she that maketh this Nickommo, *feast or dance*, besides the feasting, of sometimes twenty, fifty, an hundred, yea I have seen near a thousand persons at one of these feasts,—give a great quantity of money, and all sort of their goods, according to and sometimes beyond their estate, in several small parcels of goods, or money, to the value of eighteen pence, two shillings, or thereabouts, to one person: and that person that receives this gift, upon the receiving it, goes out, and hollows thrice for the health and prosperity of the party that gave it, the master or mistress of the feast.

By this feasting and gifts the devil drives on their worships pleasantly (as he doth all false worships, by such plausible earthly arguments of uniformities, universalities, antiquities, immunities, dignities, rewards unto submitters, and the contrary to refusers) so that they run far and near and ask, *Awaun Nickommit; who makes a feast?*

They have a modest religious persuasion not to disturb any man either themselves, English, Dutch, or any in their conscience and worship.

*Cowwewonck; the soul*; derived from *Cowwene, to sleep*, because, say they, it works and operates, when the body sleeps. *Michachunck; the soul*, in a higher notion, which is of affinity with a word signifying a looking glass or clear resemblance: so that it hath its name from a clear sight or discerning, which indeed seems very well to suit with the nature of it.

They believe that the souls of men and women go to the south west; their great and good men and women to *Cautantowwit's* house, where they have hopes, as the Turks have, of carnal joys. Murderers, thieves, and liars, their souls, say they, wander restless abroad.

They relate how they have it from their fathers, that *Cautantowwit* made one man and woman of a stone, which disliking, he broke them in pieces, and made another man and woman of a tree, which were the fountains of all mankind.

They apprehending a vast difference of knowledge between the English and themselves, are very observant of the English lives. I have

heard them say to an Englishman, who being hindered, broke a promise to them, "You know God; will you lie, Englishman?"

After I had, as far as my language would reach, discoursed, upon a time, before the chief Sachim or *prince* of the country, with his arch priests and many others in a full assembly; and being night, wearied with travel and discourse, I lay down to rest, before I slept, I heard this passage: A Quunnihticut Indian, who had heard our discourse, told the Sachim Miantunnomu, that souls went up to heaven or down to hell; "for, saith he, our fathers have told us, that our souls go to the southwest."

The Sachim answered, "But how do you know yourself, that your souls go to the southwest? Did you ever see a soul go thither?"

The native replied: "When did he (naming myself) see a soul go to heaven or hell?"

The Sachim again replied: "He hath books and writings, and one which God himself made concerning men's souls; and therefore may well know more than we that have none, but take all upon trust from our forefathers."

The said Sachim, and the chief of his people, discoursed by themselves of keeping the Englishman's day of worship, which I could easily have brought the country to, but that I was persuaded and am, that God's way is first to turn a soul from its idols, both of heart, worship, and conversation, before it is capable of worship to the true and living God, according to 1. Thess. 1. 9. as also, that the two first principles and foundations of true religion, or worship of the true God in Christ, are repentance from dead works, and faith towards God, before the doctrine of baptism or washing, and the laying on of hands, which contain the ordinances and practices of worship. Heb. vi. 2.

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## CHAP. XXII.

### *Of their Government and Justice.*

**T**HEIR government is monarchical: yet at present the chiefest government in the country is divided between a younger Sachim Miantunnomu, and an elder Sachim, Caunounicus, of about fourscore years old, this young man's uncle; and their agreement in the government is remarkable. The old Sachim will not be offended at what the young Sachim doth; and the young Sachim will not do what he conceives will displease his uncle.

Sachimmaacommock; a *prince's house*; which, according to their condition, is far different from the other houses, both in capacity, and also in the fineness and quality of their mats.

Beside their general subjection to the highest Sachims, to whom they carry presents, they have also particular protectors, Under-Sachims, to whom they also carry presents, and upon any injury received, and complaint made, these protectors will revenge it.

The Sachims, although they have an absolute monarchy over the people, yet they will not conclude of ought that concerns all, either laws, or subsidies, or wars, unto which the people are averse, and by gentle persuasion cannot be brought.

I could never discern that excess of scandalous sins amongst them, which Europe aboundeth with. Drunkenness and gluttony, generally they know not what sins they be. And although they have not so much to restrain them, both in respect of knowledge of God and laws of men, as the English have, yet a man shall never hear of such crimes amongst them, of robberies, murders, adulteries, &c. as amongst the English.

The most usual custom amongst them in executing punishments, is for the Sachim either to beat, or whip, or put to death with his own hand, to which the common sort most quietly submit: though sometimes the Sachim sends a secret executioner, one of his chiefest warriors, to fetch off a head, by some unexpected blow of a hatchet, when they have feared a mutiny by a publick execution.

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CHAP. XXIII.

*Of Marriage.*

**S**INGLE fornication they count no sin; but after marriage, which they solemnize by consent of parents and publick approbation, publickly, they count it heinous for either of them to be false.

In case a man or woman commit adultery, the wronged party may put away or keep the party offending. Commonly, if the woman be false, the offended husband will be solemnly revenged upon the offender, before many witnesses, by many blows and wounds; and if it be to death, yet the guilty resists not, nor is his death revenged.

Their number of wives is not stinted; yet the chief nation in the country, the Narrogansets, generally have but one wife.

Two causes they generally allege for their many wives.

First, desire of riches; because the women bring in all the increase of the field, &c. the husband only fisheth, hunteth, &c.

Secondly, their long sequestering themselves from their wives after conception, until the child be weaned, which with some is long after a year old: generally, they keep their children long at the breast.

The husband gives from five to ten fathom of their money for his wife, to the father, or mother, or guardian of the maid. If the man be poor, his friends and neighbours contribute money toward the dowry.

The women commonly abound with children, and increase mightily; except the plague fall amongst them, or other lesser sicknesses, and then having no means of recovery, they perish wonderfully.

It hath pleased God in a wonderful manner, to moderate that curse of the sorrows of child-bearing to these poor Indian women: So that ordinarily they have a wonderful more speedy and easy travail and



delivery than the women of Europe. This follows, first, from the hardness of their constitution, in which respect they bear their sorrows the easier. Secondly, from their extraordinary great labour, even above the labour of men, as in the field, they sustain the labour of it, in carrying mighty burdens, in digging clams and getting other shell-fish from the sea, in beating all their corn in mortars, &c. Most of them count it a shame for a woman in travail to make complaint, and many of them are scarcely heard to groan. I have often known, in one quarter of an hour, a woman merry in the house, and delivered and merry again; and within two days abroad; and after four or five days, at work.

The men put away frequently for other occasions beside adultery; yet I know many couples, that have lived twenty, thirty, forty years together.

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CHAP. XXIV.

*Of their Coin.*

**T**HE Indians are ignorant of Europe's coin; yet they have given a name to ours, and call it Moneash, from the English *money*.

Their own is of two sorts; one white, which they make of the stem or stock of the periwinkle, when all the shell is broken off: and of this sort six of their small beads, which they make with holes to string the bracelets, are current with the English for a penny.

The second is black, inclining to blue, which is made of the shell of a fish which some English call *hens*, Poquauhock: and of this sort three make an English penny:

They that live upon the sea side, generally make of it, and as many make as will.

The Indians bring down all their sorts of furs, which they take in the country, both to the Indians and to the English, for this Indian money. This money the English, French, and Dutch trade to the Indians, six hundred miles in several parts, north and south from New-England, for their furs, and whatsoever they stand in need of from them, as corn, venison, &c.

One fathom of this their stringed money is worth five shillings.

Their white money they call Wompam, which signifies *white*; their black, Suckauhock, Sucki signifying *black*.

Both amongst themselves, as also the English and Dutch, the black penny is two pence white; the black fathom, double, or two fathoms of white.

Before they had awl blades from Europe, they made shift to bore their shell money with stone. They also felled their trees with stone set in a wooden staff, and used wooden hoes, which some old and poor women, fearing to leave the old tradition, use to this day.

They hang strings of money about their necks and wrists, as also upon the necks and wrists of their wives and children.

They also curiously make girdles, of one, two, three, four, and five inches thickness, and more of this money ; which sometimes to the value of ten pounds and more, they wear about their middle, and as a scarf about their shoulders and breasts.

Yea the princes make rich caps and aprons, or small breeches, of these beads, thus curiously strung into many forms and figures : their black and white finely mixed together.

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CHAP. XXV.

*Of Buying and Selling.*

**A**MONGST themselves they trade their corn, skins, coats, venison, fish, &c. and sometimes come ten or twenty in a company to trade amongst the English.

They have some who follow only making bows ; some arrows ; some dishes ; and the women make all their earthen vessels : some follow fishing ; some, hunting : most on the sea side make money, and store up shells in summer against winter, whereof to make their money.

They all generally prize a mantle of English or Dutch cloth before their own wearing of skins and furs ; because they are warm enough and lighter.

Cloth inclining to white they like not, but desire to have a sad colour, without any whitish hairs, suiting with their own natural temper, which inclines to sadness.

They have great difference of their coin, as the English have : some that will not pass without allowance ; and some again, made of a counterfeit shell ; and their very black counterfeited by a stone and other materials : yet I never saw any of them much deceived ; for their danger of being deceived makes them cautious.

Whoever deals or trades with them, had need of wisdom, patience, and faithfulness in dealing ; for they frequently say, " You lie : you deceive me."

They are marvellous subtle in their bargains to save a penny, and very suspicious that Englishmen labour to deceive them : therefore they will beat all markets, and try all places, and run twenty, thirty, yea forty miles and more, and lodge in the woods, to save six pence.

They will often confess for their own ends, that the English are richer, and wiser, and valianter than themselves ; yet it is for their own ends, and therefore they add, *Nanoué* ; *give me this or that* ; a disease which they are generally infected with : some more ingenuous scorn it ; but I have seen an Indian, with great quantities of money about him, beg a knife of an Englishman, who haply hath had never a penny of money.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*Of Debts and Trusting.*

**T**HEY are very desirous to come into debt; but then he that trusts them, must sustain a twofold loss: First, of his commodity: Secondly, of his custom, as I have found by dear experience. Some are ingenuous, plain hearted, and honest; but the most never pay, unless a man follow them to their several abodes, towns, and houses, as I myself have been forced to do.

It is a common, and, as they think, most satisfying answer, that they have been sick: for in those times they give largely to the priests, who then sometimes heal them by conjurations; and also they keep open house, for all to come to help to pray with them, unto whom also they give money.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*Of their Hunting.*

**W**E shall not name over the several sorts of beasts, which we named in the chapter of beasts.

The natives hunt two ways.

First, when they pursue their game, especially deer, which is the general and wonderful plenteous hunting in the country,—they pursue in twenty, forty, fifty, yea two or three hundred in a company, as I have seen, when they drive the woods before them.

Secondly, they hunt by traps of several sorts. To which purpose, after they have observed, in spring time and summer, the haunt of the deer, then about harvest, they go ten or twenty together, and sometimes more, and withal, if it be not too far, wives and children also, where they build up little hunting houses of barks and rushes, not comparable to their dwelling houses; and so each man takes his bounds of two, three, or four miles, where he sets thirty, forty, or fifty traps, and baits his traps with that food the deer loves; and once in two days, he walks his round, to view his traps.

They are very tender of their traps, where they lie, and what comes at them; for they say the deer, whom they conceive have a divine power in them, will soon smell and be gone.

When a deer is caught by the leg in the trap, sometimes there it lies a day together, before the Indian come, and so lies a prey to the ranging wolf, and other wild beasts, most commonly the wolf, who seizeth upon the deer, and robs the Indian, at his first devouring, of near half his prey; and if the Indian come not the sooner, he makes a second greedy meal, and leaves him nothing but the bones and the torn deer skins, especially if he call some of his greedy companions to his bloody banquet.

Upon this the Indian makes a falling trap, with a great weight of stones; and so sometimes knocks the wolf on the head, with a gainful revenge, especially if it be a black wolf, whose skins they greatly prize.

Pumpom; *a tribute skin*; when a deer, hunted by the Indians or wolves, is killed in the water. This skin is carried to the Sachim, within whose territory the deer was slain.

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CHAP. XXVIII.

*Of their Gaming.*

**T**HEIR games are of two sorts, private and publick. Private, and sometimes publick,—a game like unto the English cards; yet, instead of cards, they play with strong rushes.

Secondly, they have a kind of dice, which are plumstones painted, which they cast in a tray with a mighty noise and sweating.

Their publick games are solemnized with the meeting of hundreds, sometimes thousands, and consist of many vanities, none of which I durst ever be present at, that I might not countenance and partake of their folly, after I once saw the evil of them.

Ntakesemin; *I am telling, or counting*; for their play is a kind of arithmetick.

The chief gamesters amongst them much desire to make their Gods side with them in their games: therefore I have seen them keep as a precious stone a piece of thunderbolt, which is like unto a crystal, which they dig out of the ground, under some tree thundersmitten; and from this stone they have an opinion of success; and I have not heard any of these prove losers; which I conceive may be Satan's policy, and God's holy justice, to harden them, for their not rising higher from the thunderbolt, to the God that sends or shoots it.

Puttuckquapuonck; *a playing arbour*. This arbour, or play-house, is made of long poles set in the earth, four square, sixteen or twenty feet high, on which they hang great store of their stringed money, have great stakings town against town, and two chosen out of the rest by course to play the game at this kind of dice, in the midst of all their abettors, with great shouting and solemnity. Beside, they have great meetings of foot-ball playing, only in summer, town against town, upon some broad sandy shore, free from stones, or upon some soft heathy plot, because of their naked feet, at which they have great stakings, but seldom quarrel.

In their gamings, they will sometimes stake and lose their money, clothes, house, corn, and themselves, if single persons. They then become weary of their lives, and ready to make away themselves, like many an Englishman.

Keesaquunnamun; another kind of solemn publick meeting, wherein they lie under the trees, in a kind of religious observation, and have a mixture of devotions and sports.

But their chiefest idol of all for sport and game, is, if their land be at peace, toward harvest, when they set up a long house, called Quunnekamuck, which signifies *long house*, sometimes an hundred, sometimes two hundred feet long, upon a plain near the court, where ma-

ny thousands, men and women, meet ; where he that goes in, danceth in the sight of all the rest ; and is prepared with money, coats, small breeches, knives, or what he is able to reach to, and gives these things away to the poor, who yet must particularly beg and say, *Cowequetummous* ; that is, *I beseech you* : which word, although there is not one common beggar amongst them, yet they will often use, when their richest amongst them would fain obtain ought by gift.

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CHAR. XXIX.

*Of their War.*

**A**QUENE ; *peace*. *Chepewess*, or *Mishittashin* ; a *northern storm of war*, as they wittily speak.

*Juhetteke* ; *fight* ; which is the word of encouragement they use, when they animate each other in war ; for they use their tongues instead of drums and trumpets.

*Nummeshannantum*, or *Nummayaontam* : *I scorn*, or *take it in indignation*. This is a common word, not only in war, but in peace also, their spirits in naked bodies being as high and proud as men more gallant ; from which sparks of the lusts of pride and passion begin the flame of their wars.

*Shottash* ; *shot* ; a made word from us, though their guns they have from the French, and often sell many a score to the English, when they are a little out of frame or kelter.

I once travelled in a place conceived dangerous, with a great prince and his queen and children in a company, with a guard of near two hundred. Twenty or thirty fires were made every night for the guard, the prince and queen in the midst, and sentinels by course, as exact as in Europe : and when we travelled through a place where ambushes were suspected to lie, a special guard, like unto a life guard, compassed, some nearer, some farther off, the king and queen, myself, and some English with me.

They are very copious and pathetic in orations to the people, to kindle a flame of wrath, valour, or revenge, from all the common places which commanders use to insist on.

The mocking between their great ones is a great kindling of wars amongst them : Yet I have known some of their chiefs say, "What should I hazard the lives of my precious subjects, them and theirs, to kindle a fire which no man knows how far and how long it will burn, for the barking of a dog ?"

Their wars are far less bloody and devouring than the cruel wars of Europe, and seldom twenty slain in a pitched battle ; partly because when they fight in a wood, every tree is a buckler. When they fight in a plain, they fight with leaping and dancing, that seldom an arrow hits ; and when a man is wounded, unless he that shot follows upon the wounded, they soon retire and save the wounded : And yet, having no swords nor guns, all that are slain, are commonly slain with

great valour and courage ; for the conqueror ventures into the thickest, and brings away the head of his enemy.

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CHAP. XXX.

*Of their Paintings.*

**T**HEY paint their garments. The men paint their faces in war, and sometimes for pride. The women paint their faces with all sorts of colours.

Wompi ; *white*. Mowi, or Sucki ; *black*. Msqui ; *red*. Wesai ; *yellow*. Askaski ; *green*. Peshai ; *blue*.

Wunnam ; *their red painting* ; which they most delight in ; and is both the bark of pine, and also a red earth.

Mishquock ; *red earth*. Metewis ; *black earth*. From this Metewis is an Indian town, a day and an half's journey or less, west from the Massachusetts, called Metewemesick.

Wussuckhosu ; *a painted coat*.

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CHAP. XXXI.

*Of Sickness.*

**W**HEN they are sick, their misery appears, that they have not, but what sometimes they get from the English, a raisin or currant, or any physick, fruit, or spice, or any comfort more than their corn and water, &c. In which bleeding case, wanting all means of recovery or present refreshing, I have been constrained, to and beyond my power, to refresh them, and to save many of them from death, who I am confident perish many millions of them, in that mighty continent, for want of means.

Their only drink in all their extremities is a little boiled water.

All their refreshing in their sickness is the visit of friends and neighbours, a poor empty visit and presence : and yet indeed this is very solemn, unless it be in infectious diseases, and then all forsake them and fly ; that I have seen a poor house left alone in the wild woods, all being fled, the living not able to bury the dead. So terrible is the apprehension of an infectious disease, that not only persons, but the houses and the whole town, take flight. Were it not that they live in sweet air, and remove persons and houses from the infected, in ordinary course of subordinate causes, would few or any be left alive.

Pesuponck ; *a hot house*. This hot house is a kind of little cell or cave, six or eight feet over, round, made on the side of a hill, commonly by some rivulet or brook. Into this frequently the men enter, after they have exceedingly heated it with store of wood, laid upon a heap of stones in the middle. When they have taken out the fire, the stones keep still a great heat. Ten, twelve, twenty, more or less, enter

at once stark naked, leaving their coats, small breeches or aprons, at the door, with one to keep all. Here do they sit round these hot stones an hour or more, taking tobacco, discoursing, and sweating together. Which sweating they use for two ends: First, to cleanse their skin: Secondly, to purge their bodies; which doubtless is a great means of preserving them, and recovering them from diseases, especially from the French disease, which by sweating and some potions, they perfectly and speedily cure. When they come forth, which is matter of admiration, I have seen them run, summer and winter, into the brooks to cool them, without the least hurt.

Their priests and conjurers do bewitch the people, and not only take their money, but do most certainly, by the help of the Devil, work great cures; though most certain it is, that the greatest part of their priests do merely abuse them, and get their money, in the time of their sickness, and to my knowledge long or sick times: and to that end the poor people store up money, and spend both money and goods on the Powwaws, or *priests*. In these times the poor people commonly die under their hands; for alas, they administer nothing but howl and roar, and hollow over them, and begin the song to the rest of the people about them, who all join like a quire, in prayer to their Gods for them.

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CHAP. XXXII.

*Of Death and Burial.*

**S** EQUUTTOI; *he is in black*; that is, he hath some dead in his house, whether wife, or child, &c. for although at the first being sick, all the women and maids black their faces with soot, Sequut, and other blackings; yet upon the death of the sick, the father, or husband, and all his neighbours, the men also, as the English wear black mourning clothes, wear black faces, and lay on soot very thick, which I have often seen clotted with their tears. This blacking and lamenting they observe in a most doleful manner, divers weeks and months, yea a year, if the person be great and publick.

As they abound in lamentations for the dead, so they abound in consolation to the living, and visit them frequently, using this word Kutchimmoke, Kutchimmoke, Kutchimmoke; *be of good cheer*; which they express by stroking the cheek and head of the father or mother, husband or wife of the dead.

Chepasotam; *the dead Sachim*. Mauchauhom; *the dead man*. Mauchauhomwock, or Chepeck; *the dead*. Chepasquaw; *the dead woman*. Yo apapan; *he that was here*. Sachimaupan; *he that was prince here*. These expressions they use, because they abhor to mention the dead by name: and therefore, if any man bear the name of the

dead, he changeth his name ; and if any stranger accidentally name him, he is checked ; and if any wilfully name him he is fined : and amongst states, the naming of their dead Sachims is one ground of their wars.\*

Mockuttasuit ; one of chief esteem, who winds up in mats and coats, and buries the dead. Commonly some wise, grave, and well descended man hath that office.

When they come to the grave, they lay the dead by the grave's mouth, and then all sit down and lament ; that I have seen tears run down the checks of stoutest captains, as well as little children, in abundance. And after the dead is laid in the grave, and sometimes, in some parts, some goods cast in with them, they have then a second great lamentation. And upon the grave is spread the mat that the party died on, the dish he eat in ; and sometimes a fair coat of skin hung upon the next tree to the grave, which none will touch, but suffer it there to rot with the dead. Yea I saw with mine own eyes, that at my late coming forth of the country, the chief and most aged peaceable father of the country, Caunounicus, having buried his son, he burned his own palace, and all his goods in it, amongst them to a great value, in a solemn remembrance of his son, and in a kind of humble expiation to the Gods, who, as they believe, had taken his son from him.

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\* See Macy's Account of Nantucket, page 159.



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[The following Description is taken from a Portland newspaper.]

A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANTATIONS W. N. AND N. E. OF SEBAGO POND, IN THE COUNTY OF CUMBERLAND; THE EASTERLY EXTREMITY OF SEBAGO BEING ABOUT EIGHTEEN MILES FROM PORTLAND.

THE principal stream which feeds this large pond, is Songo river, one branch of which takes its rise in the northerly part of the plantation called Greenland, within about three miles of Amoriscoggin river, where is a pond two miles in length, called Songo pond: from thence the stream takes its course southward, and passing through Greenland, the easterly part of Waterford, and the westerly part of Otisfield, falls into the north-easterly part of Sebago in Raymondton. This stream is so free from rapids, that timber may be brought down without any inconvenience, from within a few miles of the head, which is at least seventy miles in its course:—and the adjacent country abounds with excellent timber.

The other branch of this river takes its rise in the west part of Waterford and Suncook, and making its way S. and S. E. passes a number of small ponds, and falls into the Long Pond (so called) lying mostly in Bridgton. This pond is ten miles in length, and about three quarters of a mile wide: its direction is nearly N. W. and S. E. On each side of this pond are large swells of excellent land, with a gradual descent to the margin of the pond, and affords a most beautiful and romantick prospect. From thence the stream continues its course S. E. running through Brandy pond, in the south-westerly part of Otisfield, is nearly round, and about a mile and a half across it. It then unites with the other branch of Songo in Raymondton, about three miles from Sebago. This branch is passable with boats, to the head of which, from the lower end of Sebago, is twenty-five miles.

There are other streams of less note, which empty into this great pond, as Panther river in Raymondton, and North-West and Muddy rivers in Flintston, all which, by reason of rapids, are incapable of affording any advantage by water carriage.

The land in Raymondton is generally level, except one large hill known by the name of Rattle-snake hill, noted for the abundance of these reptiles. There are some swells of good land, but the greater part of the growth pine and white oak, and hard to subdue.

Otisfield is very free from ragged hills and mountains : the greatest part of the town affords a growth of beech, maple, ash, bass, and birch, and is good land.

Bridgton consists of large hills and vallies : the high land affords the largest growth of red oak, which often grow to three, and sometimes to four feet diameter, and sixty or seventy feet without any branches : the vallies are covered with rock-maple, bass, ash, birch, pine, and hemlock.

Flintston has one large eminence in it, called Saddle-back mountain, but the town in general is level enough for cultivation. About one half of the town has a growth of pine and white oak : the land requires much cultivation before it will produce, but I think in many instances, time will shew to a future generation, good old farms in Flintston.

Waterford is more uneven than any plantation I have mentioned. Its growth is a mixture of all kinds ; but what is called the good land, is covered with maple, beech, birch, and oak. The inhabitants of this plantation have exceeded all their neighbours in raising winter rye.

Orangeton, or Greenland, lies north-west of Waterford, and is so mountainous, as to render it very difficult to effect passable roads through it. These mountains afford some mighty precipices—I believe some of them are two hundred feet perpendicular. The vallies, in many places on the steep sides of the mountains, are fertile, and in some instances afford wild onions, which resemble cultivated onions. The principal produce of the plantation is winter rye, which on an average has amounted to twenty bushels per acre. This country formerly abounded with various kinds of game, as moose, deer, bears, beaver, rackoon, sable, &c. but since the country has been inhabited, game has become scarce : Deer are extirpated from the vicinity. Some moose remain among the mountains, and a few beaver, that are too sagacious to be taken by the most crafty hunter. Since the deer are destroyed, the wolves have wholly left these plantations.

There is a curiosity to be seen in the Long Pond, in Bridgton. On the easterly side of the pond, about midway, is a cove, which extends about one hundred rods farther east than the general course of the shore ; the bottom is clay ; and the water so shoal, that a man may wade fifty rods into the pond. On the bottom of this cove, are stones of various sizes, which it is evident, from visible circumstances, have an annual motion towards the shore : the proof of this is the mark or track left behind them, and the bodies of clay driven up before them—some of these are perhaps two or three tons weight, and have left a tract several rods behind them ; having at least a common cart-load of clay before them. These stones are many of them covered with water at all seasons of the year. The shore of this cove is lined with these stones three feet deep, which it should seem have crawled out of the water. This may afford matter of speculation to the natural philosopher.

A TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF BOSTON, 1794. BY THE AUTHOR OF THE HISTORICAL JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN WAR.

The reader is informed, that in the year 1784, a Geographical Gazetteer of the towns in the commonwealth of Massachusetts was begun in the Boston Magazine; but it extended to a description of a few towns only.

In the monthly publications of the Historical Society, topographical accounts of other towns are carried on, and will be continued. Their Collections will be a repository of all communications relative to this subject. It is wished that accurate descriptive accounts, embracing all the towns in the commonwealth, might be forwarded, to be published in these Collections, that a complete Gazetteer of Massachusetts state may be formed from it.

Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, is the object of the following pages. The writer has taken the liberty, briefly to recite from the Gazetteer of 1784 some articles respecting the capital, and added the principal alterations that have taken place since.

A more comprehensive view is here given of the buildings, particularly the churches; also an account of the Islands in the harbour, &c. interspersed with observations and historical anecdotes of events connected with the articles described.

October, 1794.

T. P.

**T**HE capital of the commonwealth of Massachusetts is BOSTON, in the county of Suffolk,\* in New England, the shire town of the county. It lies in latitude  $42^{\circ} 22' 30''$  N. and longitude  $71^{\circ} 4' 30''$  W. of Greenwich observatory, which is  $0^{\circ} 5' 37''$  E. of London. It is built upon a peninsula, of an irregular form, at the bottom of a large bay, called Massachusetts, and was founded in the year 1630. From the accounts handed down, is collected the following particulars of its

SETTLEMENT.] Governour John Winthrop and some persons, who arrived with him from England at Naumkeag (the Indian name of Salem) on the 12th of June, 1630, not liking that plantation for the capital of the country they came to settle, sought another, and travelled till they came to Mishawum, now Charlestown. The diseases that prevailed among them, at their first coming, carried off a considerable number of their company; which they imputed in part to the water they used in Charlestown, not having yet discovered any other than a brackish spring; (it has since been found to abound with good wholesome water.)

This caused these adventurers to seek still further for a permanent residence, and being informed by a Mr. Blaxton (said to be the first Englishman who had slept upon the peninsula, and who resided at that part of West Boston now called Barton's point) that there was excellent water in the peninsula, the south side of Charles river, opposite to

\* The county of Suffolk (so named from the county in which Governour Winthrop lived in England) contained in the year 1791, twenty-three towns, six thousand three hundred and thirty-five houses, eight thousand and thirty-eight families, forty-four thousand eight hundred and seventy-five inhabitants, all freemen, as by the census. In the year 1793, the county was divided. Norfolk, the new county, took into it all the towns excepting Boston and Chelsea. Since which Hingham and Hull are re-annexed to Suffolk county. In Norfolk county the first Supreme Judicial Court was opened at Dedham, the 19th of August, 1794.

them, it induced a very influential and leading man among them, Mr. Isaac Johnson, to cross the river with some others, and land on the peninsula; which from its appearance at Charlestown of a range of three hills, they had called Trimountain (the Indian name was Shawmut.)

Mr. Johnson and his associates, finding the description given them to answer their expectations, began a settlement here in the month of November. Governour Winthrop and his company from Charlestown soon joined them.

Deputy Governour Dudley, Mr. Wilson their minister, and other very respectable persons were among the first settlers of Boston, the name they now gave the peninsula, from a town in Lincolnshire in England, whence some of the first settlers emigrated, and whence they expected the Rev. John Cotton, who was one of their first teachers of religion.

They established the civil government and a Congregational church here. The Rev. John Wilson was their first pastor.

EXTENT OF THE TOWN.] The length, running N. N. E. from the (late) Fortification at the south entrance of the town, the nearest way to Winnisimmet ferry, is one mile and three fourths, and one hundred and ninety-nine yards. The breadth is various. Near the (late) Fortification the town is very narrow; but as you proceed through it, it widens; for from Windmill point, through Essex street and Frog lane, to the water on the west, the distance is one thousand one hundred and twenty-seven yards. The greatest breadth is from Foster's (late Wheelwright's) wharf to Barton's point, which is one mile one hundred and thirty-nine yards. The breadth towards the northward diminishes. From the Mill pond, through Cross street to the water on the east of it, is two hundred and seventy-five yards only. It however makes one effort more to increase; for the breadth from Charles-river bridge, through Prince street, Bell alley, North square, and Sun court, to Doble's (now Noble's) wharf, is seven hundred and twenty-six yards. The neck which joins Boston to Roxbury, and which is included within the limits of the former, is in length one mile thirty-nine yards. The whole length of the town, therefore, including the Neck, from the bounds of Roxbury to Winnisimmet ferry, is two miles and three-fourths, and two hundred and thirty-eight yards. The peninsula contains about seven hundred acres.

THE FORTIFICATION,] Mentioned under the last article, was constructed of brick with a deep ditch, on the side next the Neck, with embrasures in front and on the flanks for cannon. It had two gates, through one of which, foot passengers, and through the other, carriages passed to the neck or isthmus which joins the peninsula and Roxbury. It was designed as a defence against the Indians in the early settlement of the town. The necessity for such a barrier having subsided, and the walls decayed, they were taken down, and the Neck is laid out as a street. It begins where Orange street ends, and extends to the end of the town where the bounds of Roxbury begin. In 1789, the se-

lectmen gave it the name of Washington street, from the circumstance of the President of the United States entering the town through it, on his visit there that year. The lots of land on the new street were granted by the town to sundry persons, on certain conditions agreed on. The new proprietors have erected dwelling houses and stores on each side of the street. Some lots on it still remain the property of the town.

**THE COMMON**] Is a spacious square level spot of ground, below Beacon hill, and to the east of it. It contains about forty-five acres, and is a fine grazing pasture for the town's cattle. On days of publick festivity, the militia and military corps repair to the Common for the purposes of parading and performing their military manœuvres. On such occasions it is thronged with all ranks of the citizens. The lower classes divert themselves with such pastimes as suit their particular inclinations. A number of tents or temporary booths are put up, and furnished with food and liquor for those who require refreshment and can pay for it.

**THE MALL**] Is on the eastern side of the Common, in length one thousand four hundred and ten feet, divided into two walks parallel to each other, separated by a row of trees. On the outside of each walk is also a row of trees which agreeably shade them. The inhabitants of the town resort thither in the morning and evening of the warm seasons of the year, for the benefit of fresh air and a pleasant walk. It is fanned with refreshing breezes from a part of Charles river, which extends round the bottom of the Common. From the Mall is a pleasing prospect over the river, of the adjacent country. These circumstances, together with the handsome buildings within view, one of which is a superb edifice of stone, (the seat of the late Governour Hancock) the hills that rise gradually on the western side, the cheerfulness of the well dressed persons of both sexes, and the decent deportment of its visitors, all unite to make a walk in the Mall truly agreeable.

**HILLS.**] The three hills which claim notice, are Copp's hill, which rises gently from Hudson's point (the north part of the town) on Charles river. It is situated directly opposite Charlestown, and commands a good view of that town, also of Chelsea, and part of the harbour. Near the summit is what is called the North Burying place. From this hill the British troops in the year 1775, at the memorable battle of Bunker hill, cannonaded the town of Charlestown and caused its destruction.

Fort-hill is situated at the eastern extremity of the town, directly opposite the harbour. It was first called Corn-hill, and received the name it now bears, probably, from a fortress constructed on the top of it, which was begun 24th May, 1632 (the people from Charlestown, Roxbury, and Dorchester, worked on it by rotation.) The hill is made famous by its having been a temporary asylum for Sir Edmund Andros, he having repaired to the fort in the Boston revolution of 1689, where he and his accomplices were made prisoners by the inhabitants for

their tyranny and oppression. The vicinity of this hill to the harbour makes it a very suitable situation of defence against invasion by water. The old fort has been many years demolished, nor was any other erected on it till the American war.

It was on this hill, the inhabitants in 1765, first demonstrated their resentment against oppressive acts of Parliament, by consuming in a bonfire on it the effigies, &c. of the promoters of the stamp act.

Beacon-hill is the second of a range of three hills which runs from the head of Hanover street W. to the water. This hill is the highest within the peninsula, and is situated on the western side of the Common. It affords an extensive prospect of the harbour, a considerable distance into the bay, and of the surrounding adjacent country. On the top of this hill was fixed a beacon, whence the hill has its name; the design of it was to alarm the country in case of invasion, by setting fire to a barrel of tar fixed on the top of it. The beacon was blown down by the violence of the wind in November 1789. On the same spot was erected in the year following, "a plain column of the Dorick order, raised on its proper pedestal, substantially built of brick and stone. On each square of the column are inscriptions adapted to render it of use in commemorating the leading events of the American revolution, as well as an ornament to the hill, and a useful land mark. It is incrustured with a cement, and has a large eagle of wood gilt, at the top, supporting the American arms. The height, including the eagle, is sixty feet; the diameter of the column is four feet; the pedestal, eight feet." The base is encompassed with rails, on the front of which are benches for the accommodation of those who ascend the hill.

On the south side is the following inscription :

To commemorate the train of events which led to the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, and finally secured LIBERTY and INDEPENDENCE to the United States, This Column is erected by the voluntary contributions of the citizens of Boston, MDCCXC.

On the west side is inscribed :

Stamp Act passed 1765. Repealed	-	-	1766.
Board of Customs established,	-	-	1767.
British troops fired on the inhabitants of Boston, March 5,			1770.
Tea Act passed, 1773. Tea destroyed in Boston, December 16.			
Port of Boston shut and guarded,	-	-	June 1, 1774.
General Congress at Philadelphia,	-	-	Sept. 5.
Battle at Lexington,	-	-	April 19, 1775.
Battle at Bunker Hill,	-	-	June 17.
WASHINGTON took command of the army,	-	-	July 2.
Boston evacuated,	-	-	March 17, 1776.
Independence declared by Congress, HANCOCK			
President,	-	-	July 4.

On the north side :

Capture of Hessians at Trenton,	-	-	Dec. 26, 1776.
Capture of Hessians at Bennington,	-	-	Aug. 16, 1777.

Capture of British army at Saratoga,	-	Oct. 17.
Alliance with France,	- - -	Feb. 6, 1778.
Confederation of the United States formed,	-	July 9.
Constitution of Massachusetts formed,	}	1780.
BOWDOIN President of Convention,		
Capture of British army at York,	- - -	Oct. 19, 1781.
Preliminaries of Peace,	- - -	Nov. 30, 1782.
Definitive treaty of Peace,	- - -	Sept. 10, 1783.
Federal Constitution formed,	- - -	Sept. 17, 1787.
And ratified by the United States,	- - -	1787 to 1790.
New Congress assembled at New York,	-	April 6, 1790.
WASHINGTON inaugurated President,	-	April 30.
Publick Debt funded,	- - -	August 4, 1790.

On the east side :

AMERICANS !

while from this EMINENCE, scenes of luxuriant fertility, of flourishing COMMERCE, and the abodes of social happiness meet your view, forget not those, who by their exertions have secured to you these BLESSINGS.

BRIDGES.] Charles river bridge, constructed near the declivity of Copp's hill. The first pier was laid the 14th June, 1785, and in one year, viz. 19th June, 1786, it was opened with great parade. The proprietors, with a large number invited by them, proceeded from the Town house in Boston, over the bridge to Breed's hill, where an elegant entertainment was provided on the spot, which the same month, eleven years before, was drenched in blood. The bridge is one thousand five hundred and three feet long, forty-two feet broad, and stands on seventy-five piers. Six feet in width is railed in on each side for foot passengers. Forty lamps are hung at suitable distances, and lighted when the evenings are dark. It has a gradual rise from each end, so as to be two feet higher in the middle than the extremities. The workmanship was executed under the directions of Messrs. Sewall and Cox, two ingenious American artists, and it is said cost the subscribers fifteen thousand pounds L. M. They were incorporated 9th March, 1785, to the number of eighty-four persons, and are compensated by a toll, granted them at first for forty years, and since extended to sixty years; at the expiration of which it is to revert to the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and be applied to their use. Twenty years were added to the original grant of forty, in consideration of another bridge the general court had granted liberty to be erected at West Boston, which lessens the toll of Charlestown bridge. The river over which this bridge is built is broader and deeper than the Thames at London or Westminster. A bridge was proposed to be built over it in 1720, at the expense of the publick. It was then, according to Governour Hutchinson, looked upon as a Quixote enterprise.

West Boston bridge is a conveyance from the late Pest house point, over a part of Charles river, to the opposite shore in Cambridge.

A number of gentlemen were incorporated for the purpose of erecting this bridge, September 27th, 1793.

One of the proprietors furnished the writer with the following account of it:

“The causeway to West Boston bridge was begun July 15th, 1792, and suspended after the 26th of December, till the 20th of March, 1793, when the work was resumed. The wood work of the bridge was begun the 8th of April, 1793, and the bridge and causeway, opened for passengers the 23d of November following, being seven months and an half from laying the first pier. The sides of the causeway are stoned, capstand, and railed; on each side of which is a canal about thirty feet wide.

The bridge stands on	180 piers, is	-	3483 feet long.
Bridge over the gore,	14 do.	- - -	275 do.
Abutment Boston side,	-	- - -	87 $\frac{1}{2}$
Causeway,	-	- - -	3344
Distance from end of causeway to Cambridge } meeting house,			7810
Width of the bridge,	-	- - -	40

Railed on each side for foot passengers.

To the proprietors a toll is granted for seventy years.

The bridge and causeway are estimated to cost about twenty-three thousand pounds L. M. From July 15th, 1792, to December 26th, twenty to thirty-six men only were employed. From April 8th, 1793, to November 23d, following, from forty to two hundred and fifty men worked on it.

The distance from the State house, over this bridge, to Cambridge meeting house, is three miles, one quarter, and sixty-six rods.”

The principal undertaker for building the bridge was Mr. Whiting, who has well executed it and with great despatch. On each side the bridge are hung lamps, to accommodate evening passengers.

There are only two other bridges in the town. They are of inconsiderable note. Some timbers are laid over the creek covered with plank and fastened in Ann street, and Middle street. That in Ann street retains the name of Draw-bridge, as it was first constructed to draw up, to admit vessels with masts passing it. The other in Middle street has the name of Mill-bridge, from its contiguity to a grist mill. It was taken up in 1793, and a stone arch turned over the creek, at the place where the bridge was laid. The pavement is continued over the arch, and connects the streets on each side the creek. The width from one side the creek to the other is about twenty feet.

A Swing bridge was a conveyance over the Town dock, which within a few years has been filled up, and the bridge removed. The distance from one side the dock to the other, where the bridge stood, was so narrow, that an inhabitant, when pursued by a press gang leaped across it. The place where the dock was, is contiguous to the Market, and now forms a part of Market square.

MILL CREEK] Runs S. by E. from the Mill pond, through the town to the harbour, and divides the north from the south part of the town. The communication between them is by the two bridges men-



tioned above. An old book,\* published near one hundred and fifty years ago, gives this account of the creek. "The N. E. part of the town being separated from the other, with a narrow stream cut through a neck of land by industry, whereby that part is become an island." By the above it seems to have been an artificial canal.

**MILL POND.]** Is a large basin or reservoir of water, at the bottom of the creek, receives its supply through it, and is bounded by an artificial dam or causeway.

**THE CAUSEWAY.]** It connects West Boston, with the north part of the town, and is a communication from one to the other for foot passengers. It is also a direct conveyance from Charles river bridge to West Boston, without visiting any other part of the town, when despatch is the object. The causeway runs E. by N. from West Boston, and is about two thousand feet in length. West Boston is separated from the south part of the town by the range of hills, which runs from the head of Hanover street—(see article—Beacon hill.)

**MILLS.]** Contiguous to the Mill bridge in Middle street, at the mouth of the pond, is a grist mill. At the bottom of it, at the entrance on the Causeway, three mills more are constructed, viz. a grist mill, a saw mill, and a chocolate mill.

Soon after the town was settled, mills were found necessary to grind the native grain of the country, Indian corn, which the new comers, (the greatest part of them at least) had probably never seen before their arrival here. Some mills had been fixed on the islands, and at Dorchester. These were too remote for the inhabitants of Boston, and the general court granted to a number of persons in it, the right of a marshy spot of ground at the extremity of a stream, which had its source from the harbour, and was bounded by a rise of ground to the west. This stream divided the south part, which was joined to the main by a narrow isthmus or tongue of land from the north part. The condition of the grant above mentioned, was, that the proprietors should erect and support a grist mill, on the western boundary of the stream, and throw over it two bridges, as convenient conveyances between the north and south parts of the town. This condition was complied with. A Mr. Crabtree, we are told, undertook to raise and widen the rise of ground, which had served as a foot path for the native Indians, and is now the causeway or dam to retain the water, conveyed through the stream on the marshy ground, which has now the name of Mill pond. The stream had on the margin of each side trees and bushes, which were removed to make the stream a creek, as it now is, for the more speedy conveyance of water from the harbour to the pond. The name of the first miller, I understand, was Farnham. The original proprietors of the mills, sixty-four in number, are now reduced to eight. The ancient marsh or the present Mill pond, contains forty-two acres and three-fourths, and is nearly equal to the contents of the Common.

**AVENUES.]** The only avenue by land is from Roxbury, by way of the Neck, or Washington street. The other avenues are from

\* The book is entitled "Wonder working Providences," &c.

Charlestown, over Charles river bridge; from Cambridge, by West Boston bridge; and from Chelsea, by Winnisimmet ferry. This ferry is one mile and three quarters across, and eight hundred and three yards from the Mill creek.

**STREETS.]** The following enumeration at this period (1794) is the most accurate that can be obtained, viz. ninety-seven streets, thirty-six lanes, twenty-six alleys, eighteen courts, a few squares: besides which there are some short passages from wharves, and from one street to another. The streets are paved with beach stones, and mostly irregular. The most noted and spacious street in the town is State street, until the American revolution called King street. It is broad and straight, and is in length about eight hundred feet from the State house at the top of it, to the entrance on the Long wharf or Boston pier. On each side this street are large handsome brick buildings, occupied as dwelling houses, publick offices, warehouses, and auction offices. It is the general mart of business. Hither the gentlemen in trade repair, as on the Exchange in London, for the purpose of transacting commercial matters. For their accommodation in inclement weather were two genteel publick houses. One of them lately called the American Coffee house, is now occupied by the Massachusetts Bank. At the upper part of the street, not less than twenty handsome commodious hackney coaches daily take their stand, to convey passengers from one part of the town to the other, and to the towns in the vicinity.

There are some other regular broad streets; but in general they are irregular and narrow. In Long-acre street is the Common burying place, on the west side of it, enclosed with a brick wall; on the outside of which trees are planted: under their shade you may pass into the Mall. At convenient distances in the streets glass lamps are placed, which are lighted when the moon withdraws. The lamp lighters are appointed by the selectmen; the lamps, oil, and attendance are paid by the town.

**WHARVES.]** There are eighty wharves and quays, chiefly on the east side the town. Of these the most distinguished is Boston pier or the Long wharf, which extends from the bottom of State street, one thousand seven hundred and forty-three feet into the harbour. The breadth is one hundred and four feet. At the end are seventeen feet at low water. Adjoining to this wharf, to the north of it, and near the centre, is a convenient quay, called Minot's T, from the name of its former proprietor, and the form of it resembling that letter. Its present owner is Dr. Martin Brimmer, who, at much expense, has dug through to a spring of fresh water, whence the vessels lying at the wharf may be supplied. Boston pier has a long range of handsome warehouses erected on the north side of it built of wood. These and the wharf are private property, and have a number of proprietors, who appoint a wharfinger to collect the dockage and wharfage, and superintend all matters relative to the wharf. Here the principal navigation of the town is carried on, vessels of all burdens load and unload, and the London ships generally discharge their cargoes. It is the general resort of all the inhabitants, and is more frequented, we think, than any other part of the town.

At the north end of the town is Hancock's wharf (the late Governor Hancock having owned it) formerly known by the name of Clarke's wharf, and was, in the early settlement of the town, the most noted wharf in it. At this early period some of the principal inhabitants, for the advantage of trade, removed from the parts of it, where they at first pitched their tents, the foot of the eastern side of the range of the three hills already mentioned. They settled themselves at the north end, which was in that day the most flourishing part of the town. But notwithstanding the advantage of the deepest water for shipping, for launching vessels of burden, and conveniency for many mechanical arts, the trade has gradually returned from the north to the south side of the mill creek, and Boston pier has rivalled Hancock's wharf. At the end of the latter wharf are fourteen feet at low water. It has on it a number of commodious stores, and is well calculated for vessels of burthen to load and unload. The probable reason it is not occupied now, so much as formerly, is its remoteness from the centre of the town. The other noted wharves are at the south part of the town, viz. Foster's (late Wheelwright's) wharf, Griffin's, (now in a decayed situation and constantly washing away) Russell's (formerly Gray's) and Tilestone's; the latter occupied chiefly by its owners.

The wharf at the lower part of the north end, on which the North battery stood, was purchased by a private gentleman, and repaired and made very commodious for vessels of burthen, there being a good depth of water. The battery being demolished, the wharf is now appropriated to the business of navigation.

**DWELLING HOUSES.]** The census taken in 1791 gives the number of dwelling houses to be two thousand three hundred and seventy-six; the number of inhabitants, eighteen thousand and thirty-eight. The number of houses now (1794) is twenty-five hundred;\* and of inhabitants, about nineteen thousand. The town is capable of great increase, as many large spots of land still remain vacant. The houses are built chiefly of pine and oak, in general about three stories high. There are however many large handsome brick houses, some of which are very elegant. In Cornhill, on both sides the street, from Market square to the Old South meeting house, the houses are all built of brick, the front of the lower floors generally occupied as shops for the sale of dry goods, &c. The beauty of the buildings, which would otherwise strike the eye very agreeably, is somewhat impaired by the irregularity of their height, no two adjoining houses being equal in height, but one rising above another. A large building of brick on the Town dock, having three towers, was formerly occupied for three publick offices, we suppose the Collector, Naval, and Impost. There are also in the town four stone dwelling houses, including the late Gov. Hancock's (noted under the article Mall.) The three others are situated,—two of them in School street, and one in Cross street; all of them ancient buildings. A mason who lately repaired the latter, informed the writer, that he found a number of loop holes through the walls, suitable for

\* From the number twenty-five hundred, must be deducted the houses consumed by the fire, July 30th, 1794.

small arms, whence he conjectured it must have been originally designed for a garrison house.

The new Tontine buildings claim particular notice.

“The Crescent in Franklin place, consists of a range of sixteen well built and handsome dwelling houses, extending four hundred and eighty feet in length. These houses are three stories high, and are finished in the modern style, with every family convenience. The outside is of the Ionic order, raised on a basement. The general appearance is simple and uniform. The doors, steps, pavement, &c. are all finished in the same manner. The outline is varied by a large arch and publick rooms over it, with an Attick in the centre, and two houses at each end, which project in advance, and are decorated with pilasters and a balustrade.

The open space in front of these buildings is one hundred feet wide in the centre, and fifty feet at the ends. A grass plat three hundred feet long occupies the middle of that space. This is surrounded with trees, and enclosed with posts and chains, and is supposed to serve the purposes of health by purifying the air, at the same time that it adds a natural ornament to artificial beauty. The opposite side is intended to be built in a straight line, and in a varied style of building; and we may anticipate, that when complete, it will be a favourite part of the town, and in some degree its boast.”

The dwelling houses in Boston have an advantage above most of the large towns on the continent with respect to garden spots. Few houses are without them, in which vegetables and flowers are raised, in some fruit trees are planted; and what is still more intrinsically good and valuable, the inhabitant is supplied with pure wholesome water from a well in his own yard. Few houses are without pumps, which not only serve the occupiers of the houses, but are also greatly beneficial in extinguishing fires, that may happen in their neighbourhood.

**PUBLIC BUILDINGS.]** The State house, called the Town house. The building first erected for governmental business was placed at the head of King street, and was consumed by fire in 1711. In the year following, a new brick building was raised on the same spot, and met a like fate the 9th of December, 1747; when some of the records, and other publick papers were destroyed. It was repaired in the year following in its present form, and is in length one hundred and ten feet, in breadth thirty-eight feet, and three stories high. On the centre of the roof is a tower, consisting of three stories, finished according to the Tuscan, Dorick, and Ionick orders. From the upper story is an extensive prospect of the harbour, into the bay, and of the country adjacent.

The lower floor of the building serves for a covered walk for any of the inhabitants. On this floor are kept the offices of the clerks of the supreme judicial court and court of common pleas. The chambers over it are occupied by the general court, the senate in one, and the representative body in the opposite chamber. The third story is appropriated for the use of the committees of the general court. On the lower floor are ten pillars of the Dorick order, which support the chambers occupied by the legislature. This building is in Cornhill, one mile two hundred and seventy-nine yards from Washington

street, the late fortification entrance from the neck into the town. Its latitude and longitude may be found above, page 241.

The Province house (formerly so called) is a large brick building erected in Marlborough street, in the year 1679. It is three stories in height, stands back at a convenient distance from the street, a small plat of land lying before it, and a railed fence, at the gate of which are two large trees on each side, which agreeably shade the passage to the house.

The entrance into the house is by an ascent of stone steps. Upon the cupola on the roof, a pedestal supports a figure of bronze, an aboriginal native, holding in his hand a bow and arrow, well executed by Deacon Drowne, formerly an ingenious artist in the town. This house was designed for, and was the residence of the governours of the province, till the revolution of 1776. Since which it has been occupied by the council of the commonwealth. The secretary and treasurer also keep their offices in this building.

The Granary is a long wooden building : stands at the top or entrance into the Mall in Long-acre street. Previous to the American war, various sorts of grain were purchased and stored in this building, by a committee chosen at the annual March meeting for the accommodation of the inhabitants, particularly the poor, in times of scarcity and dearness. Here they were supplied with small quantities from time to time, as they could purchase it, at not more than ten per cent. advance for charges and trouble. The building will contain twelve thousand bushels. It is now occupied as an inspection office, by the inspector of pot and pearl ashes.

The Alms house is an ancient brick building in Beacon street, in form of an L, two stories high, with a gable roof, provided for the aged and infirm poor of the town, and is made use of for this purpose. Here they are supported at the expense of the town, and subject to the rules of the house. Over it a person is appointed to preside, and manage the affairs of it, under the superintendence of twelve respectable citizens, called overseers of the poor, (chosen annually by the town) who meet at the Alms house the first Wednesday in every month, to examine and regulate the business of it.

Since this building was erected, the poor and infirm have increased with the number of inhabitants in the town ; so that the habitation provided for them is not now sufficiently commodious for their reception and comfort.—“ It is wholly inadequate to the purpose. It wants every requisite to a place of refuge for age, sickness, and poverty. The benevolent Howard would say, it is rather a dungeon than an hospital. It can neither be ventilated, nor properly cleansed. And it is altogether disproportioned to the number of those, whom necessity drives to the melancholy retreat. The evils unavoidably resulting from bad air and filth, are notorious. These evils, neither the physician nor the overseer can prevent. As long as our poor are so ill accommodated, poverty and dependence will be the smallest of their calamities. How powerfully then, does humanity plead in behalf of these suf-

ferers? Of what importance is it, that they should be provided with a better habitation! How much are the publick honour and character concerned in such a measure!''\*

The Work house is a large handsome brick building, facing the Common, erected in the year 1738, a hundred and twenty feet in length, and two stories high, with a gable roof, appropriated to the reception of vagrants and idle and dissolute persons of both sexes, who have a temporary confinement there, and are kept to labour in picking oakum, &c. The produce of their labour is applied to the town's use, to assist in defraying the expenses of the house.

Its government is similar to that of the Alms house. It has a master who presides over it, under the direction of the overseers of the poor. Once in every week these houses are visited by one of the overseers, who have no emolument, but serve the town gratis. During the summer season, a sermon is delivered in the last mentioned house on every Sunday, by the ministers of the town in rotation.

Bridewell is contiguous to the work house. To this house disorderly persons are committed for a short time, and such as deserve it, receive the discipline of the whip. A part of this house has also been assigned to persons insane, where they are accommodated with necessities and comfortably provided for.

The Powder house or Magazine, was built at West Boston in 1774, at a suitable distance from the water, remote from the spot where the former magazine stood, near the great tree in the Common: Its situation there exposed it to accidents on festival days, and it was taken down. The new magazine is of Braintree stone or granite. The walls are seven feet in thickness. The arch over it is three feet thick, and bomb roof. It is pallsadoed round. It will contain a thousand barrels of powder. A watch house stands near it.

The publick and private stocks of powder are stored here. The latter is delivered, when sold, to the orders of its respective owners, who pay for the storage of it. By a law of the commonwealth, all powder brought into the town, is to be landed at such wharves, and conveyed to the powder house through such streets, as the firewards direct, under penalty of forfeiture of the powder. Not a larger quantity than twenty-five pounds is allowed to be stored in private buildings, without incurring a penalty. The shops may have this quantity for the purpose of selling it by retail.

The Manufactory house, in Long acre street, is a handsome large brick building on the east side the street. An act of the general court, laying an excise on carriages and other articles of luxury, was appropriated to this building, designed originally for the purpose of carrying on manufactures in the town, particularly the linen manufactory, which was begun here with a spirit exerted too violently to continue long. Great show and parade were exhibited on the Common

\* See Rev. Mr. Clarke's Discourse to the Humane Society, June 11, 1793, page 25.

at its commencement. Spinning wheels were then the hobby horses of the publick. The females of the town, rich and poor, appeared on the Common with their wheels, and vied with each other in the dexterity of using them. A larger concourse of people was perhaps never drawn together on any occasion before. At the anniversary of its institution, (for it continued three or four years,) the trustees and company attended publick worship, when a sermon was delivered suited to the occasion, and a contribution made to aid the business. But some untoward circumstances taking place, the linen manufacture, which in its beginning promised publick benefit, was wholly set aside.

The building was afterwards occupied for a short time for the manufacture of worsted hose, metal buttons, &c. The Massachusetts Bank, was kept here for a time. It now belongs to that corporation, and is let to private families, divided into separate apartments.

At the west end, fronting Long acre, was portrayed on the wall a female figure, holding a distaff in her hand, emblematical of industry; which is now effaced.

Concert hall, a handsome large brick building, erected at the head of Hanover street, about the year 1756, at the sole expense of the late Mr. Stephen Deblois, a musician, for the purposes of musick, dancing, and other polite entertainments. The hall which is the second story, is elegant and handsomely ornamented. Particular clubs or societies meet here occasionally, for the benefit of repast and entertainment.

The New Stone Jail is a large commodious building, and stands on the ground where formerly was a wooden building, called the Debtor's jail, a little back from Court (formerly Queen) street. The inside was set on fire by some prisoners confined in it, the 30th June, 1769. It has since been repaired, is three stories in height, and is divided into three parts with brick partitions, cased with plank and iron. The upper story is appropriated to debtors. The entrance into the jail is by three strong doors in front.

The new Court house is built on the front of the said street, partly on the ground where the old stone jail stood, which made an uncouth appearance, and was taken down. It is a large handsome building of brick, three stories high, and has on the roof an octagon cupola. The lower floor is used partly for walking, and has on it the probate office and the office of the county register of deeds. In the second story, the floor of which is supported by pillars of the Tuscan order, are held the courts of law. In the second and third stories are convenient rooms for the grand and petit jurors, and for offices.

Faneuil hall, on Market square, is built of brick, handsome and commodious, and was a generous donation of Peter Faneuil, esq. to the town; the lower floor to be occupied as a publick market; and the chamber over it, as a town hall, for transacting its affairs. The liberal founder died just as it was completed; and Faneuil hall was opened, March 14th, 1742 with an oration sacred to his memory, delivered by the late Mr. John Lovell, master of the South Latin grammar school. The inside of this building was destroyed by fire, Jan. 13th,

1761. Afterwards it was rebuilt by a lottery granted by the general court, and is put to the uses the original founder designed it for.

The selectmen of the town occupy a chamber in the second story, on the same floor with the hall. Over the selectmen's room, at the east end of the building, the assessors of taxes keep their office. The hall was converted into a theatre by the British in the winter of 1775, and was left by them greatly defaced. It has since been handsomely repaired. The hall has eight arched windows on each side, and is completely finished in the Ionick order. On the lower floor of this building are two ranges of columns of the Tuscan order. In the first story are nine arches on each side, a Tuscan pilaster on the outside between the arches, and double ones at the corners. The second story is of the Dorick order entire. From an octagon cupola, of the Ionick order, on the roof, is a good prospect of the harbour and islands. The vane on top of the cupola is a grasshopper of bronze.

Previous to the revolution, the portraits of Mr. Faneuil, General Conway, and Colonel Barre, were procured by the town, and hung up in the hall. It is supposed they were carried off by the British. Another picture of Mr. Faneuil is now placed in the hall.

MARKETS.] Besides the lower floor of Faneuil hall being used as a flesh market, a number of stalls are erected on Market square, at the expense of the town, and let to the market men. A clerk of the market is appointed, to attend daily, to receive rent for the stalls, and regulate any abuses or fraud that may take place in weights and measures, and to prevent bad or unwholesome food being exposed to sale. It is reported by travellers, to be one of the best markets on the continent for animal food, both in quality and quantity. The beef, pork, lamb, mutton, veal, and poultry are excellent. Vegetables in great variety may be found in this market. It abounds also, in the proper seasons, with delicious fruits of various kinds, and with milk, butter, cheese, eggs, &c.

On the east of Market square is a fish market, supplied with fresh fish from the bay and harbours, almost daily. The chief kinds are cod, haddock, hallibut, mackerel, sometimes bass, cusk, pollock, &c. Besides which, are brought from the neighbouring towns, salmon, and a variety of small fish, the produce of the ponds and rivers. There are very few days in the year, when an inhabitant of Boston may not dine on fresh fish. Oysters in great quantities, lemons, limes, oranges, &c. may be procured at this market. Lobsters are exposed to sale, in the evening, near the head of State street.

In Governour Winthrop's Journal, I find mention made, that a market was erected in Boston, in 1634, to be kept on Thursday, the fifth day of the week; but it is not clear whether he means a market house, or only a market place, or particular spot of ground, where the market men were to resort. At that early period the probability is in favour of the latter. The butchers and hucksters' shops formerly furnished provisions daily for the families in the town; and the market men used to hawk their meat and vegetables about the streets. Some of the in-



habitants wished for a stated fixed market house, in conformity to the practice of large towns, in some of the neighbouring colonies, viz. New York and Philadelphia, which, though they were then not so populous as Boston, yet had fixed days and places for this purpose. Others were for continuing the mode in practice in the town, and chose that the countrymen should carry their provision about into different parts of it, that the householders might have opportunity to purchase at their own doors. They also urged the probability, that in this way, provisions would be prevented from being dearer, the market men having no place of shelter in inclement weather. The advocates for market houses however prevailed: Three wooden buildings were set up, and occupied as markets; one, at the Old North square; one, in the centre of the town, where Faneuil hall now stands; the other, at the south part of the town, a short distance from the late Liberty tree. The centre building was the principal. The supply at people's doors now ceased. This some complained of as a grievance. The loss of time in coming to the market houses was one reason urged against the utility of the new mode.

The complainants, it is said, were joined by the town butchers, who were now deprived in great measure of their family customers; thus associated, they applied an effectual remedy to get rid of the grievance.

A number of citizens disguised in the habit of clergymen, &c. about the year 1736-7, assembled in the night, and totally demolished the centre market house: the other two houses were damaged and no longer occupied for markets. None other were erected for this purpose till Mr. Faneuil built one at his own expense, as related above.

**THE PLAY-HOUSE]** Or Theatre, the first building erected purposely for theatrical entertainments in the town of Boston, was opened the 3d of February, 1794, with the tragedy of Gustavus Vasa Erickson, the deliverer of Sweden.

We are obliged to Charles Bulfinch, esq. the architect, a gentleman of taste and ingenuity, for the following accurate description of this building.

“The Theatre in Federal street, is a lofty and spacious edifice, substantially built of brick, with stone fascias, imposts, &c. It is one hundred and forty feet long, sixty-one feet wide, and forty feet high. As it stands in a conspicuous situation, it has been thought necessary to observe a strict symmetry on the outside. It has the appearance of two stories in height; the lower a basement, with three arches in the front and five on each side, the windows square. The second story is more lofty, with large arched windows. The front and rear are decorated with Corinthian columns and pilasters; and in front a projecting arcade gives the convenience of carriages landing their company under cover.

In the construction of this house, every attention has been paid to keep the entrances to the different parts distinct, and to afford numerous outlets. The doors to the pit and gallery are on each side; that to the boxes is in the front. This entrance is large and commodious.

After landing under cover, the company pass through an open waiting room to two staircases, which lead to the corridors at the back of the boxes.

The form of the audience part of the theatre is circular, one quarter of the circle being cut off for the stage opening. Four Corinthian columns support the ceiling, which is formed of four large elliptick arches. One of these is the opening of the front gallery; two others, those of the side galleries or slips; and the fourth is the proscenium, or opening of the stage.

The columns which support the ceiling, give the leading divisions of the boxes, &c. The pedestal continued forms the front of the lower boxes. The cornice of the entablature and balustrade give the front and side galleries. The second row of boxes is suspended between without visible support. All the boxes are three seats deep; and it may be affirmed, that there are fewer inconvenient seats than any other form is subject to.

The back walls are painted of a light blue, and the front of the boxes, the columns, &c. are of straw and lilach colour: the mouldings, balustrades, and fret work are gilded: a crimson silk drapery suspended from the second boxes, and twelve elegant brass chandeliers of five lights each, complete the decoration.

The stage opening is thirty-one feet wide. It is ornamented on each side with two columns; and between them, a stage door and projecting iron balcony. Over the columns, a cornice and balustrade is carried across the opening; and above is painted a flow of crimson drapery, and the arms of the Union and of the state of Massachusetts, blended with tragick and comick attributes. A riband depending from the arms bears the motto, "All the World's a Stage."

Under the stage are a number of rooms, for the convenience and accommodation of the players.

At the east end of the building, a noble and elegant dancing room is contrived. This is fifty-eight feet long, thirty-six wide, and twenty-six high, richly ornamented with Corinthian columns and pilasters, and a ceiling *en berceau*, elegantly finished with stucco in compartments. The furniture of glasses, chandeliers, and girandoles are very handsome, and promise much satisfaction to the lovers of innocent and cheerful amusement.

There are also spacious card and tea rooms, and kitchens with the proper conveniencies."

THE CHURCHES OR RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES] Are denominated Congregational, Episcopal, Baptist, Quaker, Sandemanian, Universalist, Roman Catholick, and Wesleyan Methodists. Each has a separate place for publick worship. In the following particular account of them, the churches are placed according to the dates of their building.

1632. The First Church or meeting house in Boston was begun in the month of August, this year, by the congregations of Charlestown and Boston, according to Governour Winthrop. It was a wooden

building, set up in Cornhill. In seven years after, viz. 1639, being out of repair, and also too small, the proprietors sold it and agreed to build another; but where to place it, caused contention among them. It was at length determined to build it near the Market place. In the great fire, 1711, it was consumed. The Old Brick was reared on the same ground the year following, and retains the name of the First Church. It is in height three stories. The upper galleries have been taken down. Above the second range of windows is a Corinthian cornice, which supports four arches, which from each side of the walls terminate in an oblong square in the centre. The galleries are supported by pillars of the Tuscan order. It has two iron fire stoves fixed in it. In this church was introduced the first organ ever admitted into a Congregational church in this town. Thirty or forty years ago, it would have been accounted profanity to introduce instrumental musick into publick worship.

These two accommodations are altogether novel in the New-England churches. This church hath a good bell; and in front of it, is fixed the Town clock.

<i>Succession of Pastors.</i>	<i>Date of Ordination.</i>	<i>Time of Deccase.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
Rev. John Wilson. he was chosen Pastor of the Boston Church, Nov. 23, 1632	Supposed to be ordained at Charlestown, 1630	Aug. 7, 1667	78 yrs.
Ino. Cotton, Teacher	October 17, 1633	Dec. 23, 1652	67
John Norton	about 1653	April 5, 1663	57
John Davenport	1667	March 16, 1670	72
James Allen	December 9, 1668	1710	78
John Oxenbridge	April 10, 1670	Dec. 28, 1674	65
Benja. Wadsworth	September 8, 1696	March 16, 1737	68
Thomas Bridge	May 10, 1705	Sept. 26, 1715	58
Thomas Foxcroft	November 20, 1717	June 16, 1769	72
Char. Chauncy, D. D	October 25, 1727	Feb. 10, 1787	82
John Clarke	July 8, 1778		

1650. The Second Church, called the Old North, was built in North square. This church completed the number of thirty in the province to this date, and was gathered at Boston in 1649, according to an old book already quoted, which gives the following account of it: By reason of the popularity [of the town.] there being too many to meet in one assembly, it was thought proper that the people inhabiting the same [the N.E. part] should gather into a church body, and build a meeting house for their assembly, the which they have already done, but not as yet called any one to office." This quotation is dated, 1648.

This meeting house was burnt, May 27, 1676, and rebuilt the following year. It was pulled down, by order of General Howe, commander of the British forces in Boston, in the siege of 1775. At its demolition, it was a model of the first architecture in New England. The date of its rebuilding after it had been burnt, is taken from the vane saved from the ruins of it.

<i>Succession of Pastors.</i>	<i>Date of Ordination.</i>	<i>Time of Decease.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
Rev. John Mayo	is recorded as the first ordained pastor, but neither the time of his ordination nor decease is to be found in the records of the Church. The Rev. Samuel Mather, an elder brother of Dr. Increase Mather, is said to have opened the Old North Church with a discourse he delivered there. He left New England afterwards, and was pastor of a church in Dublin, and died there.		
Increase Mather, D.D.	May 27, 1669	Aug. 23, 1723	85 yrs.
Cotton Mather, D.D.	May 13, 1684	Feb. 13, 1728	65
Joshua Gee	November, 1723	May 22, 1748	50
Sam. Mather, D. D.	November, 1732	A separation took place by mutual agreement.	
Sam. Checkley, jun.	September, 1747	March 19, 1768	44
John Lathrop, D. D.	May 18, 1768		

1669. The Old South, a spacious, handsome brick building, in Marlborough-street, and was the third church built in the town. Some dissatisfied brethren of the First Church separated from it, on account of the Rev. Mr. Davenport's leaving his church at New-Haven for a settlement here, and erected this house. The inside of it was entirely destroyed by a British regiment of dragoons, in 1775, and used by them as a riding school for their horse, the pews being taken up, and the floors covered with earth. In 1782 it was elegantly repaired. On the west side an handsome tall steeple, of one hundred and eighty feet in height, is supported by a brick tower, in which is the remainder of a library of ancient books deposited there by Rev. Mr. Prince. Many of the ancient books and manuscripts deposited in the steeple were dissipated or destroyed by the Vandals of Britain. It has a clock made by Mr. Gawen Brown in Boston, esteemed one of the best in America. From the upper windows in the steeple, is a fine prospect of the harbour, and part of the bay.

<i>Succession of Pastors.</i>	<i>Date of Ordination.</i>	<i>Time of Decease.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
Rev. T. Thacher, insta.	Feb. 16, 1670	Oct. 15, 1678	53
Samuel Willard	April 10, 1678	Sept. 12, 1707	68
Ebenezer Pemberton	Aug. 28, 1700	Feb. 13, 1717	45
Joseph Sewall, D. D.	Sept. 16, 1713	June 27, 1769	80
Thomas Prince	October 1, 1718	Oct. 22, 1758	72
Alex. Cumming, insta.	Feb. 25, 1761	Aug. 25, 1763	37
Samuel Blair, do.	Nov. 19, 1766	dismissed by mutual consent, Oct. 10, 1769.	
John Bacon, do.	Sept. 25, 1771	do. Feb. 8, 1775.	
John Hunt	do.	Dec. 20, 1775	31
Joseph Eckley, D. D.	Oct. 27, 1779		

1679. The First Baptist Church was built in Back-street, a wooden building. Being small and decayed, it was taken down in 1771, and handsomely rebuilt of much larger dimensions, and has since been enlarged.

<i>Succession of Pastors.</i>	<i>Date of Ordination.</i>	<i>Time of Decease.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
Rev. John Russell	July 28, 1679	Dec. 21, 1680	
Myles.—Hull, Sweetser	They were preachers at this church, but no record can be found of their ordination or decease.		
Ellis Callender			
Elisha Callender	May 21, 1718	March 31, 1737	
Jeremy Condy	Feb. 14, 1738-9	Aug. 9, 1768	59
Sam'l Stillman, D.D. installed	Jan. 9, 1765		

1688. The First Episcopal Church erected in the town, was a wooden building in Tremont-street, called King's Chapel. The society was formed in the year 1686. The Episcopalians at first met in Mr. Ratcliffe their minister's house, and at the library chamber in the Town-house. In Sir Edmund Andros's time, he attended on the Episcopal service in the First Congregational meeting-house, performed in it, a part of Sunday. If this liberty had not been granted, he threatened to shut up the doors of the meeting-house. The old Chapel was taken down, and an edifice of hewn stone set up on the same spot with enlargement. The corner stone was laid by Governour Shirley, the 11th of August 1749. The middle is elegantly finished agreeably to the Corinthian order. The double pillars which stand upon one pedestal with the pilasters support intersected arches over the galleries, which are finely executed. The outside of the building remains unfinished. In the tower is an excellent bell, the second in the town.

Under this building are burial vaults, and contiguous to it is the first burying place laid out in the town. The land was formerly owned, or part of it, by Mr. Johnson, the founder of Boston. It lay back of his residence in Queen or Court-street; and at his request, his remains were interred there. The citizens, from respect to his memory, chose to be buried in the same ground after their decease.

<i>Succession of Rectors.</i>	<i>Inducted into Office.</i>	<i>Died or removed.</i>
Rev Robert Ratcliffe, Rector.	June 15, 1686	
Robert Clark, Assistant.		
Samuel Myles, Rector.	June 29, 1689	Died March 4, 1729
George Hatton, Assistant.		Continued till July 1696
Christopher Bridge, Assi.	March 5, 1699	Removed Oct. 1, 1706
Henry Harris, Assistant.	April 1709	Died Oct. 6, 1729
Roger Price, Rector.	June 25, 1729	Resigned Nov. 21, 1746
Charles Harwood, D. D. Assistant.	April 1731	Died April 15, 1736

<i>Succession of Rectors.</i>	<i>Inducted into Office.</i>		<i>Died or removed.</i>
Addington Davenport, Assistant.	April 15,	1737	Left the church May 9, 1740
Stephen Roe, Assistant.		1741	Removed 744
Henry Caner, D D Rector.	April 11,	1747	Left the ch. March 17, 1776
Charles Brockwell, assist.		1747	Died Aug 30, 1755
John Troutbeck, Assist.		1755	Left the church Nov. 1775
James Freeman.	Oct. 20.	1782	

In the year 1785, this church adopted a Unitarian Liturgy, altered from the book of Common Prayer.

1699. The Church in Brattle street was erected. It was a wooden building, and being in a decayed situation, was taken down in the year 1774, and an handsome brick building raised on the same spot, finished inside according to the Corinthian order. The pulpit is of mahogany. The corners of the building and of the tower are of free stone. On the south side is a portico of the Ionick order, of eight pillars and pilasters. The tower, which is to support the steeple, and in which is hung the largest bell in the town, is in height ninety feet.

Two iron fire stoves are placed in this church, and a large well toned organ. At founding the old house in this place, we are told, a proposal was made by some members of the society, to introduce an organ into their publick service; but the majority being opposed to it, it was rejected.

<i>Succession of Pastors.</i>	<i>Date of Ordination.</i>	<i>Time of Decease.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
Rev. Benjamin Colman D. D. ordained in London.		Aug. 29, 1747	73
William Cooper	May 23,	Dec. 13, 1743	50
Sam. Cooper, D D	May 22,	Dec. 20, 1783	58
Peter Thacher, D. D. installed.	Jan. 12,	1785	

1710. Quaker, or Friends meeting house, a brick house in Leverett lane. It was consumed in the great fire, 1760, and rebuilt since. But few of this denomination of christians now reside in Boston, not more than eight or ten families.

1714. The New North was the second Congregational Church built at the north part of the town. It is a large commodious wooden building in North-street, leading to Winnisimmet ferry. It has an high steeple, supported by a tower, in which is a good bell.

<i>Succession of Pastors</i>	<i>Date of Ordination.</i>	<i>Time of Decease.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
Rev. John Webb	Oct. 20,	April 16, 1750	63
* Peter Thacher, in- stalled.	Jan. 28,	March 1, 1739	61
Andrew Eliot, D. D.	April 14,	Sept. 13, 1778	59
John Eliot	Nov. 3,	1779	

\* About fifty members of the Church and Congregation were dissatisfied at the invitation given to Mr. Thacher, the settled minister of Weymouth, and for

1716. The New South Church in Summer street, is a convenient wooden building, with a handsome steeple, finished after the Ionick order, in which is a bell.

<i>Succession of Pastors.</i>	<i>Date of Ordination</i>	<i>Time of Decease.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
Rev. Sam. Checkley	Nov. 22, 1719	December 1, 1769	73
Penuel Bowen	April 30, 1766	Dismissed at his request, May 9, 1772.	
Joseph Howe	May 19, 1773	August 25, 1775 } at Hartford }	28
Oliver Everett	January 2, 1782	Dismissed at his request May 26, 1792.	
John Thornton } Kirkland }	February 5, 1794		

1721. The New Brick Church in Middle-street stands on rising ground, a neat convenient building ; was founded by some members of the New North Church and Congregation, as mentioned under that head.

<i>Succession of Pastors.</i>	<i>Date of Ordination.</i>	<i>Time of Decease.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
William Waldron	May 23, 1722	Sept. 20, 1727	31
William Welsteed	March 27, 1728	Sept. 29, 1753	58
Ellis Gray	Sept. 27, 1738	Jan 17, 1753	37
Ebenezer Pemberton, D. D. installed.	March 6, 1754	Sept. 9, 1777	72
John Lathrop, D. D.			

After the destruction of the Old North meeting house by the British royalists in 1775, the New Brick Society united with the members of the Old North Church and Congregation, June 27th, 1779, and since that time they have worshipped in the New Brick meeting house.

1722. Christ Church in Salem street, North end, is the Second Episcopal Church in Boston. The foundation stone was laid April 22d, by the Rev. Mr. Myles. It is an handsome brick building, with an elegant lofty steeple, in which there is a ring of eight bells and a clock. It is neatly finished within side, and has an organ. It was opened the 29th of December, by the Rev. Dr. Cutler.

<i>Succession of Rectors.</i>	<i>Inducted into Office.</i>	<i>Died or removed.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
Rev. Tim. Cutler, D. D, Rector.	1722	Died August 17, 1765	82
James Greaton, Assi	1759	Continued till }	
Mather Byles, jun. D. D. Rector.	1768	till 1775 }	
Stephen C. Lewis	1781	— 1785	
William Montague	1786	— 1791	
William Walter, D. D Rector.	May 28, 1792		

his leaving that flock. They separated from the society, and built a new house, which had for a time the name of Revenge given it.

At the time they met in the house to instal him, the disturbance was so great, that it could not be regularly performed. After a publick declaration of the majority of the society in the meeting house, that they accepted Mr. Thacher, the moderator announced him to be their minister, and the meeting broke up.

1730. The Presbyterian Church in Long-lane, was a wooden building, and taken down. A neat wooden building was erected 1744, in the same place (now Federal-street.) The bell and the vane late belonged to the old meeting house in Brattle-street, and were presented to this society by Governour Hancock.

<i>Succession of Pastors.</i>	<i>Date of Ordination.</i>	<i>Time of Decease.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
Rev. John Moorhead, ordained in Ireland	Settled here 1730	Dec 3, 1774	70
David Annan	1783	Dismissed at his request by the Pres- bytery 1786	

After this society became one of the Congregational churches of the town, they chose for their pastor Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D. installed April 4, 1787.

1732. The southernmost Church in Boston was erected this year in Hollis-street. It was a wooden building, and burnt in the fire that happened in 1787. A new edifice of wood was built on the same spot the year following, after an entirely new and elegant model, the draught of the ingenious architect of the play house, (see page 255) and well executed by Mr. Wheeler, a carpenter of the town.

The following description is given of it. "This house is a regular parallelogram, of seventy-two feet by sixty. At the east end is a colonnade of four large pillars of the Dorick order, which support the pediment and cornice above, under which you enter the porch at three several doors. The porch extends the whole width of the building, affording room for the stairs which ascend into the galleries, and thence to two cupolas on the right and left, which adorn the roof of the building. Crossing the porch, and opposite to the forementioned, are three other doors, by which you enter the body of the house, the inside of which is a square of sixty feet by sixty. The ceiling is supported by four lofty Ionick columns; and the galleries on each side, by small pillars of the Dorick order. The breastwork of the galleries is adorned with festoons, and a fret dental cornice. The desk projects a little from the wall of the building; and for the sake of uniformity, is ascended by a flight of stairs on either side. On the back is a large Venetian window, ornamented with fluted pillars of the Corinthian order. Instead of a canopy over the desk, a large dome arises over the centre of the building, which is supposed to answer the same or a better purpose; and to this construction is imputed a peculiar circumstance attending the house, that those who sit at the greatest distance, hear as well as those who are nearest the speaker."\*

<i>Succession of Pastors.</i>	<i>Date of Ordination.</i>	<i>Time of Decease.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
Rev. Mather Byles, senior, D. D.	Dec. 20, 1733, con- tinued till 1776.	July 5, 1788	82
Ebenezer Wight	Feb. 25, 1778	Dismissed at his re- quest 1788	
Samuel West, in- stalled, }	March 12, 1789		

\* Massachusetts Magazine, December 1793.



1734. Trinity Church in Summer-street, the Third Episcopal Church, is a large spacious wooden building. The corner stone was laid by the Rev. Mr. Price, April 15th. It is ninety feet long, sixty feet broad, and about thirty feet stud. It has nothing external to attract the sight, is without a tower or steeple, and has no windows fronting the street, in the lower story. The entrance into the house is by three doors in front, without a porch to either. But the inside view is agreeable. The square pillars which support the circular arch are of the Corinthian order. The capitals are handsomely carved, painted, and gilded. The chancel is ornamented with some elegant paintings. A good organ and two iron fire stoves are fixed in this church.

<i>Succession of Rectors.</i>	<i>Inducted into Office.</i>	<i>Died or Removed.</i>
Rev Addington Davenport, Rector,	May 8, 1740	Died Sept. 8, 1746
Wm. Hooper, Rector	Aug. 28, 1747	Died April 14, 1767
Wm. Walter, D. D. Assistant, Rector,	July 22, 1764 April 14, 1768	Left the church. Mar. 17, 1776
Samuel Parker, D. D. Assistant, Rector,	May 19, 1774 July 25, 1779	
John Sylvester John Gardiner, Assistant,	April 12, 1792	

1736. West Church in Lynde street, New-Boston, the only church in that division of the town, is a well proportioned wooden building, with an handsome steeple, in which was a good bell. It was situated commodiously to give signals to the Continental troops at Cambridge on the opposite shore. The British troops suspected it had been used for this purpose, and the steeple was taken down by them in 1775.

<i>Succession of Pastors.</i>	<i>Date of Ordination.</i>	<i>Time of Decease.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
Rev. Wm. Hooper, from Scotland.	May 18, 1737		

He left this society November 19, 1746, to receive Episcopal ordination, at the invitation of Trinity Church, after the decease of Mr. Davenport.

Jona. Mayhew, D. D.	June 17, 1747	July 8, 1766	46
Sim. Howard, D. D.	May 6, 1768		

1742. The Church in Bennet-street, North-end, is a convenient wooden building. Some persons who withdrew from the Old North Church with Dr. Mather, built this house. Their pastor till his death was †Rev. Samuel Mather, D. D. He deceased June 27, 1785, at

† This gentleman at his own request, was interred without the ceremonies common at funerals. His remains was conveyed to the family vault on Copp's hill, about eight o'clock in the evening, attended only by his children. One bell only was tolled, and no person supported the pall: by his direction none were to be chosen.

the age of seventy-nine. Since Dr. Mather's decease, the Society of Universalists have purchased and occupied it. Rev. John Murray they have chosen as their minister, into which office he was introduced in October, 1793. They have a neat, well toned organ in this house, made in this town by Mr. Leavit, and have lately enlarged the building, and handsomely painted the inside.

1743. The Second Baptist Church in Back street, is a well built wooden edifice, and has been lately enlarged.

<i>Succession of Pastors.</i>	<i>Date of Ordination.</i>	<i>Time of Decease.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
Rev. Eph. Bownd	Sept. 7, 1743	June 16, 1765	46
John Davis	Sept. 9, 1770	Dec. 13, 1772	35
Isaac Skillman	Oct. 3, 1773 } received as Pastor }	Oct 7, 1787 } dismissed }	
Thomas Gair	April 13, 1788 } Installed }	April 27, 1790	35
Thomas Baldwin	Nov. 11, 1790 } Installed }		

A small brick church was built in School street, by some French Protestants, who came hither after Louis XIV. had revoked the edict of Nantes in 1686, and suppressed Protestantism in France, when many thousand Hugonots were obliged to leave it. The descendants of the founders of this house, as they formed new connexions, gradually dropped off. Those who remained were few in number, and the support of a minister was an expense they could not well continue. The Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, a worthy character, desisted from officiating as minister, and the house was for some years unoccupied. A large folio bible in French, with a commentary, was presented to this French Protestant Church by Queen Anne. It was purchased at the sale of the late Dr. Byles's library, and we are told, is now in possession of a gentleman in this town, retained as a curiosity, and is the only remaining relick of that Protestant French Church.

1748. Some persons, who separated from other churches in the town, formed themselves into a distinct society, and occupied the Protestant French Church, one or more of them having purchased the building of its former proprietors. They chose for their pastor, Rev. Andrew Crosswell, installed 1748. He died April 1785, aged 77.

This house is now used as a Roman Catholick Chapel. Mass for the first time was performed in it November 2, 1788, by a Romish Priest, who was succeeded by one or two others. The Rev. John Thayer, a native of Boston, converted to the Catholick faith, 1783, and who received priest's orders at Rome, began his mission here June 10th, 1790. M. Matignon officiates now as priest.

The Sandimianians occupy a small wooden building in Middle street. There are very few belonging to this society. They embraced the sentiments of Mr. Robert Sandiman, a disciple of Mr. Glass of Scotland. After broaching his opinions here, he removed to Danbury in Connecticut, where he died April 2d, 1771, aged 53.

Wesleian Methodists, or as they call themselves, Methodist Episcopalians. Their present number in Boston consists of about fifty persons, who associate for religious worship on Sundays, and at occasional lectures. The person who officiates as minister administers the sacrament of baptism agreeably to the Congregational mode. The Lord's supper the communicants receive in the posture of kneeling at the table. The minister and society kneel also in prayer, and stand when they sing. None are admitted communicants till they have been propounded six months. This denomination of christians consists of a large number, dispersed through the United States. In 1793, by their own account, they amounted to upwards of sixty thousand, of which number about sixteen thousand were blacks or people of colour. They are under the superintendence of two gentlemen, styled bishops, who are elected by the unanimous suffrages of their general conference. The district conferences for 1794, are appointed to be held in one, or other of the states, on every month in the year, excepting February, March, August, November, and December.

The preachers for the several districts are appointed by the bishops, and officiate in rotation at the places where they have societies. The present preacher in Boston, is Mr. Amos G. Thompson. They have societies established at Needham, Lynn, and some other places in this commonwealth.

In Boston they meet in a commodious apartment at the north part of it, and have in contemplation the erecting of a building purposely for a church.

In 1769, two Methodist preachers, sent by the Rev. John Wesley, were the first regular co-preachers who came to America on this plan.

Few places have been more favoured with a succession of pious and learned divines than Boston. Many of the natives of the town have distinguished themselves also in law, physick, natural and experimental philosophy, various branches of the mathematicks, history, and polite literature. Some of them have been advanced to the head of the government, to the chief seat of justice, and to be presidents and professors in the university at Cambridge. Some of them have been eminent as musicians, painters, &c. and have excelled in mechanical arts. Amongst the latter class two instances occur to the mind of the writer, which he thinks it not improper to mention. One of them an aboriginal native, as big as the life, carved by the late Mr. John Welch of this town, in his proper habiliments, with hunting and war weapons. This figure, painted in the Indian manner, exhibited a striking likeness of an American savage, and was esteemed a master piece of the kind. The carver carried the figure to London and there left it. The other instance is of a later date: An orrery of six feet diameter, constructed by Mr. Joseph Pope, of this town, watchmaker, in which is represented the revolution of the heavenly bodies within our system. It is considered as a great effort of genius, wholly original, as the constructor of it, we are informed, had seen no machine of the kind prior to

his. It met the general approbation of persons acquainted with the science of astronomy. The general court granted a lottery to purchase it for use of Harvard College, and it is deposited in the Philosophy room at Cambridge. Mr. Pope received only three hundred guineas for it. Such a machine is estimated at a thousand guineas in England. Many other artists in Boston have given demonstration of their ingenuity.

[SCHOOLS.] A new system of education was proposed and adopted by the town 1790. According to the plan, the schools are seven in number. Buildings in the north, centre, and south parts of the town, are occupied for the purpose of accommodating children living in each. An handsome brick building is erected in Bennet-street, where the north Latin school formerly stood. In one apartment are taught writing and arithmetick : In another apartment, youth are instructed in spelling, reading, English grammar, and geography. In the centre of the town are two handsome school houses. In one of them boys are instructed in the Latin and Greek languages. (Mr. Ezekiel Cheever was the first master of this school.) The other is a new house lately built of wood, and is used in the same manner, and for the same purposes as the north school. Two wooden buildings at the south part of the town, are appropriated for the same uses. These are all free schools supported by the town, and youth of both sexes are admitted at different hours of the day. In the month of July annually, the selectmen and gentlemen of science chosen by the town as a school committee, with other reputable characters invited by them, visit these schools, to examine into the regulations and proficiency of the scholars, at which times specimens of their writing are shown, and there are exhibitions of their reading and speaking. The visitors dine together at Faneuil-hall at the expense of the town.

Besides these publick free schools, there are several private ones in which are taught reading, writing, arithmetick, the French language, and the various branches of the mathematics.

Whatever plan may appear, on deliberate examination, to be of publick utility, should be undertaken and promoted. It is worthy of consideration whether Sunday schools would not be very a beneficial institution in this town. Many children are kept from attending publick worship through the inability of their parents suitably to clothe them ; and their parents not being able to keep them within doors, they repair to the wharves and alleys to recreate themselves as on other days, to the great disturbance of the families in the vicinity of such places, and profanation of the day. If Sunday schools were instituted, both those evils might be prevented. The only requisites for attending the schools are clean hands and faces and combed hair. The master or mistress should refuse none who are sent to them ; and the school committee might appoint such hours for the children to attend, as they may think proper. Portions of scripture should be read and explained by the preceptors ; the bible should be read by those scholars who can read, and those who cannot should be taught to read. A cate-

chism\* suitable for their ages, should also be a part of their employment at these schools. As on this day secular business is laid aside, a school master for boys might be provided at a small expense, and a mistress for the girls who are obliged to be kept at home by the poverty of their parents. Such a plan was set on foot by Mr. Raikes in Gloucester in England, in 1784; and it produced a very salutary change in the conduct of the children there. Their behaviour and language were more decent than before, their superiours treated with more respect, a sense of religion was impressed on their minds, and a disposition to industry on the other days of the week promoted. In the month of February, 1791, according to the report of a committee for Sunday schools held in London, it appears that no less than seven hundred and forty-six of these institutions had been established in different parts of that kingdom, the scholars of which amounted to forty-nine thousand three hundred and seventy-nine males and females. The success of the undertaking exceeded the expectations of its warmest patrons.

In 1790 Sunday schools were established in Philadelphia; and in 1791, some patriotick gentlemen of this town, by a liberal subscription, enabled the late Mr. Oliver Lane to open a Sunday school. It embraced in its object both sexes under a certain age. The writer hopes such an establishment will not be wholly laid aside; and if it cannot be continued by voluntary subscription, that the publick will take it into consideration, as perhaps publick monies cannot be appropriated to a more useful design.

It may be added to the foregoing, that many poor children are employed on working days in some kind of labour to assist their parents in supporting them; and unless some provision is made for their instruction on Sundays, they must be wholly deprived of the benefit of education. Many of their parents, though inclined, are incapable of instructing them.

**WARDS CIVIL OR MILITARY.]** The civil division consists of twelve wards, (it was divided into this number in the year 1735) to each of which belongs an overseer of the poor, a fireward, a constable, and a scavenger. The wards are numbered from north to south. In the north part of the town are the four first wards, and near the whole of the fifth; the seventh ward is in New, or West Boston; the other wards and a small part of the fifth are in the south part of the town.

The military division consists of nine wards. Formerly the civil and military wards were the same in number; but the militia companies being reduced from twelve to nine, a new distinction has taken place. The Boston regiment of militia, consists of ten companies, including the Chelsea company which belongs to it. It has also belonging to it, one company of artillery. The militia is composed of citizens from eighteen to forty years; after which time they are put on

\* A catechism lately published by the Rev. Dr. Lathrop, appears to be well adapted to this purpose.

the alarm list. They are obliged to muster at their respective places of parade, when warned, under a penalty of ten shillings.

Besides those called the trained bands, there are in the town, three other military companies, viz. the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company, the Cadets, and Fusileers.

The Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company is the oldest military company in the town. It was incorporated in April, 1638. The election of a captain and other officers of it for the year, is on the first Monday in June annually, which is called Artillery Election Day, and is observed as a day of festivity. They retain the ancient custom of attending divine service, at the Old Brick Meeting-house in the forenoon, when a discourse is delivered by some ordained minister of the gospel, whom the company had previously chosen for this purpose, After which the company escort the governour and other principal officers of government, the clergy, militia officers, and other gentlemen whom they have invited, to Faneuil-hall, where a splendid dinner is provided at the expense of the company. In the afternoon they parade on the Common, and elect their new officers. The governour and such councillors and senators as happen to be in the town are respectfully seated, and the old officers resign into the hands of his excellency, the badges of their respective offices, which he delivers to the new officers elected. This ceremony being over, the company after manœuvring a short time, adjusting their new organization, and firing a few vollies, are led off the field by their new elected captain to Faneuil-hall, and conclude Artillery Election Day by partaking of a cold repast. From the foundation of this company, the most respectable citizens have appeared in it, and been trained in the ranks. Several of the officers in the American army, who signalized themselves in the late war, received their first knowledge of tacticks in this military school.

**FIRE ENGINES.]** There are ten Fire Engines belonging to the town, distributed in the several wards, and kept in sheds, at convenient distances from each other. A captain and a number of men suited to the size of the engine, belong to each. They are exempt from all military duty, and under the direction of sixteen firewards, chosen at the annual town meeting in March. Besides the engines belonging to the town, there are four or five others private property.

For the security of property, when fires happen in the town, many of the citizens have formed themselves into distinct societies or fire clubs, who are regulated by rules of their own making, and meet quarterly. Each member is provided at his own expense, with two leathern buckets and two strong bags, which are numbered and the owner's name painted on them. With these, upon the bells giving the alarm, they repair to the brother member nearest to the fire, to secure his moveable property from theft and damage. No person is suffered to enter the house, excepting such as can answer to a watch word, agreed on by them at their last meeting, and are admitted by the mem-

ber who stands as sentry at the door. These are necessary precautions, as robbery is not infrequent on such occasions.

[FIRES.] This town has suffered greatly by fires at different periods. During the last century, the most remarkable are the following, viz.

In 1653 was the first fire in Boston, of which I find any record. Neither the month, nor the part of the town, in which it happened, are mentioned.

1676. November 27th. A fire broke out early in the morning, in an house near the Red Lion, in which forty-five dwelling houses, the North meeting house, and several warehouses were consumed. Large flakes of fire, by the violence of the wind, were carried over the river and endangered the town of Charlestown.

1679. August 8th. In the night Gross's house near the Town-Dock took fire. Upwards of eighty dwelling houses, seventy stores, and several vessels in the dock were destroyed.

1683. October 8th. Another fire broke out the south side of Draw-bridge street near the Dock, and consumed a great number of dwelling houses, warehouses, and vessels. According to Governour Hutchinson's history, this fire was in the richest part of the town, and happened after the 23d of October.

1690. August 3d. A fire near the Mill bridge consumed several houses

1690. September 16th. A fire near the South meeting house, greatly endangered it, and burnt several houses. A lad was burnt to death in the house where it began. The best furnished printing house then in the country, with press and types were destroyed.

1691 June 30th. A fire happened at the King's head by Scarlet's wharf, North end. Several houses were consumed.

The most remarkable fires in Boston in the present century happened in the years 1702, 11. 47. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 67, 75, 80, 87, 94. An account of some of them follows, viz.

1711. October. A fire broke out in the house of Capt. Ephraim Savage in Williams's Court, near the centre of the town, in which all the houses on both sides of Cornhill were consumed, from School-street to a stone shop lately standing at the foot of Cornhill on Market-square. All the upper part of what is now called State-street, on the north and south sides, together with the Town house, and the first meeting house erected in the town, were burnt. We understand they had not then in the town any fire engines; and the method taken to stop the progress of the flames, by blowing up the houses, had a contrary effect, and served to scatter it.

1747. December 9th. The Town house erected in the year 1712, with a number of records and publick papers were consumed

1759. A fire happened at Oliver's Dock, in November or December, when about fifteen families were burnt out.

Another fire in a few weeks after, broke out at West-Boston, when two rope walks with their apparatus were burnt. The loss sustained amounted to some thousands of pounds.

1760. March 17th. On Monday, a fire at West-Boston consumed a joiner's shop. A large dwelling house was also nearly consumed, and part of its contents. Some other buildings in the neighbourhood were damaged. The wind being high at N. E. the top of the West meeting house took fire in several places; but a good supply of water and the alertness of the citizens, under favour of Providence, saved the meeting house from destruction.

1760. March 18th. Tuesday the next day in the forenoon, a store at the upper end of Griffin's wharf caught fire. The chamber was used as a laboratory by a detachment of the British train of artillery then here. The circumstance of artillery stores being in the building gave general alarm, and for a time the citizens were afraid to approach near it. The fire communicated to some powder, and the building blew up. In the explosion some men were hurt; two grenadoes and some small arms went off, but did no damage. The extreme parts of the town were affected by the shock of the explosion. A blacksmith's shop was also burnt. It stood between the laboratory, and some warehouses on the end of the wharf, where the principal artillery stores were deposited; but the wind being moderate and a full tide, the flames were prevented from spreading further.

On Wednesday the 19th March, the day following the last fire, the town was alarmed with the cry of fire in different parts, and at different times. These ushered in the Great Fire, which happened early in the morning of the next day, viz.

1760. March 20. It was discovered between one and two o'clock on Thursday morning. The desolation was greater than the town had hitherto experienced by fire. Till this time the fire in 1711 was called the great fire: the term is now transferred and marks this period. It extended from the Brazen head, in Cornhill, the house where it began, far and wide. It burnt several large buildings on the front of the street. After it began, the wind rose and directed the flames into King-street, Leverett's lane, Water-street, Oliver's-Dock: Some house caught fire near Fort-hill. The damage is represented in the following vote of the general court passed two days after the fire. "On the best information that could in so short a time be obtained, there were consumed one hundred and seventy four dwelling houses and tenements, one hundred and seventy-five warehouses, shops, and other buildings, with great part of the furniture, besides large quantities of merchandize, and the stock and tools of many tradesmen. That the loss upon a moderate computation, cannot be less than one hundred thousand pounds sterling; and that the number of families inhabiting the aforementioned houses was at least two hundred and twenty, three quarters of whom are by this misfortune rendered incapable of subsisting themselves, and a great number of them reduced to extreme poverty, and require immediate relief."



Three thousand pounds currency, about two thousand two hundred and fifty pounds sterling, were voted to be drawn out of the publick treasury for their relief. Governour Pownal sent briefs throughout the province recommending a general contribution for the unhappy sufferers.

Contributions were made in the several religious societies in the town and country, and in some of the sister colonies. In Virginia they raised one thousand three hundred and fifty-three pounds four shillings, and remitted here. Some well disposed foreigners sent their benefactions. Mr. De Berdt ordered one hundred pounds sterling to be paid on his account into the hands of a committee chosen to receive and distribute the sums given. The late Rev. George Whitfield collected at his tabernacle in London, two hundred and fifty pounds sterling for this charitable purpose. The town have also to acknowledge the receipt of generous donations from other gentlemen; but as we do not know the names of the donors, we are obliged to omit them.

1761. January 13th. Faneuil-hall, together with the shops on the Town-Dock, belonging to the town, were consumed by fire. In the evening the conflagration was great, and endangered the dwelling-houses and merchants' stores near it.

1762. June 10th. About one o'clock in the morning, a fire was discovered in a bake-house in Williams's court, occupied by Mr. George Bray, which together with a large quantity of flour, and most of the houses, barns, &c. in the court were burnt, and some buildings contiguous.

1763. January 16th. In Newbury-street, about ten o'clock, A. M. a fire happened. Five or six houses were consumed, and several others damaged. A large quantity of snow lay on the ground, and made it very difficult passing and repassing to remove effects; but it happening in the day at that cold season was a very favourable circumstance.

1767. February. A fire broke out in Bray's bake-house, the south side of the Mill creek. It passed over the creek, and set fire to the houses in Perraway's or Ball's alley, now Centre-street. On the north side of the creek, it consumed seventeen or more houses in the alley. The houses in Ann-street or Fore-street were in great danger: some of the inhabitants removed all their furniture. A large handsome building in Carnes's court in said street, belonging to Jonathan Williams, esq. was burnt.

1775. May 17. On the evening of this day, a store on the south side of the Town Dock, occupied as a barrack by British troops, took fire by the bursting of some cartridges, imprudently handled by the soldiers. About thirty warehouses and buildings were destroyed, with great part of the effects, contained in them, some of which were donations to the town, for relief of the inhabitants suffering under the oppressive Port-bill.

1780. September 22. A fire broke out in a store on the Long wharf about two o'clock, P. M. wind at N. E. which consumed seven-

ral adjoining. One of them kept by the commissary general had in it provincial stores, of considerable value. The tide being up, was an advantage in preventing the progress of the fire.

1787. April 24, at the close of the day a fire was discovered in a malt house in Beach-street N. E. of Orange-street, the south part of the town. About one hundred buildings were consumed, sixty of which were dwelling houses, some elegant costly edifices. The meeting-house in Hollis-street was among the buildings consumed. Briefs were issued and dispersed. The several religious societies in the town collected for the sufferers twenty-six hundred and thirty-five pounds, eleven shillings and five pence, lawful money.

The Marquis de la Fayette is entitled to the thanks of this town, for his generous donation of three hundred and fifty pounds, sterling, paid by order on his agent here.

1794. July 30th. Early on Wednesday morning, Mr. Edward Howe's rope-walk accidentally caught on fire, which, with six others, were in a very short time consumed, with large quantities of hemp, tar, and cordage. The fire flew in all directions, and communicated with great rapidity to the houses on the east side of Green's lane (now Atkinson-street) and to the streets facing the walks, and spreading through the avenues contiguous, it continued its progress to the wharves. The wind was north two points east, and so continued till the close of the devastation, which was considered as a happy circumstance. It then got to the N. E. The number of buildings consumed was ninety-six, forty-three of which were dwelling houses. The whole loss given in to the 5th November, by an hundred and fifty sufferers, amounted to two hundred and nine thousand eight hundred and sixty-one dollars, and fifty-three cents, exclusively of several large sums not exhibited. The subscriptions in the town on this occasion were numerous and liberal: the amount of which, together with the sum raised by contribution in the several churches, will, it is probable, shortly appear in the publick newspapers.

It often happens that after a fire has broke out, the wind rises and shifts, and conveys the sparks and flakes in different directions to a considerable distance from the place where the fire began, and where the firewards and engines are necessarily required to attend. The distant houses are set on fire by the sparks, &c. and sometimes consumed, before timely and suitable assistance can be afforded. This points out the propriety of increasing the number of firewards and engines. And as the season is arrived when the town will be most exposed to the ravages of this destructive element, the citizens will perhaps think it proper to take the matter into consideration, and act upon it without delay. An additional number of leathern buckets is wanted: a deficiency of them at the late fire was noticed. As fire engines are made in the town, they may be speedily procured, and such as may be warranted to last four years from breaking, either in the wood, iron, or copper parts of them.

“The evil in our architecture lies principally in this, that we build with wood. From this custom much immediate as well as remote inconvenience is to be expected; perishableness, want of safety, and call for repairs. Wood, considered as a material of architecture, is not only perishable, but is dreadfully accessible to all the dangers of wind and fire, and is not so strong as brick or stone. Those who have either children or a wife, they may leave behind them, will build of brick, if they wish to leave monuments of kindness, rather than a rent charge behind them.

“A well finished brick house, however small, is not only more elegant, and immediately useful and safe, but it is cheaper in the end than a wooden one: it needs fewer repairs; its prime cost is little more; it is property, which yields more, inasmuch as if rented out, it carries from the per cent. of rent fewer of the eating repairs, &c. A good brick house will be habitable for centuries.” It is wished attention may be paid to these observations. They may be applied beneficially to this town, in its present situation, as it is probable the erecting of many houses is in contemplation on the ruins of the late fire, where the destruction of wooden ones was wofully realized. Tradesmen, such as ropemakers, coopers, carpenters, blockmakers, riggers, joiners, hatters, blacksmiths, chocolate grinders, &c. should not occupy wooden shops or sheds within the vicinity of dwelling houses: the risk of fire from them is very great, particularly where there is a cluster of them contiguous to each other.

**SOCIETIES INSTITUTED FOR PUBLICK UTILITY.]** Lodges of free and Accepted Masons. On the 19th of April, 1792, a Grand Lodge was organized by a coalition of the late St. John's and Massachusetts Grand lodges. The officers were chosen in December following. John Cutler, Esq. is the present Right Worshipful Grand Master.

The names of the several lodges are:—First and Second St. John's lodges, and Rising Sun lodge, who are united and meet together; St. Andrew's lodge; Royal Arch; Rising States; Massachusetts; African, composed of Blacks or people of colour.

The following account is given of the origin of this fraternity. “In 1733 it originated in America. On the 30th of July, in the year of masonry 5733, the first lodge in Boston was held. The first Grand Master of America had power from Lord Montague, Grand Master of England, to constitute lodges of Free and Accepted Masons.” The professed design of their meetings is to promote brotherly love, and for liberal purposes.

The other instituted societies, whose meetings are held in the town, are the Charitable Irish Society, formed 17th March, 1737, by several gentlemen, merchants, &c. of the Irish nation, residing in Boston, for the relief of any of that nation who may be reduced by sickness, shipwreck, old age, or other infirmities. On the 10th of August, 1764, they chose a new committee, to draw articles to be observed in future, for the due regulation and management of this charity, which extends

to those of Irish extraction, who by a majority of the society shall be deemed objects thereof.

The Massachusetts Marine Society, incorporated 1754.

The Massachusetts Charitable Society, Dec, 16, 1779.

Academy of Arts and Sciences, Nov. 1780.

For the improvement of useful knowledge, sixty-two persons are named and constituted a body politick and corporate. Their successors, and persons who may be elected in the manner prescribed by the act, to be a body politick and corporate forever.

Medical Society, Nov. 1, 1781.

Cincinnati Society was instituted by the officers of the American army, at their cantonment on Hudson's river, in the month of May 1783. formed (as they set forth) on the basis of friendship and charity; the design being to cultivate the friendship that subsisted between them during the war, after they had returned to their former citizenship; to commemorate the grand events of the war; and to raise a fund for the relief and support of any of them, or their widows and orphans, who should be so unfortunate as to need such relief.

The society is divided into state meetings, and assemble on the anniversary of Independence annually. Each member at his admission, by the rules of the society, was to deliver to the treasurer of the meeting one month's pay as a fund for the charitable design. No donations to be received but from citizens of the United States. In Boston they meet annually on the fourth day of July, when an oration has been delivered in publick by one of the members.

Boston Episcopal Charitable Society, incorporated	Feb. 12,	1784
Humane Society,	- - - - -	1785
Scotch Charitable Society,	- - - - -	March 16, 1736
Massachusetts Congregational Society,	- - - - -	March 24, 1786
Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America,	} - - - - -	Nov. 19, 1787
Massachusetts Agricultural Society,	- - - - -	March 7, 1792
Historical Society,	- - - - -	Feb. 19, 1794

In the act of incorporation twenty-nine persons are named. The number may be enlarged to sixty, but not exceed it. The professed design of this society, as expressed in their circular letter, is to collect, preserve, and communicate materials for a complete history of this country, and accounts of all valuable efforts of human ingenuity and industry from the beginning of its settlement. In pursuance of this plan, they have already amassed a large quantity of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts, and are in search of more. Their inquiries are not confined to the civil, but extend also to the natural and ecclesiastical history of this country. Their museum contains many valuable specimens of the natural productions of America, &c.

Their chamber is the uppermost in the monumental arch in the Crescent, Franklin Place; it being generously presented to the Society by Colonel William Scollay, Charles Bulfinch, and Charles

Vaughan, esquires, the proprietors of the building. The society wish an enlargement of their library and museum. All benefactions will be thankfully acknowledged, and the names of the donors published.

Boston Library Society, incorporated June 17, 1794  
They have an elegant oval room in the Crescent, presented by the proprietors.

Society for the information and advice of foreigners.

Migrations to this country should be encouraged, and every assistance afforded to new comers. If they are sober and industrious, they will be a valuable acquisition, and may benefit the country, by communicating the knowledge of some arts hitherto not known here. And as foreigners require information and advice on their first arrival, this society is instituted for these purposes, and upon application to it, necessary information and advice will be given to such as may stand in need of it.

Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, incorporated June 25, 1794.

PUBLICK BANKS IN BOSTON.] Three separate buildings in State-street are occupied for the publick Banking business, viz.

1. Massachusetts Bank. This was the first established in Boston, and incorporated by an act of the general court, February 7th, 1784. It consists of nine directors, one of whom is president, a cashier, an accomptant, teller, and a messenger and attendant. It is designed principally to accommodate persons in trade. Proposals for discount at this bank must be sealed up, directed to the cashier, and left at the office between the hours of ten and one, on Monday's. The rate of discount is at half per centum per month; and no discounts are for a longer time than sixty days, when articles of merchandize, or other securities must be deposited to secure the payment; nor is the discount for more than thirty days on personal obligations, for discharge of which one or two persons must become bound, by indorsing their names on the orders for discount. When any specifick articles are deposited for security, they will be sold at publick auction, if the money is not paid within three days of grace after it becomes due. The first Wednesday in January is the annual meeting for the choice of directors.

2. Office of Discount and Deposite in Boston, is one branch of the National or United States Bank, established at Philadelphia: the other three branches are at New York, Baltimore in Maryland, and North Carolina. The departments choose their directors, one of whom is president. They appoint their respective tellers and clerks. The Boston Branch consists of the following officers, thirteen directors, one of whom is president, one cashier, two tellers, two book keepers, one discount clerk, one messenger. The directors of departments to be appointed annually, not more than three fourths of whom, exclusive of the president, are eligible for the next succeeding year. The cashier is appointed by the directors of the Bank of the United

States at Philadelphia. The continuance of the departments to be at the pleasure of the said directors, &c. The departments to discount upon such part of the specie capital of the bank, as the directors apportion to them, together with such part of the deposits as shall be lodged with them from time to time.

The Union Bank incorporated by the general court 1792, is designed more particularly to accommodate the agricultural interest. Money is loaned at this office on bond and mortgage of real estate, for one year, at six per centum, per annum, and upon punctual payment of the interest, it may be prolonged upon application. They also discount on notes and bills of exchange, not having more than sixty days to run. This bank has twelve directors, one of whom is president, a cashier, one teller, one accountant, one assistant accountant, one messenger and attendant. Branches of this bank are established at Salem, Worcester, and Portland.

THE REVENUE OFFICES] are kept in the same street with the bank. The collector's, impost, and inspection offices are all under one roof, but in different apartments.

THE POST OFFICE] adjoins to the office of Discount and Deposit. An emblematical figure, very neatly executed by Mr. Simeon Skillin, an ingenious carver of the town, is placed over the door of the Post Office.

It is a winged Mercury, in the act of bounding from a globe, supporting his rod, an emblem of peace. In his left hand he holds a letter, directed to the president of the Branch Bank.

MAILS.] The Southern and Eastern, also Newlondon, Norwich, and Providence mails, at different seasons of the year, arrive at the Post Office on different days of the week.\*

Nantucket, New Bedford, and Taunton mails, from November 1st to May 1st, arrive on Tuesday, and close on Thursday. From May 1st to November 1st, arrive on Monday and Thursday, close Tuesday and Friday.

Newport, Bristol, Warren, Dighton, and Taunton mails arrive throughout the year on Wednesday, and close on Thursday.

Barnstable, Sandwich, and Plymouth mails arrive on Wednesday, and close on Thursday.

Salem, Beverly, and Marblehead mails arrive, and are closed every day in the week, excepting Sundays.

STAGES.] Besides the established post office stages, there are a number of private carriages, which constantly run at stated times in the week to the principal towns in the commonwealth, named in Fleet's Register for 1794.

MANUFACTURES.] Boston, although denominated a commercial town, has a variety of manufactures carried on within its limits; among which are the following:—Soap, candles, rum, loaf sugar,

\* The publick mails for the winter establishment, will be despatched, on and after the 20th of October, at one o'clock, P. M.

cordage, duck, twine and lines, cards, fish-hooks, combs, stained paper, stone ware, chocolate, glass, &c.

In some of these great improvements have been made since the revolution, not only in the quality of the articles, but also in the facility of making them.

Soap, hard and soft, has been manufactured here for a great number of years, and tallow candles. By newly invented American machines, the work is greatly expedited in the latter manufacture, and great savings made in the article of cotton.

Spermaceti candles are made here of a superiour quality as to clearness and whiteness. Large quantities have been exported. This business is now carried on at four manufactories in the town.

There are upwards of thirty distill-houses in the town, at which New-England rum has been made. Twenty-seven of them were occupied in 1792; but they turned out on an average two thirds less quantities of gallons than they did before the disturbances in the French West-Indies, and the excise laid by congress. The revenue, according to our information, arising from New-England rum at the above mentioned period, may be computed at the rate of one thousand dollars on an average quarterly from each distillery; from which if we deduct one third part for drawback, it will leave a very large sum nett revenue. At present eighteen distill houses only are at work. These distill not one half so much as they could. The causes hinted at above, together with the demand of New-England rum for exportation being lessened, have occasioned the decline of this business. The latter cause probably arises from the large quantities of fruit and grain spirits distilled in the southern states.

As this manufacture increases the revenue, it may so far be considered as beneficial to the publick. It is a truth however, that a publick benefit may, by an improper use of it, be converted to a publick evil. This is evidently the case with respect to the article under consideration; for that which tends to prevent population, or hurts the morals of a people, must be pronounced a publick evil.

We are now led to view the effects that distilled spirits have upon the human species. Let us attend to the following observations of the late very ingenious and Rev. Stephen Hales, as it affects population in England. \* "The christenings there increased from fifteen thousand six hundred and sixty in 1712, to nineteen thousand three hundred and seventy, in the year 1724: but from that time, when the use of spirituous liquors became so common, as to occasion a publick representation from the college of physicians the year following, instead of increasing as formerly, they were reduced at a medium for three years, to fourteen thousand, three hundred and twenty; so that the year 1750 produced fewer christenings than the year 1720.

\* See this extract in a note in the Rev. Dr. Eliot's election sermon, 1765, pages 56 and 57.

The children likewise that are born, come into the world with such bad constitutions, that being sickly and feeble, they die in prodigious numbers under five years old, and many children, instead of being nourished by wholesome food, are soon consumed by these inflammatory spirits, which must necessarily destroy a fabrick so very slight and tender."

In every country where spirituous liquors are plenty, and can be easily purchased, we may expect they will be freely used, and the effects on population proportionably the same as in England.

In this town and commonwealth, the bad effects are apparent on the morals of the inhabitants. The instances of intemperance are numerous, we are sorry to say, in both sexes. It is like Pandora's box, whence issues a train of mischiefs, which occasion distress in many families, and which but for this evil spirit, they might have escaped, and lived comfortably. Its attendants are idleness, poverty, and disgrace; and it is well if it does not end in the total ruin of the persons who drink to excess. It is a question, and a very important one, whether this prevailing evil may not by some means or other be greatly restrained by the interference of authority, though perhaps no merely human means can totally eradicate it.

In the town of Boston, are seven sugar refining houses. At five of them the business is now carried on: they can manufacture annually on an average one hundred thousand weight each. A large duty on clayed sugars of the second quality, as well as the new excise on the loaf sugar operates against this manufacture.

Cordage is made at fourteen ropewalks. The largest are at West Boston; one of them one hundred and sixty fathoms long, and can turn out a cable of about one hundred and forty fathoms in length. Hemp and yarns used in making ropes are by far the greater part imported from Europe.

It is hoped that the bounty on hemp raised in this commonwealth, and continued for two years by an act of the general court at their session in June last, though the sum is reduced from twelve pounds to nine per ton, will not operate to discourage the culture of this useful article, but that the present bounty, together with the communications and encouragements held out by the Agricultural Society, will stimulate the husbandman to pursue and increase its cultivation.

Twine and lines. For manufacturing these, a company erected a large wooden building. Various sizes of twine, and lines from a mackerel to a codline, were made and approved. More than forty persons were employed in it in 1792, and some score tons of hemp worked up. The sail makers were supplied from this manufactory. It might probably have answered the demand of the cod fishery;

\* The above was written before the fire of the 30th July last. Seven ropewalks being then burnt, has reduced the above number to seven, which are now occupied. Four new ropewalks are building at the bottom of the Common, and lots laid out for two more.



and the lines made at it equalled if not surpassed in quality the noted Bridport cordlines, imported from England.

The bounty at first granted having ceased, the proprietors of the building contemplated employing it in some other way ; and the twine and lines are now made at some of the ropewalks.

The duck manufacture was set up by a company in buildings which they erected in Frog lane, near the Common. They were incorporated by an act of the general court. The sail-cloth made here has obtained great credit. Certificates from merchants, mariners, and sail makers testify its quality to be superiour to the canvas imported from Europe. It will last longer, is not subject to mildew, and is sold at a lower rate than imported duck. This manufacture employs a number of females in spinning, and was encouraged by a bounty from government. In 1792, four hundred hands were employed by it, and turned out not less than fifty pieces a week.

Cards of the various kinds used in other manufactures are made in this town in large quantities, and with great despatch. The manufacture of cards was begun here before the revolution ; but the improvements made in it since, have discouraged, and operated to exclude importations of this article into this commonwealth, and in a great measure into the southern states, they being supplied with a large proportion of what is made at the manufacture in this town by Mr. Giles Richards, who was first named in a company that begun this business in 1788, by newly invented and improved machines, the effects of American genius. The principal manufactory is at Wind-mill walk, contiguous to the grist-mill at the mill bridge. The card boards are cut by the operation of a wind-mill. One man working at the machine used for cutting and bending the wire, and pricking the leathers, can prepare a sufficient quantity of wires in twelve hours to stick upwards of twenty dozen pair of cards.

One half the number of men skilful in using these machines, can perform the same work, in the same given time, which can be done by any other method yet discovered.

Between six and seven thousand dozen have been made annually, and, as hinted above, exported to the southward. Not less than twelve hundred persons, chiefly women and children, have found employment in sticking the cards ; and as the manufacture advances in credit, the demand for the cards will probably increase, and furnish employment for a much larger number.

This is a very valuable manufacture, not only as it employs women and children, but also a great number of others in the commonwealth, in manufacturing the sheep skins, and making the tacks, &c. Four fifths of the cards manufactured in the commonwealth, are made in the town of Boston. The new inventions in cutting the wires and boards, not only diminish the toil of labour and expedite the work, but also occasion the price of the cards to be reduced.

Mr. Mark Richards and company also carry on this business in its various branches in a brick building near Faneuil hall market.

Fish-hooks are made by Mr. J. Mead, who is esteemed a good workman. The cod hooks of his make are approved of by the fishermen, being equal if not superiour to the imported P. P. cod hooks formerly preferred. As the fisheries are encouraged, so this manufacture will be proportionably encouraged, and the fishermen supplied with hooks and lines, the manufacture of their own country.

Combs of various sorts are made at Graham's comb manufactory, in Charter-street; the workmanship well executed. The importation of this article has greatly decreased since the peace of 1783; and will probably entirely cease, at least into this commonwealth.

Stained paper for rooms. Large quantities of this article were imported from England previous to the revolution; but at the manufactories in Boston sufficient is now made, not only to supply this state, but also for exportation to the others.

Stone ware. At the stone pottery lately set up in Lynn street, by Mr. Fenton from New Haven, all kinds of stone vessels are made after the manner of the imported Liverpool ware, and are sold at a lower rate. The clay for this manufacture is brought from Perth Amboy in New Jersey.

Cannon are made and bells new cast at the foundery in Lynn-street, under the superintendence of Colonel Revere, the present proprietor.

Till lately we have been obliged to foreigners for cannon and bells; but may now have them of American make. Some very neat brass cannon have been made at this foundery, and approved by competent judges. A variety of articles in the iron way are made at these works, viz. caçooses, stoves, clothiers' plates, chimney hearths, anvils, forge hammers, &c. Any article of iron manufacture, out of the common way, may also be made here, by leaving a pattern.

Chocolate has for many years been made in this town from the large quantities of cocoa brought into it from time to time; but the process is greatly expedited by late inventions. At the chocolate mill, contiguous to the northernmost grist mill, Mr. Welch can turn out upwards of twenty-five hundred weight in a day.

Calico printing has been undertaken in this town. The plain cottons brought here from India, afford an opportunity for printing them. A duty on printed ones imported, and a bounty on such as are printed here, would be encouraging. Specimens that have been given, evince the skilfulness of some persons among us in stamping or printing plain cottons; and as emigrants are constantly arriving here, there can be no doubt but some of them understand this art. If some publick spirited wealthy citizens would provide materials and a building for this purpose, it might be carried on advantageously. The probability is that the proprietors would be well paid for the monies they might advance, the artists or workmen receive a handsome support, and the purchasers and consumers make a saving of ten to fifteen per cent. between the English and American stamped cloths, in favour of the latter.

Since the peace, calico has become the general fashion of our countrywomen, and is worn by females of all conditions, at all seasons

of the year, both in town and country. Large quantities of printed calicoes are annually imported into this town, and large sums of money drawn from it, for payment to Great Britain. As we are not restricted in our commerce, we can import the plain cotton cloths on good terms, from a quarter we could not formerly. Let us avail ourselves of this advantage, and make the most we can of it.

I would remark here, that many artists who arrive among us, from abroad, are in poor circumstances, and unable to set up manufactures of themselves. If such whose knowledge is competent to their profession, were assisted by wealthy citizens, they might become very beneficial members of society. By such means the various arts practised in Europe might in process of time be transplanted to America.

Pot and pearl ash are placed among the manufactures of Boston, as they were begun here, particularly the former, about forty or fifty years ago, and have been made in it since the revolution. They have now ceased in this town: The price of wood will not admit of their being carried on to advantage in the capital. They are made in many of the inland towns of the commonwealth, and brought to the capital for sale. Many tons are annually exported, the quality of which is ascertained by an inspector chosen for the purpose by the government, that none but merchantable should be shipped off. Mr. William Frobisher of this town claims the merit of being the first manufacturer of potash, who thoroughly investigated the process now in use, and communicated it, and demonstrated the superiority of American potash to that of Russian in making soap. Great improvements have been and are making in the manufacture of pot-ash. The present inspector Dr. Townsend appears to have an intimate knowledge of the subject. Under his inspection it may increase its credit. We anticipate the period when it shall rival that of every foreign country.\*

Glass. The manufacture of glass in Boston, was undertaken by an incorporated company of adventurers, to whom the general court, in the month of July, 1787, granted an exclusive right to manufacture for the term of fifteen years. The stock to be employed for this purpose to be exempted from all taxes for five years; and the workmen employed, from all military duties. If any person manufacture this article in the town without consent of the company, a penalty was laid on him of five hundred pounds for each offence.

This corporation erected a brick building in the form of a cone, at the bottom of Essex street; but not being found sufficiently commodious, it was taken down, and a wooden building lined with bricks, of a different construction, put up in its place. The present house is in length one hundred feet, and upwards of sixty feet in breadth. Many embarrassments attended this business at first setting out; but these being overcome, and suitable workmen arriving, they began to blow in the new house, the 11th November, 1793. Their first trial was on

\* See Dr. Townsend's pamphlet, entitled "Principles and Observations applied to the manufacture and inspection of Pot and Pearl Ashes."

window glass, which was much approved, and discovered the skill of the manufacturers, and gives a fair prospect of success in this undertaking.

The first manufacture of glass in this commonwealth, was at Germantown, within the first parish of Braintree; but it failed some years before the revolution of the United States. They turned out nothing but bottles. The house was burnt down, and never rebuilt.

A variety of other manufactures are also carried on in the town; but having given account of the principal of them, it will be needless to mention the others. We should not however omit particular notice of the manufacture of hats of various sorts in this town. It is a very considerable branch of business here. The fine beaver hats are preferable to those made in England.

If we extend our view of domestick manufactures, we shall find that many are carried on in the country towns of this commonwealth. A great variety of articles are made in the neighbourhood of the capital, and are disposed of at this market, or shipped hence to some other.

Paper has for many years been made at Milton; and we are told that there are not less than twelve paper mills in this commonwealth. Saltpetre is made in almost every town. Powder mills are at Andover and Stoughton. Cannon and shot are cast, and other warlike articles made in the country. Iron is manufactured into a variety of tools, and implements of husbandry, axes, hoes, shovels, scythes, &c. Nails of various sizes are made in many of the towns, and the importation of that article much lessened. Slitting mills are erected at Dighton for manufacturing iron, the produce of our own country. These mills the British government, previous to the revolution, endeavoured to set aside. A cotton manufacture has been established at Beverly. Linens have been for some years and are still made at Londonderry, in New Hampshire, and in some towns in this commonwealth, though in small quantities. Woollen cloths are made in some of the towns. The increase of the two latter manufactures are desirable objects.

Tanners and curriers occupy many of the towns. Large quantities of leather are manufactured by them. Women's shoes are made at Lynn, and its vicinage in large quantities, not less, it is said, than one hundred and seventy thousand\* pair a year; great part of which are exported to the sister states, and are become a very large branch of our commerce.

Large quantities of snuff are also manufactured in different parts of the state.

From the foregoing account of town and country manufactures, we see the small need we have of foreign supplies, and the probability of

\* The writer has been informed that one master workman in Lynn has turned out one hundred pair a week, or five thousand two hundred pair a year. This proportion, allowing only twenty-five masters, will make the number of women's shoes made in that single town, one hundred and thirty thousand pair a year.

an increase, so as totally to discourage the importation of many articles which we have hitherto taken from abroad; and the improvements that are daily making, afford a prospect of American manufactures being equal, if not preferable, to those of the countries from which we formerly received them.

The following articles with some others are made a few miles from the capital, viz. tow cloth, cotton and linen sheeting, threads, checks, bedticks, striped flannels, thread, cotton, and worsted hose, gloves and mitts, diapers, cotton and woollen coverlids. These articles are brought to Boston for sale.

Here the writer has an opportunity to say a word in behalf of his country women, who are commonly the venders of these articles. The women not finding an immediate sale for them, are exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and having no particular place of deposite for their goods, where they may be sheltered while exposing them for sale, are obliged to traverse the streets of Boston till fatigue oft times induces them to part with their articles, if not at a real loss, yet at a price that discourages their industry. They are frequently obliged to barter them for articles of luxury, some gewgaw of ornament, and deprived of the means of purchasing materials to begin again.

If a particular stand or covered stalls were provided by the town, or by some of the wealthy citizens, as the expense would be small, near the Flesh Market, or any other convenient place near the centre of the town, and appropriated for a Cloth Market, where the venders of the homespun goods might be accommodated, it might have a very salutary effect. There the sellers and buyers would meet. The sellers would obtain ready money for their wares, and be enabled thereby to procure cotton and flax, to carry on their homespun manufactures. The buyers and consumers would know where to apply for such goods when wanted, and purchase them at the first hand, without an advanced price on them; and the manufactures would by this method probably be improved, as they would be viewed in competition, and the best made will meet the readiest sale.

These suggestions or similar ones the writer has somewhere met with: they coincide with his sentiments, and he thinks they claim publick attention.

As linens and woollens are very large articles of consumption, and carry out of the commonwealth a large proportion of its specie, it would be well to pay attention to fabricating them here, by increasing the materials of which they are made. Specimens that have been given of linen and woollen cloths made here, demonstrate that we have manufacturers among us who are well skilled in making up the materials; and the number of them will increase by emigrations from other countries, and to encourage emigrants, should be an object with Americans. We are told that in 1667, a piece of woollen cloth was never dyed or dressed in England; it was improved by the skill of foreigners who came there; and that in little more than a century, it was

estimated at the sum of sixteen million and eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, above seventy-four millions of dollars per annum. Let us try what can be done in the United States.

It has been observed with respect to the linen manufacture, that this commonwealth has all the natural advantages for carrying it on, and that a sufficient quantity of flax may be raised in it for this purpose, if suitable encouragements were given by bounties, &c. "All parts of this manufacture, from harvesting the flax to the sale of the cloth, may be performed by women, boys, and girls: there needs consequently no great application of strength in the business."

As to the woollen manufacture, it was the observation of a judicious American\* not long since deceased, "That if the raising of sheep [was more generally] attended to, there would be sufficient wool in these states to manufacture cloth for ourselves." In these northern states, woollens are more wanted, than in the southern, and as the soil here produces sufficient grazing spots for sheep, it appears worthy of consideration, whether it would not be of general benefit to increase and improve their breed. Let us forego the gratifying our appetites with lamb, abstain from killing them, and attend with care to rearing this useful animal.

We not only can raise the material for making woollen cloths, but it is also in our power to raise a principal ingredient in dyeing them. Madder, we understand, is a material one used for this purpose. The culture of this article was undertaken in 1771; but the war that ensued is probably the cause of its being neglected. In the *Boston Gazette* of December 16th, 1771, is the following account of it. "It is three years from the planting before it is fit to dig, but large compensation is made by the valuable crop produced. Upon a moderate computation, one acre only is worth one hundred pound sterling."

The cultivation of every article the soil of this and every state in the union, is capable of producing, should be engaged in with vigour, and every encouragement of a publick and private nature afforded it, that the materials for manufactures may be increased.

The importance of agriculture, which a writer says is the mother of arts and sciences, and has been too much neglected notwithstanding the advantages of soil and climate, arrested the attention of the Massachusetts Academy of Arts and Sciences, who in the year 1785 chose a very respectable committee to attend to the several branches of husbandry, and to endeavour by all means in their power to make improvements in it. Annual sums were proposed to be subscribed, to promote this design. The assistance of the farmer, merchant, and mechanick has been solicited, and it may be thought a beneficial application of publick monies, for the government to grant bounties to be disposed of at the discretion of the Agricultural Society, substituted in the room of, and to carry on the same design as the late Agricultural Committee.

\* Dr. Franklin.

“Experiments, a writer says, should be made upon soils and manures, grains and grasses, trees and shrubs: Inquiries into the course of nature in producing them. The mechanick, the philosopher, the chemist, the poet, may all improve their favourite sciences, to the advancement of their health, the increase of their fortunes and the benefit of their country.” The divine would find entertainment here in contemplating the works of nature, and thence ascend in his thoughts to nature’s God. The physician might gain more knowledge of the medicinal qualities of plants and herbs, to assist him in his practice. In fact, every class of men would find advantage by the study of agriculture.

An author says, “That an acre of land well tilled, will produce a ton weight of hemp. Several hundred thousand pounds worth of foreign hemp is yearly expended in New England. By application to the raising of this article, great part of the sum might be saved among ourselves.”

Since the peace, and during the troubles in the French West Indies, we have realized the advantage of that species of maple trees which produce sugar (for we are told that two sorts grow in America, which have different properties.) To the sugar maple tree, lands in some parts of the state are friendly. From them considerable quantities of sugar of a good quality have been produced.

We are capable of making many wholesome and agreeable liquors. Why need we then range the globe for those that are foreign? Cider is an excellent liquor made of apples, the native production of our soil. Our orchards teem with them. By the experiments frequently made on cider, it may not only be an wholesome and creditable, but a preferable liquor. A good table liquor is made with spruce, and with bran and hops, the product of our own lands. Malt liquors manufactured here, rise in estimation. Barley will produce bread and beer, and requires only the attention of the husbandmen to produce it in very large quantities. Wine has been made from the fruit of our gardens.

Such articles as are not raised in plenty in one state, or not produced in it at all, may be found in another. Besides the annual exports of the southern states in flour, tobacco, rice, pitch, tar, turpentine, indigo, &c. those climes are found favourable to the growth of maple trees in abundance; and it is probable that the sugar made from them will be a considerable article of commerce. Silk worms feed on mulberry trees, which can be raised in plenty in Virginia and Georgia, and may introduce by an increase of them, a considerable trade in the article of silk. The cotton shrub thrives there, and promises fair by its annual production.

“In about two years after the peace, sundry articles of apparel and house furniture were made from cotton raised in the states of Virginia and Carolina, which gave a pleasing expectation of the increase of this article, and its manufacture in the states.”

In Pennsylvania grape vines grow, from which a good wine is manufactured.

An exchange of the products of one state with that of another, may by such a commercial intercourse be beneficial to each, and tend more firmly to cement the union of the whole.

The independence of the United States, as it respects the most essential necessities and comforts of life, is apparent from the above view of what they do, and can produce. "Of all countries in the world, says a remarker, none perhaps is more auspicious to things necessary to man's subsistence than America. Though we cannot boast of the tropical fruits, the orange, the pine apple, &c. yet we exuberantly abound with the essentials of nature; and might if we cultivated acquaintance with agriculture, extend our commerce to the wide domains of the world, have our ships welcomed at a thousand ports. But previous to those halcyon days, frugality and economy must not be considered as servile qualities, nor husbandry disesteemed. Husbandry in this country, must be made honourable as at ancient Rome; it would be a source of wealth."

Large quantities of land in the United States lie yet unimproved, which may in a few years be in such a state of cultivation, as to produce such an excess above our wants, as will make our exports to foreign countries necessary and numerous; and from the very few articles we may want from them, bring a large balance in our favour, which, if honestly paid, will increase the wealth of the United States.

**TRADE AND NAVIGATION.]** Ship building was formerly carried on at upwards of twenty-seven dock yards in the town of Boston, at one and the same time; and employed a large number of citizen mechanics in its various branches. In one of the yards twelve ships have been launched in twelve months. In all the dock yards, I am credibly informed, there have been upwards of sixty vessels on the stocks at one time. Many of the ships built here were sent directly to London with naval stores, whale oil, &c. and to the West Indies with fish and lumber provided by the labour of the citizens. The latter either returned here with the produce of the islands, or procured freight for Great Britain, where the vessel and freight were left, and the nett proceeds of both passed to the credit of the late owner, in payment for British goods imported from thence. The whale and cod fishery employed many of our smaller craft. They were nurseries, and produced many hardy seamen.

The navigation of the town also extended to the sister colonies, and to many parts of Europe besides Great Britain. Our ships conveyed merchantable fish to Spain and Portugal, and to many ports in the Mediterranean; a part of the nett proceeds was remitted in bills of exchange to England, and the remainder invested in salt, wine, oil, fruit, &c. with which the vessel returned to Boston.

(Our trade to the Mediterranean is at present interrupted by the Barbary corsairs.) Ships built in Boston, carried to market tobacco from Virginia. Many of these tobacco ships were owned by Scotchmen, and paid for here in Scotch manufactures delivered the buiider, or by orders on shop keepers who had purchased them of the Scotch import-



ers, previous to the American war. Rice and naval stores they freighted to Europe from Carolina, but the voyages we engaged in were much embarrassed by the British customs, &c. About the year 1750, when paper money was suppressed in this then colony, and a specie medium introduced, the mode of remittance to England was materially altered. Bills of exchange, or gold and silver were forwarded from hence. The sale of ships, lying in England on account of the owners here, occasioned a loss to them from twenty to forty per cent. and discouraged remittances in that way. Few ships were built here, and ship building in Boston gradually declined. The workmen either left the town, or engaged in some other employment for a support. Vessels are now built chiefly in the country towns, not far from the spots where the timber grows. In Boston, not more than four or five dock yards are occupied by ship builders, and the principal work they do is repairing old vessels. The British act of parliament, which followed the peace of 1783, prohibited American built vessels from carrying the produce of the British West India islands as formerly. This, together with the recent spoliations of our navigation, put the marine commerce into a precarious and disagreeable situation. We hope however that justice will prevail, and the British court be induced to make reparation to the American sufferers; that the embarrassments will be taken off, and the American ships traverse the ocean without let or molestation.

Notwithstanding the embarrassments mentioned, Boston and the neighbouring maritime towns carry on a large trade in navigation, and though few vessels are now built in the capital, large numbers are built within the limits of the commonwealth; and we have the pleasing hope that our navigation and trade will increase, and be more extensive. The ports of Asia, and the North West coast of America, since the peace, are visited by American vessels.

The harbour of Boston is at this date (November 1794) crowded with vessels. Eighty four sail have been counted lying at two of the wharves only. It is reckoned that not less than four hundred and fifty sail of ships, brigs, schooners, sloops, and small craft, are now in this port. The prospect is pleasing, as it affords the expectation of employment for the industrious mechanick and labourer, who may not now, we think, be idle, unless they choose it. Preparations are making at Mr. Hart's ship yard to set up a continental frigate, ordered by congress, which will give the industrious inhabitants additional aid to their subsistence.

The exports from this town consist principally of the following articles, the greater part of which is the produce of this commonwealth, viz. dry fish, oil, lumber and other materials for building, pot and pearl ashes, flax seed, furs, pickled fish of various sorts, such as mackerel, alewives, menhaden, shad, salmon, &c. pork, beef, flour, grain, cheese, loaf sugar, soap, candles, cotton and wool cards, shoes, duck, cordage, naval stores, ginseng, &c. New England rum has been exported in large quantities. In the year 1792, we are informed, that fifty thousand barrels of beef and pork were shipped from this capital, of which

twenty thousand barrels at least were packed in it. Since that time the export of salted provisions has been much greater, and the aggregate amount of exportations from this port annually increased.

ENTRIES AND CLEARANCES.] The following exhibits a list of the number of vessels that have been entered and cleared at the port of Boston at several periods.

<i>Entries.</i>		<i>Clearances.</i>	
1749.—From W. Indies, - - -	80	1749.—For W. Indies, - - - -	115
Great Britain, - - - -	7	Great Britain, - - - -	18
Other ports, - - - -	382	Other ports, - - - -	371
	<u>489</u>		<u>504</u>
1773.—From W. Indies, - - -	192	1773.—For W. Indies, - - - -	134
Great Britain, - - - -	71	Great Britain, - - - -	6
Other ports, - - - -	324	Other ports, - - - -	251
	<u>587</u>		<u>411</u>
1784.....For six months		1784.....For six months.	
From W. Indies, - - -	90	For W. Indies, - - - -	111
Eng and Scotland, - -	21	Eng, and Scotland, - -	13
Other ports, - - - -	261	Other ports, - - - -	326
	<u>372</u>		<u>450</u>
1793.—From W. Indies } - 187		1793.—For W. Indies, - - - -	119
12 months, - - - -		Great Britain, - - - -	11
Great Britain, - - - -	28	Other ports, - - - -	162
Other ports, - - - -	161		<u>292</u>
	<u>376</u>		

FRANKLIN'S DONATION.] As it immediately respects the town of Boston, it may not be improper here to insert an extract from his will. The excellent character of Dr. Benjamin Franklin is so well known in Europe and America, that nothing more need be added to what is already written concerning him, I shall only take notice that he was born in Boston, 6th January 1706. At an early period of his life, he left it, and settled in Philadelphia, and carried on the business of a printer, to which place after a variety of important services performed for his country abroad, he returned, and expired there: the 17th of April 1790, in the 85th year of his age. Though long absent from the place of his nativity, he retained an affection for it, and by his last will gave substantial evidence thereof, as appears by what follows.

“I give one thousand pounds sterling to the inhabitants of the town of Boston in Massachusetts, in trust to and for the uses, intents, and purposes, herein after mentioned and declared. The said sum of one thousand pounds sterling, if accepted by the inhabitants of the town of Boston, shall be managed under the direction of the selectmen, united with the ministers of the oldest Episcopalian, Congregational and Presbyterian churches in that town, who are to let out the same upon interest at five per cent per annum, to such young married artificers under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an apprenticeship in said town, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their

indentures; so as to obtain a good moral character from at least two respectable citizens, who are willing to become their sureties in a bond with the applicants for the repayment of the monies so lent, with interest, according to the terms herein after prescribed, and which are to be taken for Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in gold coin. And the managers shall keep a bound book or books, wherein shall be entered the names of those who shall apply for, and receive the benefit of this institution, and of their sureties, together with the sums lent, the dates, and other necessary and proper records respecting the business and concerns of this institution. And as these are intended to assist young married artificers in setting up their business, they are to be proportioned by the discretion of the managers, so as not to exceed sixty pounds sterling to one person, nor to be less than fifteen pounds. And if the number of appliers so entitled should be so large, as that the sum will not suffice to afford to each so much as might otherwise not be improper, the proportion to each shall be diminished, so as to afford to every one some assistance. These aids may therefore be small at first, but as the capital increases by an accumulating interest, they will be more ample. And in order to serve as many as possible in their turn, as well as to make the repayment of the principal borrowed more easy, each borrower shall be obliged to pay with the yearly interest one tenth part of the principal, which sums of principal and interest so paid in, shall be again let out to fresh borrowers. And as it is presumed there will always be found in Boston, virtuous and benevolent citizens willing to bestow a part of their time in doing good to the rising generation, by superintending and managing this institution gratis, it is hoped that no part of the money will at any time lie dead, or be diverted to other purposes, but be continually augmented by the interest, in which case there may in time be more than the occasion in Boston may require, and then some may be spared to the neighbouring or other towns in the said state of Massachusetts, which may desire to have it; such town engaging to pay punctually the interest, and the proportions of the principal annually to the town of Boston. If this plan is executed, and succeeds as projected without interruption for one hundred years, the sum will then be one hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds, of which I would have the managers of the donation to the town, then lay out at their discretion, one hundred thousand pounds in publick works, which may be judged of most general utility to the inhabitants, such as fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, publick buildings, baths, pavements, or whatever may make living in the town more convenient to its people, or more agreeable to strangers resorting thither for health or a temporary residence. The remaining thirty-one thousand pounds I would have continued to be let out on interest in the manner above directed for another hundred years, as I hope that it will have been found that the institution has had a good effect on the conduct of youth, and been of service to many worthy characters and useful citizens. At the end of the second term, if no unfortunate accident has prevented the operation, the sum will be four million and sixty-one thousand pounds sterling, of

which I leave one million and sixty-one thousand pounds to the discretion and management of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, and three millions to the disposition of the government of the state, not presuming to carry my views further."

In consideration of the Doctor's having received his instruction in literature in the free grammar school in Boston, he has bequeathed one hundred pounds sterling to be let out on interest, to be appropriated for the use of such schools in the town, at the discretion of those who may be managers of this donation, the interest to be distributed in silver medals, as honorary rewards annually to such youth as are the greatest proficient and excel in the particular branches of science they are instructed in.

Such benefactions as the above, so extensive and beneficial in their nature, are the solid basis of esteem: they embalm the memory of the benefactor. This will perpetuate the name of Franklin in the Massachusetts, and render his memory peculiarly dear to his Bostonian brethren.

The Doctor not only lived a life of great utility to his country, but will be, as he wished, "serviceable after his death."

From some ingenious observations published in the *Geographical Gazetteer* in 1784, the following are selected on the

#### CLIMATE, PREVAILING DISTEMPERS AND WATERS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON.

"From the circumstances of the climate in this metropolis, no one particular disease can properly be said to be endemial. It is very apparent that a very large proportion of the diseases here are of the chronick kind. The consumption, jaundice, dropsy, hypochondriack, and a great variety of nervous disorders, belong to this class.

Consumptions and dysenteries with putrid fevers, may perhaps emphatically be styled the diseases of this place. To the former especially great numbers annually fall a sacrifice, and it is much to be lamented that the young and blooming are generally those whom it attacks. Most consumptive disorders originate from an obstruction of perspiration. It is highly probable therefore, that some particular quality generating this affection, will, upon inquiry, be found to abound in the air, and to depend upon circumstances merely local. Sudden changes of weather, to which perhaps, the temperate climates are more peculiarly exposed, may probably be one means of obstructing the perspiration of the body. But as the easterly winds of this place, which must necessarily have blown over a considerable tract of ocean, are prevalent for a considerable part of the year, and almost the whole of the spring, it is reasonable to conjecture that the chill the air must have acquired from this cause, and the large quantity of aqueous matter it must contain, may render it a very apt instrument for suddenly closing the pores, and producing the complaints which usually are attendant on consumptions. The south wind has no special qualities, but is charged with the same dampness and relaxing warmth as in most of the northern situations. The west and north winds are found to be dry,

bracing, and salubrious. The east wind must therefore be considered as the true source of most diseases originating from peculiarities in the air of this place. In confirmation of this hypothesis, it may be observed that at the distance of about thirty miles from the sea, consumptions are less frequent, and to this distance the air may convey its heterogeneous quality. An attention to adapt the clothing of the body to the variations of the weather, especially in the more delicate sex, is recommended as a means, that may in great measure prevent the injuries the human constitution may receive from the cold bleak east wind, or sudden changes of weather.

As effluvia arising from marshy ground is allowed to be the largest source of putrid disorders, it is probable, that the exhalations promoted by the heat of the sun acting on a large extent of flats and marsh, especially at the southern extremity of the town, may justly be esteemed as a very operative cause to produce putrid disorders.

The waters in common use are found to abound with a large quantity of common salt, and some with a considerable proportion of iron; and it is not improbable that the latter substance contained in that used for culinary purposes, may greatly check the operation of the above mentioned causes."—The author of the above observations says, "That the town of Boston may, upon the whole, be pronounced one of the healthiest situations on the continent."

The small pox has often visited this metropolis. Since the present century commenced, Boston has been visited by it, at eight different periods; once before inoculation was known here. This practice was first communicated by the Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather, from the accounts recorded in the transactions of the Royal Society in London. Doctor Zabdiel Boylston was the first physician in the town who ventured on the practice, in 1721, and inoculated his own family. It being wholly a novel experiment in this country, on which the lives of the inhabitants depended, it was almost universally opposed. Some had religious scruples, arguing, "That they should wait their Maker's will concerning it, and not force a disease upon themselves, which perhaps they might otherwise escape."

The operation was at that day performed with the greatest secrecy, but the success since, that has attended the practice, has overcome all opposition, and it is now as much approved as it was formerly reprobated. So eager were the inhabitants of the town, in its last visitation of the small pox, that it might be said of them "they were inoculation mad." The method of treating the disorder in the early periods of inoculation, later experience has discovered to be unfriendly to it, and a warm regimen is exchanged for a cool one with good effect.

Doctor Thomas Sydenham, who died near the close of the last century, styled the English Hippocrates, it is said, founded this practice on the best instructor, experience. When he broached and practised a cool regimen, as best suited to the nature of this disorder, he was as much opposed by his contemporaries in England, as the first practitioners

of inoculation were in New England. But inoculation for the small pox, and the present mode of treating it, are now become established principles.

STATEMENT

Of the number of persons who have had the small pox in the town of Boston at different periods, since the commencement of the present century, and its effects in each period.

Period.	Natural.	Died	Proportion	Inoculated	Died.	Proportion.	From the country.	Removed from town
17	302							
21	5759	684	1 in 7	247	6	1 in 42		
30	3600	488	1 in 7	400	12	1 in 33		
52	5544	514	1 in 11	2109	31	1 in 70		1800
64	669	124	1 in 5	4977	46	1 in 108	400	1537
76	304	29	1 in 10	4988	28	1 in 178	1329	
78	122	42	1 in 3	2121	19	1 in 112		
*92	232	33	1 in 7	9152	165	1 in 55	1038	262
	W 214 B 18	W 27 B 6		W 8804 B 348	W 158 B 7			

\* The last period is to October 12th, before the town was totally clear of the distemper, but as the writer has seen no account taken since the above, it is the best he can give, and supposes is very nearly right. From the first settlement of the town to 1702, the year first mentioned above, the small pox had been in it four times.

A Table of Baptisms and Deaths from beginning of the present century.

Periods.	Baptisms	Average of Baptisms.	Deaths.	Average Deaths.
1701 to 1730 inclusive. During this period the small pox was in Boston at three different times, and the measles twice; the latter favourable. No blacks are included in the deaths for the three first years.			11,780	431 nearly.
1731 to 1752 inclusive. The small pox in the town once, and in 1745, an epidemick fever from Cape Breton very mortal.	11,850	564	13,384	637
1753 to 1763 inclusive.		419		497
1764 to 1774 do. Small pox in the town once.		434		522
1775 to 1783 was the American War, no record probably in that period.				
1784 January to October inclusive.	280		474	

If an accurate account of Baptisms and Deaths can be furnished from 1784 to 1793, both years inclusive, the Collections of the Historical Society are open to receive them.

**POLICE OF BOSTON.]** On the second Monday of March annually, a town meeting is held by the inhabitants qualified according to law, to choose town officers for the ensuing year: viz. a Town Clerk, nine Selectmen, twelve Overseers of the poor, Town Treasurer, sixteen Firewards, a School Committee, five Assessors of the town tax, four Collectors of taxes, three Auditors of the Publick Accounts, twelve Clerks of the Markets, or Bread Weighers, Vendue Masters, Constables, &c.

The government or well ordering the affairs of the town is the peculiar province of the Selectmen. They meet on Wednesday each week of the year, on the town's business; and the last Monday in each month, to pass on accounts.

It is an honorary but not a pecuniary office. Notwithstanding the care and vigilance of the gentlemen annually chosen into this office, irregularities take place, which in the opinion of many of the inhabitants need a reform. The code of municipal or by-laws made by the town, and approbated by the court of sessions, though well calculated to prevent abuses in many cases, yet have not produced the designed

effect, for want of a due execution of them, and delinquents pass unpunished. Several systems of reform have at different times been laid before the town, and agitated in the town meetings; but the sentiments of the citizens respecting the mode of reformation being various, no particular form could be agreed on.

In December 1791, the town had a meeting in Faneuil-hall, to take into consideration the state of it, and to come into measures that might conduce to lessen, or remove the embarrassments, either by an application to the legislature, to add new officers with an increase of power to the corporation, or take such orders on the police, as to give energy and respectability to the executive authority of all the town officers. The imbecility of the laws with respect to the execution of them was demonstrated. A committee was chosen to report at the adjournment the 26th of January following. The report being read and considered, was negatived by a majority of one hundred and eighty-four. For the report the numbers were five hundred and seventeen; against it, seven hundred and one.

Since these transactions an officer, called Inspector of the Police, has been chosen: Such an one seemed necessary. If the gentleman who at present holds this office is continued in it, and perseveres in discharging the duties of it with activity and vigilance, the office we doubt not will operate very beneficially for the town.

It may not be amiss in this place to take notice, that the repeated enormities which have been committed in the night season without the perpetrators being detected (which we choose to impute rather to imbecility in the watchmen than to any other cause in them) points out the expediency that a mode more efficient than the present should be adopted, for the safeguard of the town in that season.

We pretend not to point out the mode of regulating the night watch. The number of watch houses, of watchmen, the hours when to begin the patrols, and directions for the manner of conducting them, is left to the judgment of the gentlemen into whose hands the town have committed the regulation of their publick affairs. It will not however be thought too assuming to suggest the propriety of appointing for the town watch, sober, ablebodied, discreet citizens, not more than forty-five years of age, nor less than twenty-five: None others should be admitted into so important an office: their pay to be proportioned to their fatigue and service. A saving might probably be made in some less necessary town expense, which would enable it amply to compensate the watchmen, and might induce persons of the above description to engage in this business. The number of watchmen should be sufficiently large, to relieve each other when on duty; so that in no hour of the night the streets and lanes may be without a patrol.

A regulation in this part of the police of the town, it is not doubted, would be found of great utility. It would be particularly so in the winter, if robust, hardy men are appointed, when the length and darkness of the nights are peculiarly favourable to robbers and incendia-



ries. Seasonable alarms would be given in cases of fire, thefts prevented, or the thieves detected, if the watch do not alarm them by bawling the time of night, which should be omitted, and the patrols made with as little noise as possible. The nightly rambles of the bucks of the town, their noisy mirth, and mischievous practices would be restrained, from a fear of being apprehended and publicly known. The sons of violence would be confined to their dens, nocturnal depredations prevented, and the repose of the town secured: At least such effects may be expected.

Before we dismiss the head of Police, we shall just hint at another regulation, which appears not to have that attention which the importance of it requires; the regulation of chimney sweepers. Houses are frequently set on fire by sparks from a foul chimney, which all the care of the inhabitant cannot prevent, notwithstanding his most assiduous endeavours to get it swept. The number of chimney sweepers licensed in the town are too few; and it will be doing them no injustice to say, that they pay little regard to temperance or their promises. It is seriously wished that means may be used to find out a sufficient number of suitable persons, who would be willing to undertake an employment which brings in so much ready money.

Taxes are levied on all polls upwards of sixteen years of age, unless they are exempted by law, and are aged, indigent, and infirm.

The rateable polls in 1792, were three thousand six hundred and thirty one. The tax of the Commonwealth £.20,003 : 17s. : 6d. Boston's proportion payable in 1793, £.1836 : 13s. : 9d.

### ISLANDS AND ROCKS IN, AND NEAR, BOSTON HARBOUR.

Names.	Distance from Long Wharf Boston.	Situation.	In what Town.
Apple Island.	$2\frac{3}{4}$ miles,	Bet. Snake & Green Island.	Boston.
Apthorp's, a part of Calf.	9		
Bird Island. Soil washed away, but dry at low water.	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Bet. Noddle's and Gov. Island.	do.
Great Brewster.— Contains about twenty-five acres. A high cliff towards the sea, is lessening every year.	$7\frac{3}{4}$	Bet. Lovell's and Light House.	Hull.
Middle Brewster.— Rocks with a small portion of soil.	$8\frac{1}{8}$	Bet. the Great and Outer Brewster.	do.
Outer Brewster.	$8\frac{1}{4}$	East from Middle Brewster.	do.

Names.	Distance from Long Wharf Boston.	Situation.	In what Town.
Bumkin Island.	$9\frac{1}{4}$	Bet. Nantasket and Little Hog Island.	Hingham.
Button Island.	$11\frac{1}{4}$	Bet. Sailor's Island and Hingham.	
Calf Island. A rock covered in some parts with soil.	$7\frac{3}{4}$	Bet. Great Brewster and Green Island.	Hull.
Castle Island.	$2\frac{1}{3}$	Bet. Thomson's Isl- and and Boston.	Boston.
Chandler's Island called Langley's in Des Barre's Chart.	$10\frac{3}{4}$	Bet. Bumkin Island and Hingham.	Hingham.
Deer Island. Wast- ing towards the sea, & gaining on the inside, and at the East point.	$4\frac{1}{4}$	B. Shirley-point and Lovell's Island.	Boston.
Egg Rock. A bare rock.	$8\frac{3}{4}$	East from Light House.	
Gallop's Island.	6	Bet. Lovell's and Rainsford's.	
George's Island.	$6\frac{1}{2}$	Bet. Lovell's and Pettick's.	Hull.
Governour's Island. Containing about seventy acres.	$1\frac{7}{8}$	Bet. Deer and Bird Island.	Boston.
Grape Island.	$8\frac{7}{8}$	Bet. Bumkin and Weymouth.	
Graves. Bare rocks.	$9\frac{1}{4}$	E. by N. from Green Island.	
Green Island. Rock covered with soil in most parts.	$7\frac{7}{8}$	Bet. Calf & Graves.	Hull.
Half Moon Island.	$6\frac{3}{8}$	Bet. Nut Island and Squantum.	
A small Island.	$4\frac{3}{4}$	Near Half Moon.	Dorchester,
Hangmans Island.	$5\frac{7}{8}$	Bet. Pettick's and Moon Island.	
Harding's Rocks.— Visible at low water.	$10\frac{3}{4}$	S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. from the Light House.	
Hog Island.	$2\frac{1}{2}$	Bet. Noddle's and Chelsea.	Boston.
Little Hog Island.	$8\frac{7}{8}$	Bet. Nantasket and Bumkin.	Hull.

N m s	Distance from Long Wharf Boston.	Situation.	In what Town.
Light House Island. Rock, with three quar- ters of an acre of soil. A bar dry at low water connects it with the Great Brewster. A stone light house shows one light.	$8\frac{1}{4}$	Bet. Point Alderton and Mid. Brewster. }	Hull.
Long Island.	$4\frac{3}{4}$	Bet. Nick's Mate & } Spectacle Island. }	Boston.
Lovell's Island.	$6\frac{1}{4}$	Bet. Long Island & } Great Brewster. }	do.
Moon Island.	$4\frac{3}{4}$	Bet. Thomson's and } Hangman's. }	Dorchester.
Nick's Mate. Near- ly washed away by the sea.	$5\frac{3}{4}$	Bet. Long Island and } Gallop's. }	Boston.
Noddle's Island.	$\frac{3}{4}$	Bet. Boston & Hog } Island. }	do.
Nut Island Joins the main at half tide.	$7\frac{1}{4}$	Bet. Pettick's & Ger- mantown.	
Pettick's Island.	$6\frac{7}{8}$	Bet. George's and } Braintree Great Head. }	Hull.
Rackoon Island.	$8\frac{1}{4}$	Bet. Sheep Island & } Germantown. }	Quincy.
Ragged Island,	$10\frac{3}{4}$	Near Chandler's.	Hingham.
Rainsford Island. ----- Rocks.	$5\frac{7}{8}$ 6	Bet. Gallop's and } Hangman's, S. S. W. } from Rainsford's. }	Hull.
Sailor's Island, call- ed Sarah's in Des Barres' Chart.	11	Bet. Bumkin and } Hingham. }	Hingham.
Sheep Island.	$8\frac{3}{8}$	Bet. Bumkin & Pet- tick's. }	
Slate Island.	$9\frac{3}{8}$	Bet. Bumkin and } Weymouth river. }	
Snake Island.	$3\frac{1}{4}$	Bet. Apple Island & } Shirley point. }	Boston.
Spectacle Island.	$3\frac{5}{8}$	Bet. Castle & Long Island. }	do.
Sunken Island.	$6\frac{1}{2}$	Bet. Long Island & } Pettick's. }	
Thomson's Island.	$3\frac{1}{4}$	Bet. Moon & Dor- chester. }	Dorchester.

Names.	Distance from Long Wharf Boston	Situation.	In what Town.
A small Isl. Marsh in Mistick river.	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	near Malden bridge.	Charlestown.
Shirley Point.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$		Chelsea.
Alderton Point.	9 $\frac{1}{2}$		Hull.

N. B. The distances above are from actual survey, according to Des Barres' Chart. Not more than fifteen of these islands are of much importance for their size or production.

#### REMARKS RELATIVE TO THE ISLANDS, &c.

The Humane Society have erected small huts in, and near Boston harbour, for the relief of shipwrecked seamen, viz.

Two on Lovell's Island; one of them on the N. E. side, on a rising ground, about sixty rods from the shore; the other on the S. E. point, near to the Black Rocks.

Two on Nantasket long beach; one of these near Strawberry hill; the other near Point Alderton, the head land of Nantasket.

One on the S. W. end of Calf Island. And

One on Scituate Bank, a mile to the southward of the South Cliff, nearly opposite to White's ferry.

One at Stout's creek, near Cape Cod.

Poles are erected on these huts, with balls painted white, as marks where they stand. They are furnished with necessaries for the comfort and relief of the unfortunate who come on the coast. He must be an unfeeling wretch, who robs them of any necessaries which they contain.

Castle Island. July 29th, 1634. This year the governour, council, divers of the ministers, and others, met at this island and there agreed upon erecting two platforms and one small fortification, to secure the town; and for the furtherance of it, they agreed to lay out five pounds a man until a rule might be made at the next general court. The deputy governour, Roger Ludlow, was chosen overseer of the work. The next court that met, agreed to fortify Castle Island.

[Governour Winthrope's Journal.]

An ancient publication informs us, "That there was a castle built upon an island, on the passage into Massachusetts bay; but as the country afforded no lime but what was burnt of oyster shells, it fell to decay in a few years after. In 1644, the six nearest towns took upon them to rebuild it at their own cost and charges. The other towns, on its being finished, gave a small matter towards it." In 1673, it was burnt, and a new one built with stone was erected in the same place, under direction of an able engineer. Castle William, the name of the fortress, is so near the channel, that all ships coming up to Boston must approach it, within pistol shot.

It is garrisoned by a company of soldiers in the pay of the commonwealth. A captain lieutenant resides at it, and commands there. This island has a strong building erected on it for the reception of convicts, whose crimes deserve the gallows, but by the lenity of the government have their punishment changed into hard labour, and a temporary confinement for a longer or shorter time, according to the nature and aggravations of their crimes. The castle is now repairing and will be put in the best posture of defence.

**Governour's Island.**—Governour Winthrop had Conant's Island demised to him upon certain conditions. In 1632, it was called Governour's Garden; and it is now known by the name of Governour's Island. It has continued in Governour Winthrop's family to the present time, one of his descendants still possessing it.

**Light house Island.** The Light house on it is sixty-five feet in height. Three branch pilots for the port of Boston attend at the island. Their district is from the high lands of Marshfield on the south, to Nahant rock on the north.

**Noddle's Island** was first occupied by Samuel Mavericke. He was on it when the settlement of Boston commenced. He afterwards had a grant of it from the general court, and built a fort in which he mounted four cannon.

**Rainsford Island** is called also Hospital Island, it being commodiously situated for the reception of diseased seamen and infected persons. It has on it an inoculating hospital.

**Thomson's Island.** David Thomson, a Scotchman, employed by Mason, Gorges, and others, as agent for lands in New England which they obtained patents for, came to Massachusetts bay, and took possession of this island, six years before Boston was settled. The general court of Massachusetts bay afterwards confirmed it to him.

**Shirley Point** formerly had the name of Pulling Point. The name which it now bears, was given it, by the proprietors, as a mark of respect to the late Governour Shirley. A number of gentlemen in Boston purchased lots there for the purpose of carrying on a fishery, and as a residence for the fishermen whom they might employ. It was begun with spirit, but soon declined; and not answering the expectations of the undertakers, the business was wholly laid aside.

At the outset they erected a number of large handsome dwelling houses, for their own accommodation when on a visit there for a few days together, and also a house for publick worship. If they had appropriated the monies these buildings cost, to the erecting of a number of smaller ones, suitable for the families of fishermen, and accommodated to their manner of living, and had supplied them with necessary articles for their support, at as low rates as they could have been purchased at the capital, it is probable many would have taken residence on the point, been always at hand for the business, and the proprietors would have reaped advantage from the undertaking.

The islands produce grain and hay, the latter sufficient to export from some of them. Sheep and cattle graze here and find rich pasture.

The inhabitants of the adjacent towns repair thither in the summer season, on parties of pleasure. By the census taken in 1791, there were fifteen houses and two hundred and fifty-two inhabitants on them.

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A LIST OF WRITERS WHO WERE CITIZENS OF BOSTON, WITH THE TIME OF THEIR DECEASE.

- 1649.—Governour John Winthrop ; Journal and political tracts.  
 1652.—John Cotton ; polemical divinity, sermons, &c.  
 1663.—John Norton ; biography, theological treatises.  
 1667.—John Wilson ; sermons, theological tracts.  
 1670.—John Davenport ; polemical divinity, tracts.  
 1674.—John Oxenbridge ; theological tracts and sermons.  
 1678.—Thomas Thacher ; sermons, Hebrew Lexicon, essay on the small pox.  
 1707.—Samuel Willard ; Body of Divinity, sermons, &c.  
 1708.—Ezekiel Cheever ; grammar and essay on the Millennium.  
 1710.—James Allen ; sermons and polemical divinity.  
     Joshua Scottow ; Old men's tears, account of Massachusetts Planters, &c.  
     Thomas Brattle ; philosophical essays.  
 1717.—Ebenezer Pemberton ; sermons, essays.  
 1720.—Robert Calef ; essay and letters upon witchcraft and miracles.  
 1723.—Increase Mather ; history, sermons, and polemical divinity.  
 1728.—Cotton Mather ; history, biography, sermons, tracts, &c.  
 1729.—Gov. William Burnet ; essays political and theological.  
 1729.—Henry Harris ; polemical divinity.  
 1730.—Samuel Sewall, Chief Justice ; tracts on the Apocalypse, &c.  
 1737.—Benjamin Wadsworth ; sermons, religious tracts.  
 1737.—Elisha Cooke ; political essays.  
 1738.—Peter Thacher ; election sermon, funeral sermon, &c.  
 1739.—Jeremiah Dummer ; theological and political tracts.  
 1740.—John Adams ; poems.  
 1743.—William Cooper ; sermons.  
 1745.—Isaac Greenwood ; mathematicks.  
 1746.—Thomas Kilby ; essays in prose and verse.  
 1747.—Benjamin Colman ; sermons and essays.  
 1748.—Joshua Gee ; sermons and polemical divinity.  
 1749.—John Read ; grammar and political essays.  
 1750.—John Webb ; sermons.  
     Thomas Prince, jun. ; Christian History.  
 1752.—William Douglass ; tracts historical and medical.  
 1753.—Ellis Gray ; several sermons.  
 1753.—William Welstead ; election sermon.  
     Matthew Adams ; poetical essays.  
 1756.—Benjamin Brandon ; poetical and political essays.  
 1758.—Thomas Prince ; annals, sermons, version of psalms.  
 1760.—William Clark ; political tract.

- 1760.—Nathaniel Gardner; poems.  
1762.—Andrew Le Mercier; Church history of Geneva, and treatise of detraction.  
1763.—Alexander Cumming; several sermons, polemical divinity.  
1763.—Benj. Prat; poetical and political essays.  
1765.—Oxenbridge Thacher; essays on trade, gold coin.  
1765.—Timothy Cutler; sermons.  
1766.—Zabdiel Boylston; medical essays.  
1766.—Jonathan Mayhew; polemical divinity, sermons, political and poetical essays.  
1767.—William Hooper; several sermons.  
1767.—Jeremy Gridley; Rehearsal, a periodical paper, and political essays.  
1768.—Samuel Checkley, jun.; several sermons.  
1768.—Jeremy Condy; several sermons, polemical divinity.  
1769.—Samuel Checkley; several sermons.  
1769.—Thomas Foxcroft; sermons, polemical divinity.  
1769.—Joseph Sewal; sermons.  
1773.—Governour William Shirley; account of Louisburg expedition.  
1774.—Andrew Oliver; political and theological essays.  
1775.—Josiah Quincy; political essays.  
1775.—Joseph Warren; political essays and orations.  
1775.—John Hunt; several sermons.  
1776.—Benjamin Church; poems, political essays, and oration.  
William Bollan; political tracts.  
1777.—Ebcnezer Pemberton; sermons.  
1778.—Andrew Eliot; sermons.  
1778.—John Lovell; political essays, oration.  
1778.—John Mascarene; poetical and political essays.  
1779.—Jonathan William Austin; poetical and political essays, and oration.  
1780.—Gov. Thomas Hutchinson; history of Massachusetts Bay.  
1780.—John Perkins; Theory of Agency, and Comets.  
1780.—Joseph Green; essays in prose and verse.  
1783.—James Otis; political tracts, essay on prosody.  
1783.—Samuel Cooper; sermons, and political essays.  
1784.—Phillis Wheatley; poems.  
1785.—Samuel Mather; sermons and essays.  
1785.—Andrew Crosswell; sermons and polemical divinity.  
1787.—Charles Chauncy; sermons, polemical divinity, Salvation for all men, &c.  
1788.—Mather Byles; sermons, essays, poems.  
1789.—Edmund Quincy; treatise on hemp husbandry.  
1789.—Samuel Quincy; essays in prose and verse.  
1790.—Gov. James Bowdoin; philosophical essays.  
1790.—Henry Caner; sermons on particular occasions.  
1793.—Gov. John Hancock; oration.  
1793.—John Gardiner; philological and critical essays.  
1793.—William Hill Brown; poems, novels, plays.

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**COLLECTIONS**

OF THE

**MASSACHUSETTS**

**HISTORICAL SOCIETY,**

FOR THE YEAR

M, DCC, XCV.

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BOSTON:

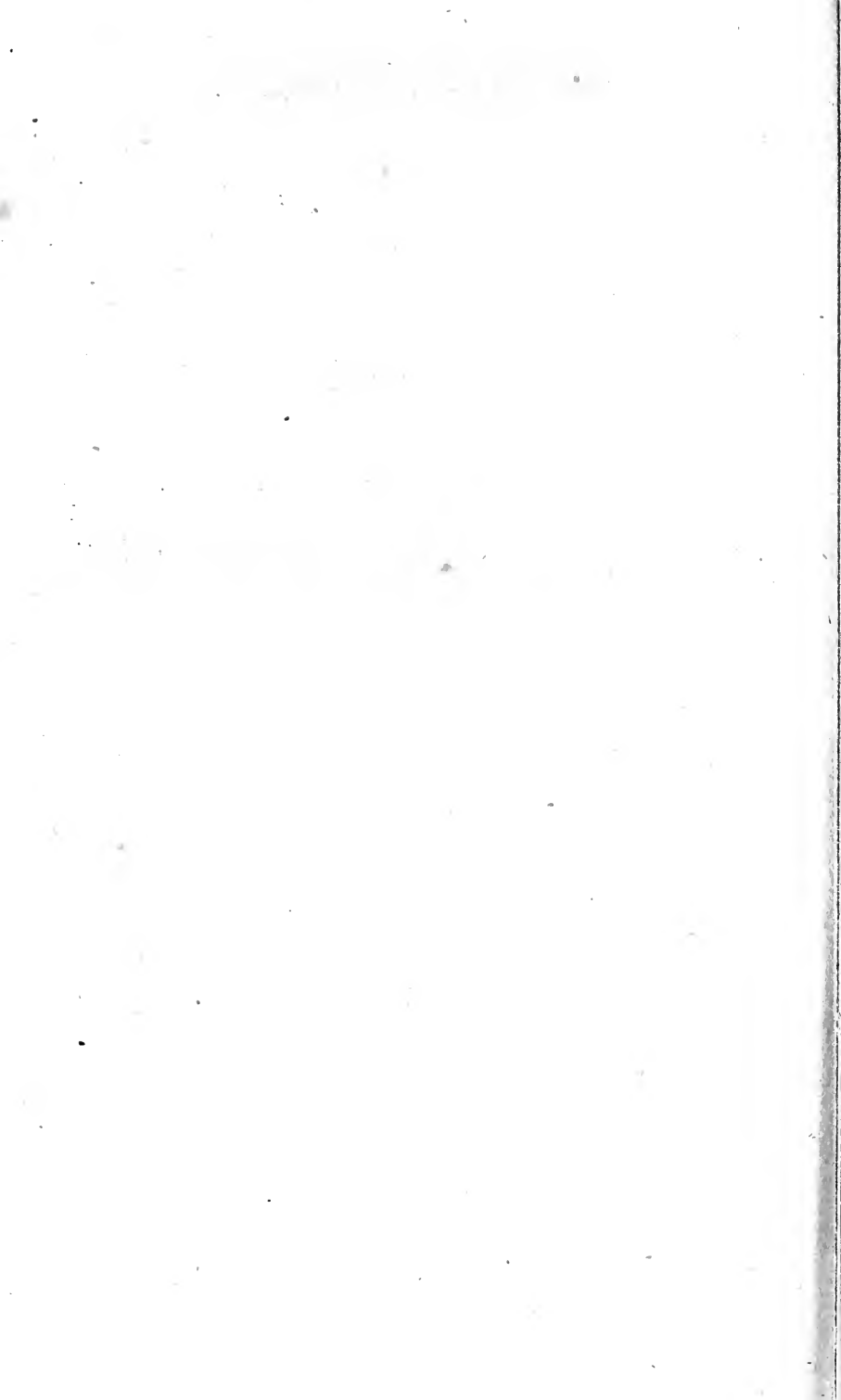
PRINTED BY SAMUEL HALL,

1795.

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REPRINTED BY JOHN H. EASTBURN,

1835.



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of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

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Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

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*In the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred and ninety-four.*

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An Act to incorporate a Society, by the name of THE MASSACHUSETTS  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

WHEREAS the collection and preservation of materials for a political and natural history of the United States, is a desirable object, and the institution of a Society for those purposes will be of public utility :

*Be it therefore enacted, by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That* William Baylies, Esq. Jeremy Belknap, D. D. the Rev. Alden Bradford, Peleg Coffin, Esq. Manasseh Cutler, D. D. John Davis, Esq. Daniel Davis, Esq. Aaron Dexter, Doctor in Physic, the Rev. John Elliot, Nathaniel Freeman, Esq. the Rev. James Freeman, the Rev. Thadeus Mason Harris, Isaac Lothrop, Esq. George Richards Minot, Esq. the Rev. John Mellen, jun. Thomas Pemberton, William Dandridge Peck, the Rev. John Prince, Ezekiel Price, Esq. James Sullivan, Esq. David Sewall, Esq. Peter Thatcher, D. D. William Tudor, Esq. Samuel Turell, Dudley Atkins Tyng, Esq. James Winthrop, Esq. Thomas Wallcut, Redford Webster, and William Wetmore, Esq. who have associated for the purposes aforesaid, and have requested an Act of Incorporation ; be, and hereby are formed into and constituted a Society and Body Politic and Corporate, by the name of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY ; and that they, and their successors, and such other persons as shall be legally elected by them, shall be and continue a Body Politic and Corporate, by that name, for ever.

*And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That* the members of said Society shall have power to elect a President, and all other necessary officers ; and that the said Society shall have one common seal, and the same may break, change, and renew at pleasure ; and that the same Society, by the name aforesaid, as a Body Politic and Corporate, may sue and be sued, prosecute and defend suits to final judgment and execution.

*And be it further enacted, That* the said Society shall have power to make orders and bye laws for governing its members and property, not repugnant to the laws of this Comonwealth ; and may expel,

disfranchise and suspend any member, who, by his misconduct, shall be rendered unworthy.

*And be it further enacted,* That the said Society may, from time to time, establish rules for electing officers and members, and also times and places for holding meetings; and shall be capable to take and hold real or personal estate, by gift, grant, devise, or otherwise, and the same, or any part thereof, to alien and convey: *Provided,* That the annual income of any real estate, by said Society holden, shall never exceed the sum of five hundred pounds; and that the personal estate thereof, besides books, papers, and articles in the Museum of said Society shall never exceed the value of two thousand pounds.

*And be it further enacted,* That the members of said Society, shall never be more than sixty (except honorary members, residing without the limits of this Commonwealth) and that James Sullivan, Esq. be and he hereby is authorised and empowered to notify and warn the first meeting of said Society; and that the same Society, when met, shall agree upon a method for calling future meetings, and may have power to adjourn from time to time, as may be found necessary.

*And be it further enacted,* That either branch of the Legislature, shall, and may have free access to the Library and Museum of said Society.

*This Act passed Feb. 19, 1794.*

## LAWS and REGULATIONS of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE 1. EACH member shall pay *eight dollars* at the time of his admission, and *two dollars* annually, to create a fund, for the benefit of the institution. And any member shall be exempted from the annual payment of two dollars, provided he shall at any time after six months from his admission, pay to the Treasurer, thirty-four dollars, in addition to what he had before paid.

ART. II. All elections shall be made by ballot. No member shall nominate more than one candidate at the same meeting; and all nominations shall be made, at a meeting, previous to that, at which the ballot is to be taken.

ART. III. There shall be four stated meetings of the Society in each year; namely, on the last Tuesdays of January, April, July, and October. And occasional meetings shall be convened, on due notification, by the President; or in case of his absence, by one of the Secretaries, on application of any two of the members.

ART. IV. There shall be annually chosen, at the meeting in April a President, a Recording and a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, a Cabinet Keeper, and a Standing Committee of three. [*Since altered to five.*]



ART. V. At the request of any two members present, any motion shall be deferred to another meeting, for farther consideration, before it is finally determined, and shall then be taken up.

ART. VI. All accounts shall be kept in dollars and cents.

ART. VII. Five members present shall be a quorum for all purposes, excepting those of making alterations in, or additions to, the laws and regulations of this Society, and election of members.

ART. VIII. No member shall be chosen, unless there are nine members present at the election, and unless two thirds of the members present vote for his admission.

ART. IX. Members who are chosen in other States and Countries, shall not be required to make contribution with the members who are citizens of the Commonwealth.

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### LAWS, *regulating the* STANDING COMMITTEE.

ARTICLE I. The Standing Committee shall regulate all the common expenses of the Society, and make the necessary provision of such small articles as may be wanted, and shall have power to draw on the Treasurer to defray the expense.

ART. II. They shall aid the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, when they shall require it, in the arrangement of the books, pamphlets, maps, and manuscripts, and in the disposition of curiosities and articles belonging to the cabinet, and shall especially attend to the preservation and binding of books and pamphlets.

ART. III. They shall frequently inspect the records, and inquire whether all the orders of the Society are carried into effect with precision and promptitude.

ART. IV. They shall inquire for, and endeavour to obtain, on the best terms, for the benefit of the Society, manuscripts, books, and articles of curiosity.

ART. V. They shall meet, in the week previous to each stated quarterly meeting of the Society, and arrange and prepare such business, as may be a subject for the Society's attention. The Recording Secretary shall notify the Standing Committee of their stated meetings.

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### LAWS, *regulating the* LIBRARY and MUSEUM.

ARTICLE I. All books which are presented to the library shall be accepted with thanks, and also every curiosity for the museum.

ART. II. American coins and curiosities shall be kept by themselves in the best part of the cabinet.

ART. III. At every quarterly meeting, a catalogue of the books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and maps, shall be produced by the Librarian, and a catalogue of the curiosities by the Cabinet Keeper: and every

#### 4 *Laws and Regulations of the Historical Society.*

member shall in person, if present, and in writing, if absent, give an account of the books and manuscripts, or whatever article belonging to the Society, he may have in his possession.

ART. IV. Once in every year, previous to the spring meeting, the standing committee shall inspect the library and museum, and report the state of every article at that meeting, and what books are particularly wanted.

ART. V. There shall be two keys to the Society's room, one of which shall be kept by the Librarian and the other by the Cabinet Keeper, to be by them delivered to no person except one of the members.

ART. VI. Each member shall give receipts for the books which he shall take out of the library, in a receipt-book to be provided for that purpose. He shall be under obligation to return each book within three months after receiving the same; and shall not have more than three books at a time, unless by special leave obtained by a vote of the Society. No manuscript shall be taken out of the library, but in the presence of the Librarian, a receipt and obligation being given to return it within the space of three months.

ART. VII. The sixth article shall not prevent the Committee, annually chosen to superintend the publications of the Society, from taking out of the library *as many* books and papers as they may want, they giving a receipt for the same, as provided in that article.

ART. VIII. If books or manuscripts be requested for public uses, or for the peculiar benefit of persons whom the Society is disposed to oblige, the application shall be made to the Librarian, through the medium of some member, who shall be responsible in a written obligation for the return of each article borrowed, within such time as shall be stipulated by the Librarian, not exceeding three months, and shall be accountable for all loss and damage.

ART. IX. Every book lost shall be replaced by the person who shall have lost the same, if it can be procured; and if not, another equally valuable shall be accepted to supply the vacancy.

ART. X. All pamphlets shall be bound, except duplicates; which shall be kept by themselves, and triplicates shall be exchanged.

ART. XI. All manuscripts shall be distinctly marked and numbered, and kept in cases of paper; which shall also be numbered, and the contents of each registered.

ART. XII. Every present received shall be recorded, and an account of it rendered, at the next meeting of the Society.

ART. XIII. A printed ticket shall be pasted on the inside of the cover of each book, signifying that it is the property of the Society, and also the name of the donor, if it be a present.

## CIRCULAR LETTER of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Respectfully addressed to every Gentleman of Science in the Continent and Islands of America.

SIR,

THE professed design of our institution is to *collect, preserve,* and *communicate* materials for a complete history of this country, and of all valuable efforts of the ingenuity and industry of its inhabitants. In pursuance of this design we have already amassed a large quantity of books, pamphlets and manuscripts; and we are still in search of more.

The Library and Museum of the Society are deposited in a new, spacious and convenient apartment of the *Tontine Crescent*, in *Franklin place*, BOSTON. To this apartment, *any person* may have access, by application to the Librarian, or to any one of the members.

But from many instances which have occurred during our own memory, we are satisfied, that depositories, however desirable, are exposed to such accidents, from the hand of time, from the power of the elements, and from the ravages of unprincipled or mercenary men, as to render them unsafe. The surest way of preserving historical records and materials is, not to lock them up; but to *multiply the copies*. The art of printing affords a mode of preservation, more effectual than Corinthian brass or Egyptian marble. Statues and pyramids, which have long survived the wreck of time, are unable to tell the names of their sculptors, or the date of their foundation.

Impressed with this idea, the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY have determined, not only to *collect*; but to *diffuse* the various kinds of historical information which are within their reach. Though these materials may come in, at different times, and there may not be opportunity to digest them, in the best manner, previously to their publication; yet we will present them in such order as may be convenient and effectual. If we cannot erect an elegant building, we will plant a forest, into which every inquirer may enter at his pleasure, and find something adapted to his purpose.

We have therefore encouraged the publication of a monthly pamphlet; in which is given the result of our inquiries into the *natural, political,* and *ecclesiastical* history of this country. It is requested, that you would contribute to its value and importance, by attending to the annexed articles of inquiry; and we beg leave to depend on your obliging answers, when leisure and opportunity will permit.

We have also contemplated the forming of an extensive cabinet; comprehending the various natural productions of our continent, the adjacent islands, and the neighboring seas. To facilitate this purpose, we have annexed to this letter, the best directions we have been able

to obtain, for the collection and preservation, of all the proper subjects of natural history. Any specimens which it may be in your power to send will be gratefully received.

Your letters, free of expense, addressed to the subscriber, will be duly acknowledged; and noticed in the Society's publications; and you will have the satisfaction of contributing to the general stock of knowledge with which we hope to entertain the public.

In the name, and by order of the Society.

JEREMY BELKNAP,  
*Corresponding Secretary.*

*Boston, July 1, 1794.*

## A P P E N D I X .

### No. I.

#### *Articles on which the Society request information.*

1. THE time when your own town or city was incorporated; its Indian name; when the settlement began; whether it was interrupted, and by what means; to what Colony or County it was first annexed; and if there have been any alterations, what they are, and when made.

2. The exploits, labours and sufferings of the inhabitants in war; particular accounts of devastations, deaths, captivities and redemptions.

3. Divisions of your town or city into parishes and precincts, or the erection of new towns within the former limits.

4. Time of gathering churches of every denomination; names of the several ministers; the times of their settlement, removal and death; and their age at the time of their death.

5. Biographical anecdotes of persons in your town, or within your knowledge, who have been remarkable for ingenuity, enterprise, literature, or any other valuable accomplishment; an account of their literary productions, and if possible, copies of them.

6. Topographical description of your town or county, and its vicinity; mountains, rivers, ponds, animals, vegetable productions; remarkable falls, caverns, minerals, stones, sands, clays, chalk, flints, pit-coal, pigments, medicinal and poisonous substances, their uses and antidotes.

7. The former and present state of cultivation, and your thoughts on farther improvements, either in respect to agriculture, roads or canals.

8. Monuments and relicks of the ancient Indians; number and present state of any remaining Indians among you.

9. Singular instances of longevity and fecundity from the first settlement, to the present time.

10. Observations on the weather, diseases, and the influence of the climate, or of particular situations, employments and aliments, especially the effect of spirituous liquors on the human constitution.

11. Accurate bills of mortality, specifying ages and casualties, the proportion of births and deaths; and the increase or decrease of population.

12. Observations on manufactures of various kinds in any part of America, at any time; and a comparative view of them at any two or more periods; particularly before and since the independence of the United States; before and since the establishment of the present federal constitution; with thoughts on the farther improvement of them.

13. Past and present state of fisheries either in the seas or rivers of America.

14. Modes of education, private or public; what encouragement is given to schools and colleges, and what is done to advance literature; whether you have a social library, what is the number of books, and of what value.

15. What remarkable events have befallen your State, county, town, or particular families or persons at any time.

☞ The Corresponding Members of this Society are requested to transmit to the Corresponding Secretary, any historical and geographical information of which they may be possessed, respecting any part of the American Continent and Islands, together with printed acts and journals of Assemblies and Conventions, whether civil or ecclesiastical. And the Society will gratefully receive from them and from all other persons whatever, any books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps or plans which may be useful in forming an historical collection—and any natural or artificial productions which may enlarge the Museum.

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## NO. II.

*As one branch* of a collection of materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of this country—it is intended to form a complete series of Sermons, On the discovery of America.

On the completion of one century from the discovery or settlement of any *State, Town*, or other place in the United States.

Delivered before the General Court } in Plymouth or  
At the anniversary elections } Boston, in Connecticut, New Hampshire, or any other of the States.

At the anniversary conventions of the clergy, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, or Baptist.

At the anniversary elections of officers of the artillery company.

On annual and special Fasts, and Thanksgivings.

To militia companies, or to troops in camp.

On victory or defeat in war.

On the return of peace.

On remarkable events, as fires, earthquakes, epidemic sickness, &c.

At assizes, or the opening courts of justice.

At town meetings and on other popular occasions.

Oration, Sermons, or Poems,

On the anniversary of the first landing of our ancestors at Plymouth.

On the anniversary of the 5th of March.

On the anniversary of the 4th of July.

At the meetings of the Cincinnati Society.

On the death of eminent characters in church or state.

Before any literary society.

Journals, laws, resolves and protests, Of Congresses.

Of assemblies, Conventions, and other Legislative and deliberative bodies.

Conferences and treaties of public Commissioners, appointed to treat with Indians.

Tax acts of an older date than 1775.

Proclamations by authority, and other single printed sheets.

Proceedings of Episcopal conventions, Ecclesiastical councils, Presbyteries, Synods, General Assemblies, Baptist associations; Circular Letters of the societies of Friends; and of other denominations of christians.

Indian exploits, speeches, anecdotes, &c.

Narratives, Of battles with the Indians.

Of captives, their exploits, sufferings, escapes, &c.

Of missionaries and itinerant preachers of all denominations.

Journals, Of voyagers and travellers, for *discovery*, *curiosity*, or other causes.

Minutes, or other doings of *political clubs*.

Magazines, museums, newspapers, &c.

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### No. III.

#### *Directions for preserving animals and parts of animals.*

**QUADRUPEDS.** The *head* should be preserved as nearly as possible in its natural form, with all its parts. If it be necessary to remove any of the bones of the head, care should be taken, to retain the *jaw-bones* with all the *teeth* entire; as the number, form, and situation of the teeth afford some of the most essential and distinguishing characters. The *tongue* ought to be preserved in its natural form; also the *legs*, *feet*, and *hoofs* or *claws*.

**BIRDS.** These should be preserved in *full plumage*; with the *bill, tongue*, and other parts of the head; *the wings, thighs, legs, and claws*; and the fleshy part of the *rump*, in which the tail feathers are inserted; with all the feathers as nearly as may be in their natural position. There are many parts or appendages of the head, the presence or absence of which affords distinguishing characters. Specimens of birds of both sexes and of the same species are desirable. The *nests and eggs* of birds contribute to increase the knowledge of natural history.

**AMPHIBIOUS.** The *head*, with all its parts; the *skin* or *shell* in its natural form; with all the *limbs* and appendages.

**SERPENTS.** The whole *head, teeth* and *tongue*. The skin ought to be opened on one side, to preserve uninjured the *scales* on the belly, from the head to the end of the tail. A small portion of the *bone* at the end of the *tail* should be retained. If the skin be spread open and dried (as hereafter directed in the mode of drying the skins of birds) all the rings, spots, strips will appear; and especially the scales under the belly, called the *scuta* and *squama*; the number of which affords distinguishing characters.

**FISHES.** Specimens may be preserved, by splitting the head and taking one half of the *head* and *gills*, and *skins*, with all the *fins* of the back and belly, and along the *tail* to its extremity; the membranous part which is an extension of the head over the gills, called the *branchia*, and contains a number of long bones called *rays*, which are generally essential in giving the characters of fishes.

**INSECTS.** These should be preserved entire.

**TESTACEOUS.** In preserving those who have two valves or shells; great care should taken to preserve the *joints* by which the shells or valves are connected; because they contain the essential characters. Those shells which are found with the fish in them are most valuable for the brightness of colour.

**ZOOPLYTES**, which partake of the nature of both animals and vegetables, should be preserved entire; with the substances to which they may be found to adhere.

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#### No. IV.

#### *Doctor CUTLER's method of preserving the skins of birds.*

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“Open the skin along the breast; remove the whole of the body and neck, retaining the bones in the fore-part of the head; the wings, thighs and legs. Then spread the skin, open; and place it on a sheet of brown paper, adjusting the head, wings, legs and tail. Over the skin, thus disposed, place another sheet of paper, and a small weight, so as to produce a gentle pressure. When the skin is become somewhat dry and stiff, it may be moistened with a sponge or brush dipped

in spirits.\* Then sprinkle the skin pretty thick with a powder composed of equal parts of alum, salt-petre, and black pepper. Then place it between two sheets of paper as before, with a gentle pressure. It may be enclosed in several thicknesses of paper, to prevent all the feathers from being injured by the heat, and be placed for several hours in an oven after the bread is drawn.”

M. CUTLER.

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No. V.

*Mr. PECK's methods of preserving animals and their skins.*

“*First.* Take half an ounce of crude *Sal amoniac* in powder; put it into a pint of water; and when dissolved, add one ounce of *corrosive sublimate mercury* also in powder.

When this solution is used, it should be put into a glass phial and set in a vessel of cold water, over the fire. When the water boils, the solution will be sufficiently heated. When heated, it must be laid on with a brush. It is used for washing the inside of boxes, in which insects and other preparations are kept. There should be a string or wire, round the neck of the phial, by which it may be lifted when hot; and it must be heated in a glass phial as directed; because it corrodes with great rapacity every metallic substance.

“*Second.* Take twelve ounces of *rectified spirit of wine*; one ounce and a half of *spirit of turpentine*; mix, and add half an ounce of *camphor*.

The skins of animals may be passed over with this fluid, by means of a brush. It will destroy several species of insects.

“*Third.* Take white *arsenic* two ounces, *alum*, common *salt*, flower of *sulphur*, white *chalk*, one ounce of each; *colocynth* one quarter of an ounce, and of black *pepper* one ounce. Let each be powdered separately, then mix them intimately.

“*Fourth.* With this compound powder, let the fresh skins of animals be sprinkled on the inside; and for the outside, use one pint of *rectified spirit* in which one quarter of an ounce of *mercury sublimate corrosive* is dissolved. This method is very proper for birds. The celebrated REAUMUR used every spring to place his preparations in an oven made so hot as only not to burn the feathers or hair; by which means any latent insects were destroyed.

It may not be improper to observe, that these are all nocturnal insects, and begin to move soon after twilight in quest of proper substances on which to deposit their eggs. The evening is therefore a fit time to examine the walls, by which attention, many of them may be destroyed. I have found this a useful precaution. The specimens themselves should be frequently and carefully examined, to discover any

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\* The stiffest skins of any animal whatever may be rendered soft and pliable by the application of the yolk of an egg mixed with warm water.



insects which may have crept into them ; without this care, no application whatever will I believe effectually preserve them."

WM. D. PECK.

---

No. VI.

*A method of preserving birds and other animals, from the Philosophical Transactions, recommended by Dr. LETTSON, in his Traveller's Companion, p. 13.*

"Birds in perfect plumage should be opened from the upper part of the breast, to the vent, with a sharp knife or pair of scissors ; the feathers of the breast and belly being first carefully laid aside by the fingers ; so as not to hinder the skin being easily come at. The skin must then be carefully loosened from all the fleshy parts of the breast and body. Take out all the entrails. Then with a composition of *burnt alum*, *camphor* and *cinnamon*, of each an equal quantity, well powdered and mixed, let the whole carcase be strewed over lightly ; but *salt is not to be used* with this composition, as it will, in moist weather, drop and besmear the feathers. Pour into the body a small quantity of *camphorated spirit of wine* ; after that, fill up the cavity with *cotton* or any soft woolly substance, pouring some of the aforesaid spirit into the cotton or stuffing.

"Fill up the body where the flesh has been taken away, with cotton, and your composition ; and having a fine needle and silk, sew up the skin, beginning at the breast ; observing, as you approach towards the vent, to stuff the skin as tight as it will bear. This will be easily accomplished by means of a small stick, of wood or ivory, till the whole is done. Then lay the feathers of the breast and belly in their proper order.

"To preserve the *head*, MR. KUCKAHN directs the neck to be pulled within the skin, till the back of the skull is drawn into sight ; out of which a small piece is to be cut, and the brains extracted. The cavity of the skull is then to be moistened with spirits and filled with the composition and with cotton ; the skin may then be drawn to its proper place.

"Or, the brain may be extracted, by making an incision through the roof of the mouth (taking care not to injure the tongue) with a sharp pointed knife and drawing the substance of the brain, the eyes, and other internal parts of the head ; the cavity should be immediately filled with the composition and cotton. No water should be used to cleanse any of the cavities.

"Large *sea-fowls* have thick, strong skins ; such may be skinned, taking care to preserve the bones of the head, and other essential characteristic parts. The inside of the skin may be moistened with any of the aforementioned solutions, the sublimate solution to be preferred. But where these cannot be had, a mixture of *tobacco-dust*, *alum*, *pep-*

*per*, and *camphor* may be substituted. The skin may then be stuffed with oakum or tobacco steeped in the solution, and sewed up. It should be kept dry, and as soon as possible dried in an oven, not so hot as to crisp the feathers.

“The skins of *fishes* taken off at sea may be preserved in a strong brine, with the addition of a little alum.

“When any subject is to be kept some time in a hot climate, it should be secured in a box filled with oakum, tow, or tobacco, well sprinkled with the sublimate solution.

“Small birds may be preserved whole in spirits; the finest plumage is not injured by this mode.

“Small quadrupeds, reptiles, zoophytes and marine insects, may also be preserved in spirits, with the addition of a little alum; the corks of the phials must be well secured, or the spirits will evaporate. The first drawn spirits, commonly called *high wines* are to be preferred.

“Winged insects are best preserved by drying; when first caught, they should be put into boxes well besmeared with camphor.

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## No. VII.

### *Method of collecting and preserving vegetables. By Dr. LETTSOM.*

“When the naturalist is in search of vegetable productions, different soils and situations should be examined; as the sea and its shores, deep running waters, dykes, marshes, moors, mountains, rocks, woods, neglected or cultivated fields. Each of these affords peculiar plants; and when any are collected, the particular soil and situation should be remarked. If it be convenient to take the whole plant with its root, flowers and parts of fructification entire and perfect, the most effectual way of preserving it, is to put it into a bottle of spirits. But it is often more convenient to convey them dried in a *hortus siccus*.

“To do this in the best manner, and to make the stalks, leaves, and flowers lie flat and smooth, they must be exposed, between papers, to a free dry air with considerable pressure upon them. The leaves and flowers should be carefully expanded; for on this, the beauty and value of the specimen greatly depend. The plants should be gathered on a dry day, whilst they are in full bloom and all their parts perfect and entire. When perfectly dry, they may be kept, either loose in quires of paper, or fastened into a book, with glue made of fish isinglass, dissolved in boiling water.\* Particular care should be taken to avoid any injuries from moisture or insects; to prevent any accident from the latter, let the paper and stalks of the plants be sprinkled with the sublimate solution.

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\* One ounce of fish isinglass dissolved in a quart of brandy, and boiled till three quarters of the liquor be evaporated, will make a fine glue, which may be kept bottled for a long time.

The *impressions* of plants well taken off on paper look very little inferior to the best drawings. Several methods have been recommended. The following by Mr. PECK is very easy and effectual.

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No. VIII.

*Mr. PECK'S method of taking impressions of vegetable leaves by means of smoke.*

“The apparatus necessary for this purpose consists of a pane of glass ; a pair of pliers, the jaws of which must be covered with leather ; a pair of small forceps ; a wooden cylinder, about an inch and a quarter in diameter, covered with soft woolen cloth, wrapped four or five times round it and secured ; two pieces of sponge of the size of a hen's egg ; and some splinters of pitch pine wood. It is convenient also to have two cups of water.

“The process is as follows.—Take a dry leaf, let it lie in warm water till it becomes perfectly flexible ; then with one of the sponges moisten the glass ; lay the leaf on it, with the face next the glass, pressing it close with the sponge, which at the same time absorbs all superfluous moisture. The glass is then to be taken up by the pliers ; a splinter of the pitch pine is to be lighted and the leaf held over the smoke ; it must be kept moving, that the smoke may be equally distributed and the leaf prevented from drying.

“When it is sufficiently blackened, it is to be removed from the glass with the small forceps, taking it by the stalk, near the leaf, and placed on a smooth clean table. Then with the other sponge dipped in clean water, wet the paper on each side, till it is sufficiently moist and soft ; then laying it carefully on the leaf, pass the roller over it, bearing on it with both hands, with an even pressure ; and you will find a beautiful impression of the leaf with every vein and ramification.

“The smoke is to be washed from the glass, for every new impression. If the leaf chosen is fresh, it must be suffered to wither, then wetted and placed on the glass as above.”

WM. D. PECK.

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No. IX.

*Method of preserving marine productions.*

“Corals, Corallines, Sponges and other marine productions are found in considerable variety near the coasts of islands and continents, particularly in hot climates. Some of these are very tender and brittle, when dry, and should therefore be carefully packed up in sand, in order to keep them steady ; or they may be placed between papers in the manner of a *hortus siccus*.

“In hot climates the insects are rapacious and the finest fan-corals and others of a soft texture, when first taken out of the sea, are sometimes almost devoured before they become hard and dry. To prevent injuries of this kind; a little powdered corrosive sublimate or its solution may be sprinkled on them. Some of the smaller, and some branches of the larger may be put into spirits and the parts of them preserved more distinctly.”

DR. LETTSON.

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No. X.

*In collecting mineral and fossil substances, the following particulars are to be attended to.*

“When any articles\* are collected, mark them by numbers or some other sign of distinction referring to a catalogue, with all the particulars relative to the subject—as (1.) Where it was found. (2.) In what quantity. (3.) Whether on the surface of the earth, or at what depth. (4.) In what position, whether horizontal, perpendicular, or inclined, in what angle and to what point of the compass. (5.) Whether in strata or loose. (6.) The depth and thickness of the strata, how inclined and to what point; whether the fissures be horizontal, perpendicular or inclined; and what fossil bodies are contained in the fissures. (7.) The quality of the neighboring waters, whether pure, tasteless, purgative, vitriolic, chalybeate, &c.

“The places to be searched are the sides and gullies of hills, the shores of the sea and rivers, with adjacent banks and cliffs, and the falls of rivers.

“The situation of mines, pits and quarries, whether in vallies, hills, or plains, and the disposition of the strata, their depth and thickness. The damp and steams of mines and pits, and the effects of them on the human body, or on fire; in what seasons and in what state of the air they are observed; and what is the temperature of the air at particular depths. The accounts of these things given by natives and workmen.” All these are subjects of inquiry for a naturalist.

DR. LETTSON.

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\* Sands and clays, chalk, flints, and pit coal are particularly desirable because useful in manufactures.

COLLECTIONS  
OF THE  
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
FOR THE YEAR 1795.

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A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF HOPKINTON, IN THE  
COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX. BY DR. STIMSON.

SIR,

*Hopkinton, 1794.*

IN compliance with your request, as expressed in your circular letter, in the name of the Historical Society, of Nov. 1, 1791, I here transmit to you such answers to the several interrogations contained in said letter as I have been able to collect, together with a plan of the town. Many of the answers are imperfect; but are the best I could obtain, either from written records of the town, or elderly people. If from them you can collect any thing that will be of service in promoting the laudible design of the society, it will afford me much satisfaction, and I shall be happy in contributing (although but a mite) to so valuable a design.

I remain, with sentiments of esteem,

Your very humble servant,

To the Rev. JEREMY BELKNAP, D. D. }  
Corresponding Secretary of the His- }  
torical Society.

JEREMY STIMSON.

THE town of Hopkinton lies in a westerly direction from Boston; and at about thirty-two miles distance. It was incorporated December 13, 1715. Its Indian name, Quansigomog. There is an hill in the east end of the town that was called, by the Indians, Megonko, and goes by the name of Megonko hill to this day. The principal part of the town was purchased of the natives by Mr. Leverett, then president of Harvard college, in Cambridge, for the purpose of perpetuating the legacy of Edward Hopkins, Esq. to said college; and was called Hopkinston, in honour to his name. It was leased out, by the president and trustees of Harvard college, to the first settlers. The settlement began about the

the year 1710 or 12, and was never interrupted. The town was originally annexed to the county of Middlesex, in the province of Massachusetts bay. There has been no important division of the town. Several farms at the west end, containing about three thousand acres, have been set off, and annexed to Upton, in the county of Worcester; and a farm at the east end, known by the name of Parker's farm, containing five hundred acres, to Holliston.

Although many of the inhabitants have been, from time to time, engaged in the former Indian wars, and some were killed, others died of sickness, and others taken prisoners by the Indians, and carried into captivity; yet I can obtain no accurate account of the matter worth communicating. The most remarkable event that has taken place in this town, relative to war, is, that in or about the year 1746, twelve men and a boy were enlisted, by Capt. Prescott of Concord, to go upon the expedition to Cuba. They went, and all died there, except the boy. He only returned, and it was remarked by the old people, that they were twelve of the most robust young men in the town. Their names were,

Edward Carrel,	Francis Peirce,	Samuel Frale,
Henry Walker,	Thomas Belloes,	Samuel Clemons,
Henry Walker, jun.	Eleazer Rider,	Ebenezer Coller,
Gideon Gould,	Cornelius Claflen,	Samuel Rosseau.

There has been no division of the town into parishes or precincts.

A Congregational church was gathered in Hopkinton the 2d of September, 1724. On the same day the Rev. Samuel Barrett was ordained pastor of said church. Some time after a number of people living in town of the Episcopal order, the Rev. Roger Price, a gentleman of eminence and ability, came from England, and erected an house near the middle of the town, for public worship, and endowed it with a glebe, and public worship was performed under his ministry for a number of years. After his removal to England, he sent the Rev. Mr. Troutbeck, who officiated in that office for some time; but since the removal of Mr. Troutbeck, those people have not existed as a distinct society.

January 15, 1772, the Rev. Elijah Fitch was ordained colleague pastor of the Congregational church with the Rev. Samuel Barrett. The Rev. Samuel Barrett departed this life

life December 11, 1772, aged seventy-two years. He was a pious, good christian, a man of great candour and good-nature; and died universally beloved and lamented by all his acquaintance, after having been in the ministry almost fifty years.

The Rev. Elijah Fitch departed this life December 18, 1788, aged forty-two years. He possessed all the good qualities of his predecessor, together with a high relish for literature and the sciences. He possessed also the most lively sensibility. No man ever more feelingly participated in the happiness or misery of his fellow men than he; or better filled the several offices of pastor, husband, parent, friend, neighbour, and townsman. In short, he possessed almost every qualification that could render him useful and amiable, either in public or private life. The only thing I ever heard objected to his character, was his taciturnity; and perhaps he was a little too reserved in publick and mixed companies. The principal work he has published, is a poem in blank verse, entitled, *The Beauties of Religion*.

October 5, 1791, the Rev. Nathaniel Howe was ordained pastor of the Congregational church.

The two first persons liberally educated from this town, were the Rev. John Mellen, now of Hanover, in Massachusetts, and Doctor John Wilson. The respectability and literary productions of the former are well known to the publick, he having been in the ministry upwards of fifty years. The latter, who was eminent as a physician, lived and died in this town. A number of others from this town have since received the honours of college; and the spirit of education generally prevails.

The plan of the town is the best answer to the 6th article requested in the circular letter. There are two ponds in the westerly part of this town; from one of which, known by the name of White-Hall pond, issues one of the extreme branches of Concord river, which empties itself into the Merrimac. From the other, known by the name of the North pond, (although it lies nearly south from the first, and not more than two miles distant) issues one of the extreme branches of Providence river, which runs through Providence, and empties into the sea at Newport, in Rhode-Island. One of the extreme branches of Charles river also takes its rise in the southerly part of this town, from small beginnings.

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The town is hilly, interspersed with small vallies, and well watered. Some of the swamps, that have never been cleared and cultivated till within a few years, are found to be the most productive, and some of the best lands we have. The uplands are rough and stony, hard to be subdued, but are naturally good for grazing and orcharding. There are several quarries or ledges of stone in the town, which are good for building, and can be cut into almost any shape or form the builder pleases. A large, upright, and convenient dwelling house was erected the last year from one of these, and the stone found to answer the purpose exceedingly well. There are a number of good mill seats in the town, and not less than seven or eight grist mills are already erected, and a number of saw mills, iron works, &c.

The former state of cultivation was bad, but is now much altered for the better. The people have been very industrious since the late war, and have improved their lands to much greater advantage than formerly. A spirit of emulation prevails among the farmers. Their enclosures, which used to be fenced with hedge and log fences, are now generally fenced with good stone wall. The roads, which used to be remarkable for their roughness, and were almost impassable, are now good, and constantly becoming better. The town is still capable of very great improvement.

We have none of the natives remaining among us, nor any of their monuments or relics worthy of notice.

We have no instances of longevity exceeding an hundred years, although many have arrived to nearly that period. The town, however, is generally healthy.

The weather is very changeable, often shifting from very warm to extreme cold, which frequently occasions inflammatory disorders among the inhabitants. Before the swamps were cleared and drained, the inhabitants used to be very subject to the fever and ague; but since, there have been no complaints of the kind in the town. With regard to spirituous liquors, I have reason to believe, from repeated observation, that a moderate use of them is not detrimental, but, on the contrary beneficial and salutary, especially during the extreme heat in the latter part of summer, when our farmers get their hay and reap their first harvest. But the bad effects of too free a use, or a constant habit of drinking them, are too well known to need any description; they not only  
destroy



destroy health, but enfeeble the mind, rendering the persons almost stupid and senseless.

I can give but little information respecting the bills of mortality, increase of population, &c. there being no records of them kept in the town till the settlement of the Rev. Elijah Fitch, in 1772. He kept a record of the deaths from the time of his settlement till a little before his death, being sixteen years and ten months. They are as follows.

	In 1772	39	in 1778	29	in 1784	15
		73		79		85
		21		8		19
		74		11		12
Principally with the Dysentery. }		75		11		12
		45		82	} 88—10 From Jan. to Sept.	
		19		14		
		77		18		
		22		83		
		<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>
		156		91		68
						91
						156
						<hr/>
					Total	315

In the interim between the death of the Rev. Elijah Fitch and the settlement of the Rev. Nathaniel Howe, were no records kept. From the settlement of Mr. Howe to the present time, they are as follows:

In 1792	5
1793	19
1794 to Dec. 8.	16

Total 

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 40

No fisheries or manufactures are carried on in the town worthy of notice. The inhabitants however manufacture the principal part of their clothing. There is scarcely a house but has looms, spinning-wheels, &c. suitable for the purpose.

The inhabitants of this town are generally much engaged in the education of their children, and the town yearly grants liberal supplies for that purpose. We have a small social library, which was founded in the year 1789, and is annually increasing, but is too inconsiderable yet to be worthy of notice.

No events have taken place in the town of Hopkinton, that I can ascertain, sufficiently remarkable for the attention of the Historical Society.

A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THOMASTON, IN THE COUNTY OF LINCOLN, AND DISTRICT OF MAINE, 1794.

THOMASTON, on St. George's river, lies about seventy leagues distant from Boston, and nearly in the latitude of  $44^{\circ} 20'$  \* N. and about the distance of four leagues from Franklin island, at the mouth of the river ; is bounded on the N. W. by Warren, on the W. by Cushing and Warren, S. by Cushing, and E. and N. E. by the Atlantic ocean. It was incorporated as a town March 20, 1777, though, on many accounts, it might have claimed the privilege years before.

Its Indian name was Georgeekee, from whence was probably derived its present name of Georges ; but a considerable river, in the S. E. part of the town, bears the name of Wessowessgeeg.

It is difficult to ascertain, with precision, the exact time when its settlement first began ; but, from the best information, it may be stated to be about the year 1720 ; as about that time, in consequence of the interruptions from the natives, government ordered the erection of a fort in said town, about five miles below the head of the tide, for the security of the inhabitants, and as a check to the Indians. A regular garrison of provincials occupied the fort, in which a number of cannon were mounted, and in which nearly all the first settlers built huts for themselves and their families to reside in. It is now entirely demolished, and but few vestiges of regular works are discoverable ; but, in lieu thereof, a most elegant building has this year been built, belonging to the honourable Secretary at war ; which, for magnificence, elegance, and taste, it is supposed, will, when finished, excel any in the commonwealth.

In the year 1722, a considerable body of French and Indians came to the town, with a view to take the fort ; and daily, for some time, fired upon any stragglers from the garrison, killed some, wounded others, and captivated and carried away a few. Finding they could not openly possess themselves of the fort, they clandestinely endeavored to undermine and sap its walls ; and had proceeded several rods from the place where they first broke ground, toward  
the

the fort, when, providentially, the ground fell in upon, and buried many of them in the ruins. The ditch, wherein they were buried, now remains plainly to be seen. There are now no Indians remaining in or near the place, nor are many relics or monuments of theirs to be found.

The number of inhabitants in October, 1791, at the time of the federal census or enumeration, was eight hundred and one; since which the births have greatly exceeded the deaths; and a number of emigrants, from different places, having settled here, their present numbers may be fairly estimated at about twelve hundred.

The air, on St. George's river, like most of the eastern country, is, in general, healthy and pure. The prevailing winds, during the winter season, are from the Northwest. Their snows generally fall on a level, to the depth of three or four feet. Frosts are frequently discoverable in September; and in October, ice in considerable quantities is made. The snow and ice generally lie till April, when the sun is so high as to melt and carry it away. It is observable, that where the snow and ice lie deepest and longest on the ground, the vegetation of the roots and herbs increases. In July and August, the heat is often times more intense than at Boston; but the evenings and mornings are much cooler. Fruit trees do not flourish, as they cannot be sheltered from the chilling colds and blasts of the ocean, and be brought to maturity.

The salt-water rivers and streams in winter are generally frozen, and remain so till spring, which entirely prevents navigation during that time; but fuel being plenty, the inhabitants, during this season of inclemency, may, if they please, have the comforts of good fires and other enjoyments.

Almost all kinds of trees, excepting fruit, walnut, and chesnut trees, grow here luxuriantly. There are but few hills or mountains remarkable in this town for height or bigness, excepting one, called Madambetticks, from the top of which may be seen islands and lands to a great distance. Near this, it is supposed, there is a considerable quantity of iron ore; but no attempts have yet been made to ascertain its quality or determine its goodness.

St. George's river which divides Thomaston from Warren and Cushing, is navigable for brigs and ships, of a large burthen, up to the narrows; and thence about four miles  
higher

higher up the river, to nearly the head of the tide, for sloops and schooners of eighty or ninety tons. The river is in width about half a league, till it comes to the narrows, where its breadth gradually decreases to its head. Fish of most all kinds, in the several seasons, abound, which afford sustenance for many of its inhabitants; and even lobsters, oysters, clams, and other delicacies of the aqueous kind, are plenty in this river. On it, and its several streams, are a sufficient number of tide and other grist and saw mills, which afford great profit to their owners.

In no new a country, elegant buildings cannot be expected. In general they are low, and the care of the people in this respect seems confined to making them warm and comfortable, though some of them are tolerably elegant, and larger houses begin to be in vogue; and as the people grow wealthier, they will be likely to pay more attention to their architecture than formerly. On the whole, Thomaston, for situation, salubrity of air, trade, and taste, bids fair to rival almost any in the county in future; and as the great post road, leading from Casco-bay to Penobscot, Machias, and Passamaquoddy, runs through this town, it produces considerable travelling and company, and naturally prompts the inhabitants to make their roads and bridges good, and keep them in tolerable repair.

This town, like too many others in this country, has till lately, by reason of the small number of its inhabitants, and their low circumstances and habits, neglected paying that attention to their literary improvements, and the education of their children, which they ought. But the inhabitants of this river, and in this town, at present seem disposed to cultivate the minds, as well as adorn the persons, of their children; and though there are no publick schools constantly kept, there are several private ones throughout the year.

In the year 1787, a society, under the name or title of "The Friendly Society in the county of Lincoln," was formed of certain members belonging to Waldoborough and St. Georges; but on account of certain attending inconveniences, it was agreed to divide the society and books, which are now confined to St. George's river; and the society at present consists of nearly fifty members, many of whom have a taste for reading, and the number of whose well chosen books, (the property of the society) amounts to upwards of

two hundred volumes, whose value at the time of the purchase was little less than one hundred pounds.

There are two religious societies nearly equal in numbers, baptist and congregational. The greater number of professing christians are of the former denomination. For many years they have had for their settled minister the Rev. Isaac Case. They now are, since his removal to the Kennebeck, under the instruction of the Rev. Elisha Snow. The congregationalists are, for about one third of the time, supplied with preaching by the Rev. Thurston Whiting, and in a short time, it is to be hoped, may have a minister settled among them, and constantly residing with them, which would much conduce to their happiness and prosperity.

The soil in general is not so warm and good as in the more westwardly part of the state, being more inclined to clay than loam: for which reason the growth of Indian corn is not often attempted, excepting in the N. E. part of the town, where large crops have been, and commonly are produced. Rye, barley, spring wheat, beans, peas, and flax, succeed very well, though, by reason of too great attention to lumbering and lime-burning, less of those articles are produced than are necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants. The marshes and meadows yield a tolerable supply of grass for the cattle: their pastures are sweet and good, and their mutton, butter, and cheese, are of a superior quality. A great part of the inhabitants subsist by lime-burning and lumbering. The remainder are engaged in husbandry, with a proportionable number of traders, mechanics, and professional characters.

Of late, several considerable vessels have been built in this river, which are employed in coasting, and sometimes on foreign voyages; and the spirit and inclination of the richer inhabitants for ship building, seems increasing. There are now owned in Georges, (though the river, from its entrance to its head, does not exceed four leagues) one brig, two top-sail schooners, and nine sloops, whose measured tonnage is about eleven hundred tons.

The grand staple, however, of Thomaston, is its lime, which has not its equal for quality or quantity in America. Rock, of which this is made, is found in large quantities, and nearly on every lot, in the northerly and eastwardly part of the town. The veins of rock seem to be in about  
a N.

a N. and S. direction. Spots of land, or rather rock, of six rods square, frequently are sold for an hundred dollars. There are now about thirty-five kilns erected in the town, in which lime is burned, each of which on an average will produce two hundred fifty-gallon casks. These, if burned only three times a year, ( though many are five or six times ) will furnish for the market and home consumption about twenty-one thousand casks. Each kiln requires, on an average, for each burning, about twenty-five cords of wood, which in a year will consume nearly or quite twenty-seven hundred cords of wood more than are necessary for family or common uses. This lime, when well burned, will net the owners, at the market, about six shillings a cask, the annual amount of which will be upwards of twenty thousand dollars. A kiln is generally burning four turns, or ninety-six hours, during all which time the fire and heat ought to be nearly as intense as in a glass manufactory, and without any cessation. This lime, when burnt, is usually exported to the western markets and disposed of, though of late considerable quantities have been sent to the southward to advantage. Though, at first view, the above account may seem very flattering, and convey ideas of solid wealth in the possessors, and that this town enjoys advantages beyond their neighbours; yet it may be said, and perhaps with strict truth, that the abundance of the lime rock, and quantity of lime made, really is an impoverishment to the possessors and common manufacturers of it. Too much attention being paid to this business, prevents a due cultivation of the lands; and agriculture, the principal source of wealth, is neglected and uncherished. The process of making lime, in every stage of it is expensive and laborious; and those who depend on the business for a principal part of their living, may literally be said to earn it with the sweat of their brow. Nearly all the provision, implements of drilling, powder casks, &c. are to be purchased at a high rate, by the greater part of the burners, who are generally but in moderate circumstances, from the traders; and the profits of the labour are frequently anticipated, and go into the hands of those who never toiled or laboured for them. Hence probably, in general, arise the too frequent complaints of fraud in filling the casks, &c.

The records of the town having been till lately little attended to, no accurate accounts of births or deaths can be given.

en. It is however presumed that for health and purity of air no town in the state can exceed it, though of late an inveterate canker quinsy has prevailed in this and the neighbouring towns, principally among children, which for some time baffled the power of medicine, and generally proved mortal. It has now in a great degree abated.

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THE PROCEEDINGS OF TWO CONVENTIONS, HELD AT PORTLAND, TO CONSIDER THE EXPEDIENCY OF A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT IN THE DISTRICT OF MAINE.

*Collected from the original Files and Records.*

FROM the latter part of the year 1784, to the autumn of 1785, a separation of the territory east of Pascataqua river, from the government of Massachusetts, was a general topic of conversation among the inhabitants. During this time, the Falmouth Gazette, then the only news-paper that was published in the district of Maine, was crowded with addresses to the people upon the subject. Clergymen, physicians, lawyers, and farmers, seemed engaged in accelerating the event. They all employed both their pens and their private influence, in convincing their fellow citizens of the propriety and advantages of becoming a distinct member of the Union.

At the time I now speak of, there were also a number of respectable opposers of this measure. These, generally speaking, were either those gentlemen who were concerned in trade, and feared an interruption in their commercial connexions, or such as held offices under the government, and feared the consequences of a new appointment. In this, as in most other cases of political experiment, the opinion of each party was decided by a prospect of their own, rather than the public interest. To this, however, there were doubtless some exceptions. It is difficult to discover the secret motives by which mankind are actuated : but from a personal acquaintance with the views and principles of the leaders upon both sides of the question, I think I may be excused in saying, that they were both in some degree influenced by a prospect of private advantage.

When the subject first came before the publick, the great body of the people seemed to be indifferent as to the event ;

and although they afterwards became more interested, they never exceeded the bounds of *moderate zeal*. They were under no oppression. Many inconveniencies, arising from their remote situation from the seat of government, might doubtless have been removed by a well-administered government of their own. But to bring them into the measure upon this ground, there was not a single material to work with, but *reason*, and dispassionate application of it to their particular circumstances. What was the probability of success from the use of this, I leave to the judgment of those who are best acquainted with the instruments by which the uninformed multitude are commonly governed.

I shall not attempt to collect the arguments which were addressed to the people, by those who wrote in the Falmouth Gazette; because, to exhibit a complete view of them would require a lengthy discussion, and because I shall have occasion to mention the substance of them among the doings of the convention, which were collected and published under the title of "grievances."

After the subject had been lengthily and thoroughly examined, in publick and in private, it became necessary to devise and adopt some plan, which, when put in operation, would bring the business to a point. With respect to this, there was some diversity of opinion. Individuals were averse to any active step, lest they should be considered as officious. The great extent of the district rendered it extremely difficult to put the people in motion, in any regular and orderly method. At length a number of persons signed a paper, and gave it to the printers of the Falmouth Gazette, requesting them to publish a notification to the inhabitants of the district, to meet at Falmouth, for the purpose of holding a conference upon the proposed separation. This notification was accordingly published in the above mentioned gazette of the 17th of September and 1st of October, 1785, and is in the following words. "Agreeable to a request made and signed by a large and respectable number of persons to the printers of this gazette, the inhabitants of the three counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, are hereby notified, that so many of them as are inclined, or can conveniently attend, are requested to meet at the meeting house of the Rev. Messrs. Smith and Deane in Falmouth, on Wednesday the fifth day of October next, to join in a

"CONFERENCE,



“CONFERENCE, then and there to be held, on the proposal of having the said counties erected into a SEPARATE GOVERNMENT ; and if it should be thought best, to form some plan for collecting the sentiments of the people on the subject, and pursue some orderly and regular method of carrying the same into effect.”

In consequence of this publication, about *thirty persons* from the town of Falmouth and its vicinity convened at the time and place therein appointed. They entered upon the discussion of their business ; the result of which was, that a circular letter should be printed, signed, and forwarded by a committee to the several towns and plantations in the district, requesting them to send delegates to meet in a convention to be held at the time, place, and for the purpose mentioned in the circular letter ; the copy of which (with the names of the committee) may be seen in the Appendix, No. I.

In this manner the first convention for considering this important subject, was brought together. When we consider the difficulty and hazard which commonly attend the assembling of bodies of people, for the avowed purpose of determining upon the expediency of withdrawing themselves from the government they are under, we must admit that the method adopted in this instance was very unexceptionable. There was an open application to the people, to attend, or not attend, the proposed conference, as they saw fit, There were no insinuations, in any manner, propagated to the prejudice of the existing government ; but on the contrary, every step was proposed to be taken in an “orderly and peaceable manner” ; and their right to assemble in this manner, they considered as founded on the first clause of the nineteenth article of the bill of rights. Under these impressions, the convention proceeded to organize themselves. They accordingly made choice of the Hon. William Gorham, Esq. for their president, and Stephen Longfellow, jr. for their clerk. They then voted to choose a committee to examine the returns of the delegates, who reported that the following gentlemen were duly returned, viz.

*County of YORK.*

Wells,	John Storer, Esq.
Buxton,	Samuel Knight, Nathaniel Hill,
Brownfield,	Henry Young Brown, Samuel Haywood.
Fryburgh,	Joseph Fry, Esq. Paul Langdon, Daniel Fessenden, Isaac Walker, Nathaniel Merrill,

*County of CUMBERLAND.*

Falmouth,	Peleg Wadsworth, Stephen Hall, Samuel Freeman, John Waite, Enoch Ilsley, Esqrs.
Scarborough, Gorham,	William Thompson, Esq. Edmund Phynay, William Gorham, Stephen Longfellow, jun.
Cape Elizabeth, New Gloucester, Gray,	James Leach. John Merrill. Jedediah Cobb.

*County of LINCOLN.*

Georgetown,	William Lithgow, Esq. Daniel McFadden.
Topsham, Newcastle, Bristol, Hallowell, Vassalborough, Winslow, Winthrop, Pittstown, Lewiston,	Samuel Thompson, Esq. Samuel Nichols, Esq. William Jones, Esq. Daniel Coney. Dennis Getchill. Zimri Haywood. Jonathan Whiting. Reuben Colburn. Lemuel Cumings.

The only vote of any importance that was passed at this session of the convention, was, that "a committee of nine be chosen to make out a statement of the grievances the three counties labour under, and also an estimate of the expense of a separate government, and compare the same with the expense of the government we are now under." The convention was then adjourned for a day, in order to receive the report of this committee, which was completed, made and accepted, and, together with an addition to the report, is contained in the Appendix, No. II. This report was ordered to be printed, signed by the president and transmitted to the people, for the purposes mentioned in the vote, inserted in the above-mentioned paper at the bottom of the list of grievances. The convention was then adjourned to the first Wednesday of September following.

The original files and journals of this session contain nothing more than what has been mentioned, that respects the general subject. But it may not be amiss to mention some occurrences relative to their mode of doing the business.

A motion was made by Mr. Thompson, of Scarborough, that the mode of voting should be by towns. This motion did not obtain; and the convention voted that each delegate should have a vote.

The town of Falmouth had made choice of the five gentlemen whose names are mentioned in the list of delegates for that town, and then adjourned their meeting to receive the report of a committee which they had appointed to prepare their instructions. At this adjournment, the town reconsidered their vote for the choice of delegates, dismissed the article, and dissolved the meeting. But notwithstanding this, Stephen Hall, Esq. one of the delegates, took his seat in the convention; and a vote was passed, that the other delegates from Falmouth had a right to a seat, and a committee was appointed to inform them that such was the opinion of the convention.

There is also among the files of the convention, a letter from the town of Northyarmouth, expressing their reasons for not joining in the choice of delegates, and for the unanimous opinion of that town against a separation.

There is likewise a letter on file from Daniel McFadden, one of the delegates for Georgetown, excusing himself from attending the convention, and advising them to prepare, and offer

offer to the people, the form of government which they proposed to recommend. He gives an opinion in this letter, that "a house of representatives would be sufficient to rule," saying, that "there might be as wise men in the house as in the chair, and that business might be done much quicker."

In consequence of the adjournment of the convention to the first Wednesday of September, and the recommendation that a new delegation should take place, and meet at the same time, on the 6th of September, 1786, there were *two* conventions assembled at Falmouth. The difficulty which this occasioned, was removed by the first vote of the new convention. After organizing themselves by the unanimous re-election of the president and clerk of the former convention, a "coalescence" of the two was immediately voted. Being thus united, the returns of the new delegates were examined, and the following is the list of them.

*County of YORK.*

Berwick,	Dr. Nathaniel Low.
Arundell,	Thomas Perkins.
Fryburgh,	Moses Ames.
Brownfield,	* Henry Young Brown, Esq.
	James Haywood.

*County of CUMBERLAND.*

Portland,	Peleg Wadsworth,
	Samuel Freeman,
	Stephen Hall,
	Daniel Davis
	Stephen Codman.
Scarborough,	Joshua Fabyan.
Cape Elizabeth,	Berzilla Dellano,
	Cary M'Lellan,
	* James Leach.
Gorham,	* William Gorham, president.
	* Edmund Phyney,
	* Stephen Longfellow, jun. clerk.
Standish,	Seth Spring.
New Gloucester,	* John Merrill.
Gray,	* Jediah Cobb.
Brunswick,	Aaron Hinckley.

County of LINCOLN.

Hancock,	John Philbrook.
Vassalborough,	* Dennis Getchill.
Winslow,	* Zimri Haywood.
Topsham,	* Samuel Thompson.
Bristol,	* William Jones.
Newcastle,	* Samuel Nichols.
Hallowell,	* Daniel Coney.
Bath,	Dummer Sewall.
Pittston,	* Reuben Coburn.
Winthrop,	Joshua Bean

\* Members of the former convention.

The business transacted by this convention, which was only two days in session, brought the subject to a considerable degree of forwardness. They voted, that "In the opinion of this convention, the counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, labour under grievances."

"That it is the opinion of this convention, the grievances stated by the former convention (except the fifth article) are real grievances, that the counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, now labour under."

"That a committee of nine be appointed, to consider what further grievances said counties labour under."

The report of this committee does not at all comport with the nature of their commission. As to the additional list of grievances, which they were appointed to exhibit, the report merely states that there were such, which demanded the serious attention of the convention; but that they could not at that time "*undertake to enumerate the multiplicity of them;*" and, upon the whole, referred the convention to the list formerly published.

But they proceed to say, "that in justice to their constituents, they esteemed it their duty to inform the convention, that they could not devise any mode which would substantially and effectually remove the evils complained of, except the citizens of said counties were invested with the privilege of legislating for themselves." And they further gave it as their opinion, that "the convention should draught a petition to the General Court, requesting their consent, that the said counties should be erected into a separate government; and that the same, accompanied  
"with

“with an address to the people upon the subject, should be transmitted to the inhabitants of the several towns and plantations, for their consideration.”

This report was readily accepted; and a committee was thereupon chosen to draw up the address to the people, and the petition to the General Court, which was therein recommended. This address and petition are in the Appendix, No. III. They were accepted by the convention, and ordered to be printed, together with the list of grievances stated by the former convention, to be signed by the president, and forwarded to the people. The convention was then adjourned to the last Wednesday of January then ensuing.

At the arrival of this period, the business had assumed a very serious aspect; the cause of which I will explain, after stating the returns from the towns and plantations upon the question of a separation. It will be noticed, that in the address to the people, the convention had requested the clerks of the towns and plantations, “to be particular in making returns of the number of voters, for and against a separation.” In compliance with this request, of ninety-three towns and plantations, thirty-two only made returns. Eight of the ninety-three chose delegates, but made no returns; fifty-three, therefore, were not represented in any manner. Of the thirty-two towns and plantations which made returns, twenty-four were in favor of, and eight against, a separation. The plantation of Wales (now incorporated by the name of Monmouth) sent their returns after the convention was adjourned. The number of votes from this plantation were twenty-seven, and were unanimous in favor of a separation. The whole number of votes returned was nine hundred and seventy, of which six hundred and eighteen were in the affirmative.

The convention now proceeded to discuss the only question of any importance that could come before them, which was, whether the petition, the form of which had been proposed to the people, “*shall now be presented to the legislature?*” A vote had been passed, “that as there has been a number of respectable towns in the counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, that have not certified to this convention their determination of a separate state, and as the commonwealth in general is at this time in a perplexed state, and  
“this

“this convention being unwilling to do any thing that shall seem to lay any greater burthen on the General Court, therefore it is the opinion of this convention to postpone petitioning for a separation at present.” There was a motion for the reconsideration of this vote, the discussion of which was lengthy, interesting, and spirited, the cause of which I will now proceed to explain.

The distress which every part of the government was at this time involved in, by the scarcity of money, and the public burthens, was felt in these counties in a degree equal to any part of the Commonwealth. The people were not merely depressed, they were become possessed of that kind of sullen obstinacy which is sometimes the result of despair. In this situation, ignorant of the real cause of their sufferings, and judging of the cause by the effect, they would have thrown off the yoke of any government without remorse. It was at this time that the different sentiments, by which the members of the convention were actuated, might easily be discovered. Some of them, in the language of genuine insurgents, did not hesitate to speak of the senate and attorney-general as grievances. It was evident from the declarations of others, corroborated by their private circumstances, that paper money and tender acts were *their* objects. The deplorable situation of the government, then in a state of civil war, had no influence on the minds of those who were infested with these sentiments. When this situation was dwelt upon by the friends of government in the convention, they were answered, that “now is the golden opportunity;” the meaning of which evidently was, however cruel and unnatural it may seem, that “the legislature are now distracted with care and trouble; if we apply to them at this time, they will not dare to refuse our request; and if they do, we can drive them into a compliance, by threatening to join in the insurrection.” When this disposition to perplex the government was, in a pointed and severe manner, reprobated by one of the Portland delegates, he was told, that he was “out of his senses.”

But notwithstanding these unfavourable appearances, it is but just to observe, that some of the principal promoters of a separation were men of judgment and moderation, and manifested their disapprobation of the petition's being then presented to the legislature, and voted accordingly. But

the vote for the delay in presenting the petition was reconsidered by a majority of 15 to 13, and it was accordingly put into the hands of a committee, with discretionary power to retain it, or present it to the General Court, then in session, as they saw fit.

The feelings of the people had now become interested in the doings of the convention. It was the opinion of many judicious men, that the expectations of relief, which they had formed from this quarter, were the principal cause of their quietness, during the troubles in the west of the commonwealth. It is certain they exclaimed loudly against the government; and I have no doubt but might readily have been stimulated to acts of violence. Those towns which were most dissatisfied, were most regular in the choice of delegates; and it is natural to suppose, that when these delegates returned to their constituents, they flattered them with hopes of relief from a government of their own. These hopes, to be sure, must have been delusive to the last degree, if a *speedy* removal of their burthens was the object of the people. If, therefore, this convention was the means of preventing an insurrection in this part of the country, it is an additional proof that good often comes out of evil. Upon the whole, I am inclined to believe that it was. For, without meaning to derogate from the majesty of the people, I may be excused in saying, that they are often led by appearance, rather than reality; and that, for this reason, they are commonly deceived and imposed upon by those whom they depute for their servants, especially in matters of opinion. It might, therefore, be very easy to persuade them, that a CONVENTION (the very name of which is a consolation to the discontented multitude) possessed both the disposition and the power to administer the requisite assistance.

From the 31st of January, 1787, the convention was adjourned to the 5th of September following. Another attempt was then made to collect the sentiments of the people. A vote was passed, appointing a committee to prepare an "address and subscription paper," which was to be forwarded to the people, informing them of the state of the petition (which had been presented to the legislature) and requesting them to "sign for or against a separation." But there were never any returns of it; and from this time, the whole business, and the convention itself, gradually fell asleep.

There



There were five or six other adjournments; but no business was done, and none of the members attended, except the president and clerk, and the members for Portland. At the last of these adjournments, there was only three of the Portland members present. One of them was chosen president pro tempore, another clerk; the third made a motion for an adjournment; but as there was no one present but the president and clerk to second the motion, the convention expired, not only without a groan, but without a single mourner to weep over its remains!

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## A P P E N D I X .

### No. I.

At a meeting of a number of respectable inhabitants of the counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, at Messrs. Smith and Deane's meeting-house, in Falmouth, on the fifth of October, instant — agreeable to a notification published in the Falmouth Gazette, of September 17th, and 1st October instant, in order to form some plan for collecting the sentiments of said inhabitants, on the subject of said counties being formed into a separate state —

Voted — “That the subscribers be a committee to apply to the several towns and plantations, in said counties, requesting them to send delegates to meet at said meeting-house, on the first Wednesday of January next, at 10 o'clock, A. M. to consider the expediency of said counties being formed into a separate state; and if, after mature consideration, it should appear to them expedient, to pursue some regular and orderly method of carrying the same into effect.”

Pursuant to the above vote, we the committee aforesaid, hereby request the inhabitants of \_\_\_\_\_ to choose a delegate or delegates, to meet at the time and place above-mentioned, for the purpose aforesaid.

*Peleg Wadsworth*, Chairman.  
*Stephen Longfellow*, jun.  
*William Gorham*,  
*Stephen Hall*,  
*Jeremiah Hill*,  
*Joshua Fabian*,  
*Henry Y. Brown*.

*Falmouth,*  
*October 5th, 1785.*

To the inhabitants of \_\_\_\_\_

At

## No. II.

At a convention of delegates from a number of towns in the counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, held at Falmouth, on the first Wednesday of January, 1786:— The Hon. William Gorham, esq. was chosen president, Mr. Stephen Longfellow, jun. clerk.

It was then voted, that a committee of nine be chosen to state the grievances, which the three counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln labour under, as connected with the other counties in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, from which they are separated by the intervention of the state of New Hampshire; and also to form an estimate of the expense of a separate government, and compare the same with the expense of the government they are now under — who reported as follows:

That from their local situation, their interests are different; and consequently cannot be fully understood, particularly attended to, and promoted in their present connexion; whereby their growth and importance are prevented, which retards that of the United States.

That the General Court of the commonwealth of Massachusetts being so large, and their business so various and perplexing, unavoidably renders it inconvenient and expensive to the inhabitants of those counties, both with regard to their members of Court, and suitors for justice.

That applications to the supreme executive authority, being frequently necessary, are attended with great expense; to the injury and prejudice of the inhabitants of those counties.

That the business of the Supreme Judicial Court, from the extent of territories, is so great as to render a proper arrangement in that department exceedingly difficult: And to repair to their office at Boston is very expensive.

That the present regulations of trade operate unequally, and against those counties, by reducing the price of lumber, which is detrimental to those that are employed in making the same; while they tend to the emolument of many in the other part of the commonwealth.

That we consider it as a matter of grievance that a considerable part of the inhabitants of these counties are deprived of a vote in the House of Representatives, where all money bills

bills originate ; and there appears to be no prospect of a speedy relief.

That the present mode of taxation, by polls and estates, is very injurious to this territory, as the inhabitants cannot be employed to the same advantage, and their stocks are not so profitable ; neither can their lands be so advantageously improved, as in the other part of the commonwealth, where they enjoy a milder climate.

That the excise and impost acts operate grievously on the inhabitants of those counties, as they have not in general the advantage of orchards ; and the keeping of sheep is difficult and expensive, by the hazard from wolves and other beasts of prey, and the great length of their winters.

That the act imposing a duty on deeds, &c. operates unequally by reason of the more frequent conveyances of real property in a new than in old settled countries.

That the necessary attendance upon the state treasury is inconvenient, expensive, and grievous.

The committee have taken a view of the several constitutions of the United States ; and from some calculations they have made, are of opinion that a separate government may be adopted, whereby a very considerable part of the expense, now paid by these counties, may be saved : — But not knowing what form of government the people in said counties would choose, in case of a separation, they have not thought proper to report any estimate thereon.

Voted, to subjoin the following to the report of the above committee.

As a full representation is supposed to be the most likely way to obtain a redress of grievances, we hope the several towns in these counties will pay that attention which our peculiar circumstances require, by a general choice of members to represent them in General Court the next year.

Voted, that the report of the above committee, with what is subjoined thereto, be signed by the president of this convention, and transmitted to the several towns and plantations in the counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, requesting them to choose a delegate or delegates, at their annual meeting in March next, or at such other meeting as they shall

shall think proper, to meet in convention of the first Wednesday of September next, at the Meeting-house in the first parish of Falmouth, at 10 o'clock, A. M. to consider of the grievances the inhabitants of said counties labour under; and to adopt and pursue some orderly and peaceable measure to obtain relief: And also requesting said inhabitants to certify to said convention the number of votes for and against said choice of delegates.

WILLIAM GORHAM, president.

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No. III.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION, HELD AT PORTLAND,  
SEPTEMBER 6, 1786.

At a convention of delegates from a number of towns and plantations, in the three counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, held at Portland, on Wednesday, the 6th day of September, 1786 — for the purpose of considering the grievances which the inhabitants of said counties labour under, and adopting some orderly and peaceable measure to obtain relief — Hon. William Gorham, esq. being first chosen president, and Mr. Stephen Longfellow, jun. clerk.

Voted, that the following address, and form of a petition therein referred to, be transmitted to the several towns and plantations in the said three counties, as soon as may be.

*Friends and Brethren,*

AGREEABLY to the duties of our appointment, we have taken into serious consideration the grievances that the inhabitants of these three counties labour under; — and, after a close attention to this important subject, are clearly of opinion, that they cannot be remedied in their present connexion with the other part of the commonwealth. Our local situation, the nature of our commerce, and the jarring of our interests, render it necessary, in order to an effectual removal of them, that we should be erected into an independent state.

The expediency of this measure has engaged the attention of the publick for a long time — it has been considered, as it undoubtedly ought to be, a subject of the greatest importance.

Two conventions have had it before them, and have carefully attended to the arguments which have been offered on both sides of the question.

We now communicate to you the result of our present deliberation; and we submit it to your wise and prudent consideration.

You feel yourselves distressed, and your distresses will encrease until you legislate for yourselves.—In this there is no great difficulty. Government is a very simple, easy thing. Mysteries in politicks are mere absurdities — invented entirely to gratify the ambition of princes and designing men — to aggrandize those who govern, at the expense of those who are governed.

But the end of government is the good of the people — the only design of its institution is to secure them, as far as possible, the blessings of life: —We therefore, in justice to our constituents, to ourselves, to the good citizens of the three counties, and of the commonwealth at large, address you upon the subject; and transmit to you a form of a petition to the General Court, requesting them to relinquish all right of jurisdiction in this eastern territory; and to give their consent that the same may be formed into a separate state

And we do earnestly call upon every free citizen within the said counties, to take the same into his most serious consideration; and each one, for himself, give his vote for or against a separation.

And we also desire each town and plantation, within the said counties, to meet for the purpose; and transmit their doings to this convention at their adjournment.

Voted, that those towns and plantations that have not chosen, be desired to choose delegates to attend at, or send their votes to, this convention, at the adjournment; otherwise they will be considered as acquiescing in the doings of their brethren.—It is earnestly recommended to the selectmen of towns, and committees of plantations, to notify publick meetings for the purpose; —and to the clerks of the several towns and plantations, that they be particular in making returns of the number of voters, for and against a separation.

## FORM of the PETITION.

To the honourable Senate and House of Representatives of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, in Gen. Court assembled.

THE petition of the inhabitants of the towns and plantations of the counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, by their delegates, met in convention, at Portland, the        day of        humbly sheweth — That the inhabitants of said counties, previous to the late revolution, considered themselves a part of the government of Massachusetts; and, at the formation of the present constitution, they either approved of, or submitted to, the same, and have cheerfully joined in support of government, and have paid due obedience to the laws thereof; and at the present time they feel, most sensibly, the difficulties in common to the various parts of the commonwealth, and are ready to exert themselves, to the utmost of their power, to remove them, by paying their taxes, and supporting good order, and the laws of the government; but when they take a view of the political disadvantages they labor under, peculiar to their local situation, being separate from the other part of the government by the intervention of another state, as well as their great distance from the seat of government, they look upon it a duty they owe themselves and their brethren in the other part of the state, and to the United States in general, in a peaceful and dutiful manner, and agreeably to the constitution, to lay them before the honourable Court, and request that they would relinquish all right of jurisdiction over said counties, and consent that they may be formed into a separate government, as they apprehend this the only adequate remedy to the difficulties complained of.

And while they are taking this peaceful measure to obtain a redress of their great political evils, by asking for a separation from the other part of the commonwealth, they do not entertain an idea of throwing off the weight of the publick debt, at this time lying upon the government at large, or to prevent the other part of the commonwealth from having their just proportion of the unappropriated lands; but, like friends and brethren, most ardently wish to have all matters adjusted upon the broadest basis of equity and fair dealing.

Therefore your petitioners humbly pray, that your honours would take their circumstances into your wise consideration, and adopt such measures as you in your wisdom may think fit; and they, as in duty bound, will ever pray.        A

A LETTER FROM REV. LEVI WHITMAN, CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE CREEKS AND ISLANDS IN WELLFLEET, AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF CAPE-COD HARBOUR.

DEAR SIR,

AGREEABLE to your request, I present you with the names of the several creeks in Wellfleet harbour, together with some further observations concerning Cape-Cod, and a bill of mortality for the last year. The south creek, near to Eastham, is called Silver Springs, from a spring of that name near it, which has a white sand at the bottom, resembling that metal. Advancing further north, is Blackfish creek, the head of which was formerly a fresh pond. A way was cut from it to the main creek, for the purpose of erecting a fulling-mill, which in time went to decay, and the tide has worn a passage for vessels of sixty or seventy tons. The third is Duck creek, which makes its way between two large hills, in the centre of the township, nearly up to the meeting-house. The north hill is called Milton's hill; and the fourth, Indian neck. From this, westerly, at the head of the bay, is good anchorage and landing, to a large creek called the Herring river, which meanders through the salt marshes for several miles, near some fresh ponds. Billingsgate point is now become an island, it having been cut off by a ditch many years since; and being constantly washed by the tide, there is now a passage for small, light vessels to pass upon the full sea. In moving further north, you meet, first, with Beach hill: then with one much larger, called Great island, which is separated by flats (over which the tide passes some times) from Griffin's island, on which there are eleven dwelling-houses. Passing this, you come to Bound-Brook island, which is separated from Griffin's island in the same manner. On this island there is a wind-mill and ten dwelling-houses. This makes the high land south-east from Cape-Cod harbour. Nearly in the centre of the marshes, and between the two islands last mentioned, is Myrick island, covered with small oak wood. These three last mentioned islands are made only by creeks and marshes, which are covered with water in high tides.

In addition to what I have already observed, I would in-

form you, that it is suspected, by many amongst us, that the importance of Cape-Cod harbour, one of the best and safest ship harbours in the commonwealth, is not sufficiently known, and has not been properly attended to; at least it is supposed that there has not been so much care taken to give strangers information how it may be entered, as might have been done. That mountain of clay, in Truro, seems to have been erected in the midst of sand hills, by the God of nature, on purpose for the foundation of a light-house; which, if it could be obtained in time, no doubt would save millions of property, and thousands of lives. Why then should not that dark chasm, between Nantucket and Cape-Ann, be illuminated? Should there be a light-house erected on this high mountain, it would be discovered immediately after leaving Nantucket light, and would be a safe guide round the Cape into the harbour, or give safe directions for going into any other port within the great bay of Massachusetts. Was there a light upon this high hill, and sufficient information given, strangers might know, when they were nearly north of it by sounding, except when very near the shore of Truro, and near Jefferie's bank, where there is a bank and sand bottom from nine to thirty fathom water, which by some is called the Shoal ground of the cape; by others the Middle bank. I have been informed by seamen, that immediately after passing this bank, the water is deep, and the bottom muddy. There are no shoals very near the shore, except it be what are called Peeked-hill bars, near Province-town, which reach off nearly three quarters of a mile, and from which, at low water, vessels are in danger. After passing these bars round Race point, (on which, three miles from the town, there are nearly twenty fishing huts, which answer not only the purposes for which they were built, but also the same as those built by the Humane Society for the benefit of unfortunate seamen) the water is deep near the shore. Between the Race, and a point of land jutting out south into the sea, is what is called the Herring cove, in which vessels of the largest size may lie safely, when the wind is easternly. The land which I have just mentioned is called Wood end. The back of this land, towards the Herring cove, has shoal ground, which reaches off some small distance; and so has Long point, a bar of sand which runs east from Wood end, and forms Cape-Cod harbour.

The



The excellence of this harbour consists in these particulars : in it there are no rocks ; and it opening to the south, and lying as it does, there is very rarely in the most severe season, any ice in it, to prevent vessels from going safely in, even when the other harbours in Massachusetts bay are frozen up.

If no others should be engaged in this cause of humanity, it is concluded that the Humane Society will, from a desire of increasing the good for which they were incorporated, urge those whom it may concern to erect a building on the Clay Pounds, for the purpose of directing strangers and people in distress where relief and comfort may be had ; or, at least, it is wished that through their means, a committee, or some suitable person, may be appointed to inquire into the matter. These are the wishes of many of your friends in these parts, besides him who is, &c.

LEVI WHITMAN.

Rev. JAMES FREEMAN.

Wellfleet, October 26, 1794.

A BILL OF MORTALITY IN WELLFLEET, FROM OCTOBER 26, 1793, TO OCTOBER 26, 1794.

		Ages.	
October,	{ Male	23	*Fever.
	{ Male	41	*Drowned.
November,	{ Child	4	Consumption.
	{ Female	14	Consumption.
December,	{ Male	75	Fever.
	{ Female	40	Apoplexy.
January,	{ Male	23	*Fever.
	{ Female	77	Consumption.
February,	{ Male	75	Consumption.
	{ Male	22	*Fever.
March,	Male	38	*Fever.
April,	Male	69	Paralytick.
May,	Female	75	Dysentery.
July,	{ Male	28	Consumption.
	{ Infant		
August,	{ Male	28	*Fever.
	{ Male	25	*Fever.
September,	Infant		Sore mouth.

The

The sum total 18, which, added to bills for nine preceding years, makes 163 in ten years. Infants and persons dying from home are distinguished as in former bills \* for this town. Baptisms in the year past 39, which, added to the former bills in nine years, amount to 433 in ten years.

See Vol. III, page 121.

AN ACCOUNT OF AN UNCOMMON FROST IN THE NIGHT FOLLOWING THE 17th OF MAY, 1794.

REV. SIR,

A CONSIDERABLE period having elapsed, and some of the observations upon the effects of the frost, to which I referred when in conversation with you, having been lost, it is not in my power to furnish so particular an account as I intended. If the following shall afford you any satisfaction, it will make me happy.

The degrees of cold, as marked on Fahrenheit's thermometer, the seventeenth of May, also the evening and morning following, were as follows.

At eight of the clock in the morning of the seventeenth, the mercury stood at 53°. At one o'clock, at 53°. At sunset, at 46°. At ten o'clock, at 37°. At eight in the morning of the eighteenth, an 46°. The night between the seventeenth and eighteenth was that in which the frost happened.

The following are some of the effects, which were produced by the frost.

Our fruit trees of every description were scarcely ever known to be more covered with blossoms, and to exhibit a more flattering prospect. On the succeeding morning, the blossoms and leaves of the trees were almost universally killed. So far as I can discover, there are not more than four or five orchards in the town, from which any cider has been made, and from these but in very small quantities, Nut trees and others were in a similar condition. It is particularly discovered, that some small walnut trees were entirely killed. The growth of others received a temporary check.

Fields of grass, particularly those which bear clover, were so thoroughly chilled, as, upon the return of the sun, to wither and decay. The grass, in most places, again sprang up, and has afforded a sufficiency of hay to supply the necessities of the inhabitants.

None

None of the fruits of the earth were more essentially injured than the grain. Corn, which had sprouted, had begun to show itself, was frozen and destroyed. The winter grain (as it is styled) appeared, previously to this, very flourishing. Such was the severity of the chill, that the fields, with but few exceptions, were so injured, as immediately to exhibit a yellow cast, and to die. This, however, in consequence of refreshing and plentiful rains, again sprouted, and the husbandmen encouraged themselves with the hope of receiving a compensation for their labours. But the succeeding cold weather occasioned a blast, which was nearly universal; and it is now abundantly proved, that there will not be sufficient collected to furnish seed for the ground.

The frost, happening at so early a period, was no disadvantage to the summer grain, the oats, &c. I believe myself quite safe in observing, that all vegetables in gardens, in the lower parts of the town, were destroyed.

One evidence of the very great intensesness of the cold has been given me by an aged person, a recital of which may possibly gratify you. It has been his constant practice, to leave the houseleek, a plant you have undoubtedly seen, in his garden through the winter. No injury has heretofore resulted from this. Upon examining it, after the above mentioned frost, a considerable part of it was chilled, and is since dead. This may partly be accounted for from the cold, affecting it gradually in the former case, but is, notwithstanding, one proof of the uncommonness of the chill.

Another person has furnished me with the following account. About sunrise, he examined a pail of water, which had stood at the north part of the house, through the night, and found the ice about half an inch thick. He separated it from the water, and looked again in thirty minutes, it was covered with ice. This he removed, and after an equal space of time, the water was found considerably chilled.

These are some of the disagreeable consequences of this untimely frost. I am sorry the account cannot be more perfect. Our situation being low, we were consequently more exposed, and more injured than most of our neighbors.

I am, sir, with esteem and respect, your friend and obedient servant,

NATHANIEL THAYER.

Rev. Dr. BELKNAP.

*Lancaster, Nov. 8, 1794.*

A

A DESCRIPTION OF MARLBOROUGH, IN THE COUNTY OF  
MIDDLESEX. BY REV. ASA PACKARD.

SIR,

In compliance with the request contained in your circular letter, every subject it embraces has had my best attention. My first enquiries after the antiquities of this town brought to view the following circumstance, which must be an apology for so barren a return. The original records of the town being greatly defaced, parts of them being nearly obliterated, a committee was chosen to transcribe what they supposed might be of importanue in future. That partial copy is what remains. Ancient records of ecclesiastical matters, if there were such, were not so much respected. Nothing has come to my knowledge, relating to the church, of so early a date as 1700, when a church must have been organized nearly or quite forty years. The key of our antiquities being thus lost by negligence, I present the few historical facts I have been able to collect.

A tract of land six miles square (old measure) was granted to certain petitioners, inhabitants of Sudbury, in 1656, which was incorporated by the name of Marlborough, May 31, 1660, Its Indian name was Okommakamefit. The last distinguished leader of the tribe, which resided here, was Onomog. By the reasons assigned in the petition for the land, it appears that the English settlement was begun about 1654. Those adventurers was severely checked in their growth and prosperity, as an infant town, by the invasion of the savages. On the sabbath, when Mr. Brimsmead, was in sermon, March 20, 1676, the worshipping assembly was suddenly dispersed by an out-cry of "Indians at the door." The confusion of the first moment was instantly increased by a fire from the enemy; but the God whom they were worshipping shielded their lives and their limbs, excepting the arm of one Moses Newton, who was carrying an elderly and infirm woman to a place of safety. In a few minutes they were sheltered in their fort, with the mutual feelings peculiar to such a scene. Their meeting-house, and many dwelling houses, left without protection, were burned. Fruit-trees, pilled and backed, and other valuable effects rendered useless, perpetuated the barbarity of savages, many years after the inhabitants returned. The enemy retired soon after their first onset,  
declining

declining to risk the enterprize and marshal prowess of the young plantation. The new settlers, being much debilitated by their various losses, being a frontier town, and still exposed to the "adjudication" of their savage neighbors, left their farms till the seat of war was further removed. This town originally belonged to Massachusetts.

DIVISIONS AND ALTERATIONS.] Westborough (which originally included Northborough, taking its name from its local situation relative to its parent town) was taken from Marlborough, and incorporated Nov. 18, 1717. Southborough, a branch of the same stock, and deriving its name from a similar source, was incorporated July 6, 1727. There have been no other alterations worthy of notice.

MINISTERIAL MATTERS.] When a church was first gathered here, I cannot learn. Mr. William Brimsmead was minister to this religious society September 20, 1660. He was educated at Cambridge, Massachusetts, but never had a degree; several of his class, equally disgusted with him at a vote of the corporation, that four years residence at College should precede a degree, took up their connexions, because, at the time of their admission, three years residence entitles students to that honour. Whether he was ordained here is disputed. Mrs. Parkman of Westborough, daughter to Mr. Breck, who was settled a few years only after the death of Mr. Brimsmead, thinks he was not; but that he administered the sacraments is acknowledged, for he was in office about forty years. The baptismal covenant, now used in this, and several neighbouring churches, is called, by elderly people, the Brimsmead covenant; and he uniformly refused baptism, tradition says, to children born on the sabbath, implying that he administered it to those born of parents in covenant on other days. He was never married. Where or how he lived is unknown to the descendants of his charge; and nearly all that perpetuates his memory is an unlettered stone. He died July 3, 1701.

The reverend and eminent Robert Breck was ordained October 24, 1707; died January 6, 1731, aged forty-nine.

The reverend Benjamin Kent was ordained October 27, 1733, and dismissed February 4, 1735.

The reverend Aaron Smith was ordained June 11, 1740, and dismissed by reason of bodily indisposition, April 29, 1778.

The reverend Asa Packard was ordained March 23, 1785.

TOPOGRAPHY, &c.] The selectmen are about to forward a topographical description of this town, its waters, &c. (which will probably be as accurate as any that I could present) to the secretary of the commonwealth. I will therefore only observe, in general, that near the publick road, in the westerly part of the town, in a circular pond, about half a mile in diameter, which has no visible supply of water, but at rainy seasons of the year. Out of it flows a stream, sufficient to carry a well constructed corn mill twelve hours in a day, at the driest season. In the soil of the town nothing is remarkable but its natural excellence. Very little of what is called good land lies level, but is intersected, in various directions, by hills, declivities, and vallies. Our high lands are more springy, more moist, and less exposed to drought than the intervals below them, and often retain their verdure in dry seasons, when the vallies are parched.

PIGMENTS.] Of these we have nothing to boast from the partiality of nature; and whether we can plume ourselves on enterprise, you, sir, will best determine. A poor man\* in my neighbourhood, of real genius, and peculiarly fond of novelties, must furnish a few lines to the *Historical Society*. He conceived a lurch for improvement in manufacturing spanish brown. Having procured a quantity of earth, or loam, of no very singular quality, as I judged by its appearance — (it resembled bed-ore, though not impregnated with particles of iron†) — he laid it on a flat rock, and covered it with a liberal pile of dry wood. Frequently feeding his fire, and very carefully eyeing the process, he was convinced, in a few hours, that he had discovered the outlines of his object. Encouraged by this experiment, he constructed an air furnace, the cost of which was quite trivial, as appears by the building itself. In this half-formed affair, which admits not only of being finished, but of several improvements upon its plan, he calcined and prepared for the mill a ton in twenty four hours, six days in succession, without great expense of wood. A single man broke ground, and collected several tons of this loam in a day.

These circumstances, compared with the current price of that article, must, sir, I think, answer two questions, interesting to our country, viz. whether the price of it may not be reduced, and whether a little attention and encouragement would

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\* Isaac Sherman.

† This circumstance deserves a more particular inquiry.

would not enable us to export it. Connoisseurs in paints acknowledge it is good. His first attempts in making spruce yellow, were flattering; and I doubt not, a man of property, genius, and application, might receive important hints of this person, and find a ready, lucrative account in this branch of manufacture.

**CULTIVATION OF THE SOIL.]** In this, sir, we are making rapid improvements. I need only say, our own writers on husbandry have been circulated among the farmers, and our fields pay a silent, but annual and liberal tribute to those benefactors of their country. It appears to me that our landholders in general cultivate too much soil. With their present strength of labourers, a smaller spot, in a higher state of cultivation, would be more profitable. It is a prevailing error to overstock both barns and pastures; in consequence of which, much of our grass land produces less than two, and some that has been wholly devoted to feed, less than one third of what it did thirty and forty years ago; while those lots which have been managed more judiciously, produce as freely as in former years.

**EDUCATION.]** Our modes of it are as usual in the country; and possibly you may think, sir, that the following suggestion offers some improvement upon this leading interest of society; and all grant, that a small advantage to the shoot may become important to the tree. School-houses in the country being principally improved in winter, would they not be more convenient and accommodating at that, and not less so at other seasons, if, instead of the usual area, the whole floor be covered with seats, leaving a small vacancy around the hearth, and leaving alleys, at proper distances, for the master to pass and inspect his scholars sitting? Less exposed to confusion, disorder, and partiality, would they not find the same fire more effectual in warming the room?

In this town, education is honourably encouraged. Nearly half the year we have several schools open, besides those required by law. In addition to which, a very decent and convenient house, built for that purpose by certain proprietors, is generally improved, and found greatly beneficial to them.

**LIBRARY.]** There is a social library in this town, consisting of one hundred and eighty well-chosen volumes, which cost sixty-five pounds; and many of the youth im-

prove it with a degree of diligence and discretion, which promises respectability to them, and useful members to society.

**BILL OF MORTALITY.]** Here, sir, I have to regret the ordinary omission of those who have accurate lists of births and deaths, in not minuting the sex. Many children are not named in the town records; others live but few days; the person who notes the birth and death perhaps lives in a distant part of the town, and must frequently inquire several times to learn the sex, which task is generally declined. The diseases of which persons die, are much more difficult to ascertain; for physicians differ in opinion as well as divines. By this circumstance alone, having made the attempt some years ago, I soon found myself necessitated to relinquish it.

Since the beginning of the year 1760 to Jan. 1, 1795, seven hundred and twenty-six inhabitants of this town have died, and in the same period one thousand six hundred and seventy-two have been born. The increase of population must have been much greater, had not many young and growing families preferred a settlement on new lands, where the surveyor deals in round numbers, and counts not the links of his chain.

If this, sir, should encourage the growth of one branch in your promising "forest," I shall be gratified; and if not being my best, it evinces my readiness to contribute such as I have, to so laudable an institution as the Historical Society; and that,

With much respectful esteem, I am, sir, affectionately  
yours,

ASA PACKARD.

JEREMY BELKNAP, D. D. Boston,  
Corresponding Secretary of the  
Massachusetts Historical Society. }

*Marlborough, Jan. 3, 1795.*

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A LETTER FROM REV. GIDEON HAWLEY OF MARSHPEE,  
CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS SERVICES AMONG THE  
INDIANS OF MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW-YORK, AND A  
NARRATIVE OF HIS JOURNEY TO ONOHOGHWAGE.

*July 31, 1794.*

IT is forty years, this day, since I was ordained a missionary to the Indians, in the Old South meeting-house, when the Rev. Dr. Sewall preached on the occasion, and the Rev. Mr. Prince gave the charge.



I had been in the service from Feb. 5, O. S., 1752, and by an ecclesiastical council convened for that purpose, was now solemnly set apart to the work of an evangelist among the western Indians. The Rev. Mr. Foxcroft and Dr. Chauncy assisted upon the occasion, and Mr. Appleton of Cambridge, with many delegates from their respective churches.

I entered upon this arduous business at Stockbridge under the patronage of the Rev. Mr. Edwards. Was instructor of a few families of Iroquois, who came down from their country for the sake of christian knowledge and the schooling of their children. These families consisted of Mohawks, Oneidas and Tuscaroras, from Kanajoharry, and Onohoghwege. I was their school-master, and preached to them on the Lord's-day. Mr. Edwards visited my school, catechised my scholars, and frequently delivered a discourse to their parents. To Indians he was a very plain and practical preacher: upon no occasion did he display any metaphysical knowledge in the pulpit. His sentences were concise, and full of meaning; and his delivery, grave and natural. In the winter, Indians are at home, and my school was well attended: But many, who wintered at Stockbridge, in the Spring and Summer went off, and were about Schoharry, beyond Albany. In the month of September, I therefore made an excursion into the Mohawk country. I had never been at Albany, nor even as far as Kinderhook, till now; and was ignorant of the way which led through a wilderness.

I therefore wanted a guide, and took with me a young Canada Indian, who had attended my school. He had been bred a Roman Catholick; could repeat the Lord's-prayer in Latin, and Ave Maria; could read and write. He furnished me with an alphabet for his language, which was of use to me. He was of the Cagnawauga tribe.

He was my company, and *only* he. Two years afterwards, some of the Canada Indians came, and not improbably this fellow might be of the party, who fell upon a family at Stockbridge, on the Lord's-day, and murdered and captured several of its inhabitants. But it was now peace, and I had no apprehensions when travelling *alone* with him, a whole day, through a solitary wilderness.

Near night we arrived at the out houses in Kinderhook. Here we came across a number of the Stockbridge tribe, encamped by a river. My Indian could no longer refrain:

He

He was determined to debauch. He wished to get drunk, and associate with a courtesan ; but he knew the consequence would be the loss of his ornaments, in case he did not secure them. He therefore came to me, and taking off his wampum, silver trinkets, bracelets, &c. deposited them. It was in vain that I remonstrated. He would have a frolick. I therefore, but with apparent reluctance, took charge of his goods, and secured them in my bags.

In the morning, looking very pensive, he came to my lodgings, and complained that he had been robbed. He had lost his *best* blanket, and wished me to recover it. I went with him, and he pointed to a young female, who had the blanket, and who, upon my requisition, delivered it to him, looking very sheepish.

He then wished me to resign the deposite of wampum, which the evening before he had committed to me. I declined it ; and expostulated, and insisted upon his going with me to Albany ; using arguments and making him offers. He was silent. I set out and he followed me. I got into the woods and he after me. Prudence dictated, that it was best to restore him his trinkets, although he discovered not any symptoms of ill-nature. Having received them, he returned to the above party, and I never heard of him after. I relate this affair, because it is characteristic of his nation, and all Indians or savages. I knew not the way to Albany ; and the path I had taken was obscure, and unfrequented by white people. I came to an Indian village ; took some directions, but lost my way. I wandered in blind paths till I found a few white inhabitants in huts, who had lately made settlements, but being ignorant of the English language, could give me but poor information. To be short, I finally got into the great road, I knew not how, but not until I had been out in a most terrible storm of thunder and lightning. Thunder tempests are very frequent in the interior parts of the country ; and I have often met with them since in the wilderness, and sometimes when alone. It cleared off, and I travelled ; and all at once, through an opening, appeared to view the city of Albany ; and I soon discovered a fleet of vessels by its side, on the adjacent river. Great was my satisfaction. I came down and crossed the ferry ; went into the city, and passed it ; came to the houses between Albany and Skenectady, and lodged. These were only two houses,

kept

kept for the entertainment of passengers. They were alone, but did not harmonize. Three houses will agree; but two in a wilderness will be considered as rivals; and their interests will clash. Such is human nature, that power and interests must be balanced by a third person or interest.

Between Albany and Skenectady is barren land; but it is strange that only two houses had been at that time erected, on a road so much frequented, and for so many years together.

Soon after I left these houses, the road parts. That to the right, leads to Skenectady; and on the other, a road to Schoharry,\* where I arrived in the afternoon; and soon found the Indians, and particular Jonah, whose Indian name is T'hànhanagwanàgeas, which is long, but of no extraordinary meaning. This was a very christian-like Indian, and his wife a good woman, who soon got me some refreshment. His mother was a very old person, and of French extract, and full blooded, being captured from Canada when very young. Jonah, therefore, was half blood. I never saw him the worse for strong drink. He was a man of prayer. I had much acquaintance with him after this, as I had considerable the winter passed, when he was at Stockbridge with his family. His wife was of the Tuscarora tribe. Jonah and some other families were about coming again to Stockbridge, there to winter. Some others, whom I saw, were going to Onohoghwàge, where they belonged. I left Jonah, and went further down, about six miles, and found, at the Mohawk village, Sharrack, Peter, and others, who the summer passed had been gathering, with their wives and children, the genseng root for the European market; it having the last year answered for the exporter, beyond all expectation. But this year, as the event proved, many adventurers or speculators in it were nearly ruined; but the Indians employed in gathering it, got considerable by it, having collected in it great quantities. The Indian name for this root is Kalondaggough. I lodged in the vicinity of these Indians, and visited them in the morning; gave their children a few trifles that were acceptable, invited them to Stockbridge, and set out upon my return, and came to the two houses between Albany and Skenectady, where I again lodged.

In regard to Schoharry, it is fine land, and settled by Palatines,

\* Hunter's field, after Governour Hunter.

latines, brought over, at the expense of the nation, in Queen Anne's reign. It is watered by a stream, which tends to the southward, not far from the source of Delaware, which takes an opposite direction. Here are three decent meeting-houses, and two domines : The one a Calvinian ; and the other, a Lutheran. The language of this people is German or High Dutch, and they are husbandmen. The Albanians and people of Skenectady were Hollanders, and employed in trade ; and very few were farmers. For the sake of the Indian trade, which is very lucrative, they have explored the great lakes, and penetrated into the bowels of the wilderness. The Indians from Canada, with their skins and furs, came to Albany in time of peace. I have seen numbers of them there at a time.

There was a missionary to the Mohawks from the society in London ; but he resided, as he was considered as chaplain to the fort, in Albany ; very little of his time with his Indians ; and therefore could do them less good than a constant resident among them. I was solicited once, by a clergyman of that city, to tarry a while in town, saying, "in case I went and baptized the children, I might return and spend the season agreeably at Albany." The Rev. Mr. Barclay, who was now a missionary in the city of New-York, it was said, had been a faithful and zealous instructor of the Indians ; but his situation, as I was informed, was made uncomfortable by his neighbours ; and his support being scanty, he left them ; and Mr. Oglevie was his successor, and now in office. This gentleman had many amiable qualities ; but he finally removed to New-York, and succeeded Dr. Barclay also at that place.

But to return to my narrative. Having been upon this excursion, which I made at my own expense, I returned and opened my school. At a proper time the Indians and their children collected at Stockbridge. Jonah came with his party ; and others, from the Mohawk river, where I had a considerable number about me. I now took lodging at a building called the boarding school, and furnished a chamber in it. For the sake of being conversant with my pupils and their parents, I adopted this self-denying mode of life, being determined to acquaint myself with their language and manners, that I might better serve the interests of my mission. This building, in a way unknown, took fire, and was reduced

to ashes\* with considerable furniture. By this calamity I lost my bed, clothing, books, and many valuable articles of furniture, for which I was never in the least compensated. There were many persons who supposed, with some grounds, that this house was set on fire by design. Those who were concerned in Indian affairs, were in violent parties. Mr. Edwards, Deacon Woodbridge, and myself, were supported out of the same funds, and directed by the same company: we therefore harmonized. The Hon. Joseph Dwight, esq. was at the head of another considerable party, supported by the government. This gentleman married Mrs. Sergeant, the widow of the late Rev. Mr. Sergeant, the former missionary; and had very considerable influence on that and other accounts. He was liberally educated; had been speaker of the house, a counsellor, and the head of a regiment in taking Cape-Breton. There was a third party, supported by Mr. Hollis, in England. Is it not strange that they could not all agree in every mode of carrying on this business; but very unhappy for the Indians and the town, that they should disagree as they did. Deacon Woodbridge was a popular character, and he governed the town, held its offices, and managed the Indians as he pleased. Mr. Dwight opposed him. In short, these partizans in Indian business prejudiced many sober persons against the whole affair by their misconduct; and they wished to get rid of the Indians of every description, and remove them from town and country, as they finally did. This spirit being so prevalent, induced Mr. Edwards to remove to Princeton in New Jersey; which, I am persuaded, he would not have done, had he been quiet and comfortable in his mission. And this animosity continuing after Mr. West, his successor's settlement, he also finally resigned his mission, and would have no concern with the Indians. And a worthy young man, the present Mr. Sergeant, undertook the affair; but notwithstanding all he could do, they ousted him and his Indians, and drove them off, as I may say, to Oneida, agreeable to a plan, which was twenty years in ripening. This is not generally known. This spirit of dissention, however, was the means of my carrying the gospel into the Indian country. I was desirous of planting christianity at a distance from any white people, and where the Indians were not in so much danger of having their minds poisoned by them.

However

\* In the month of February, 1753.

However, I found it very difficult to get beyond its influence, and I have considered it as very strange, that nothing could be undertaken for the Indian interest, that did not meet with opposition, and many times from a quarter where we did not look for it. I have always met with great difficulties in my way, as have all my fellow labourers. It is not considered by the whites, adjacent to Indian plantations, for their interest, that this people should be knowing, wise, or good.

Mr. Woodbridge, (whose party was not suspected as having any hand in burning the boarding school) was at the General Court in Boston, at the time when the house was consumed; and he made application to the Board of commissioners, as I was yet at Stockbridge, that I should be applied to, to take a mission to the Indians in the interior parts of the country. And when he returned from court, he brought letters to me which desired me to go to Boston, which I did in the month of April, to consult upon measures with the commissioners for carrying into effect a new mission to the westward of Albany.

In the year 1748, this Board had sent upon the same mission Mr. Elihu Spencer,\* who could not surmount the obstacles he met with. But these Indians having, sundry of them, particularly Jonah, Sharrack, and some others, by coming to Stockbridge, manifested a thirst for christian knowledge, the commissioners were encouraged to make another attempt to carry the gospel to them: they did all they could to encourage it. Money was not wanting in their treasury; and the company in London were able to answer their bills, when more was called for, and were ready to do it.

It was agreed that Deacon Woodbridge,† being a man long acquainted with the business, and a gentleman of abilities, should accompany me into their country, and introduce me to the Indians, with whose manners and language I had gained some acquaintance, and had been acceptable in my school, &c. It was also agreed that Mrs. Ashley should be our interpreter; and that Benjamin Ashley, her husband, should be employed, and have a salary. This could not be avoided, if we had his wife; but he was a fanatick, and on that

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\* Rev. Dr. Spencer finally settled at Elizabeth town in New-Jersey, as president Dickinson's successor.

† I may not have another opportunity to observe concerning this gentleman, that he was always poor, and had a powerful party against him; but he rose to be the first man in the county of Berkshire, was always esteemed for his sense; but had few who wished to promote him. For many years he was at the Council board, and sustained his station with reputation.

that account unfit to be employed in the mission. His wife was a very good sort of woman, and an extraordinary interpreter in the Iroquois language. She was captured at Deerfield, when that town was destroyed, in 1703, and carried to Caguawauga, when she was about three years old. Her two brothers, Martin and Joseph Kellogg, well known in their day, were both older than their sister, and were taken at the same time. The two boys got away before their sister, who resided in Canada among the Caguawaugas until she was a maiden grown. Her brothers, however, lived there long enough to be good interpreters, particularly Joseph Kellogg, esq. who was the best in his day, that New-England had, and was employed upon every occasion. For many years he was at Fort Dummer, on Connecticut river, near Number Four: was at the Albany treaty in the year 1754, which was attended by a greater number of respectable personages from the several provinces and colonies than had met upon any similar occasion. And in the year 1756, being persuaded by General Shirley to accompany him in his way to Oswego, as an interpreter, which he undertook with a broken state of health, he sickened and died; and was buried at Skenectady.

Martin, well known by the name of Captain Kellogg, was a very remarkable man for his courage and bodily strength. He was several times captured and carried to Canada. Many stories were related of his feats and exploits in early life. He was employed by Mr. Sergeant in Mr. Hollis's school, and his labours were acceptable, as far as I know. He lived at Newington, near Farmington, in Connecticut, where I suppose, he died about the year 1758. Rebecca, my interpreter, laid her bones at Onohogwàge in August, 1757, when I was at Marshpee. She was much lamented by the Indians. Her Indian name was Wausaunia.

Having returned from Boston, with a written recommendation from the governour, to which was affixed the great seal of the province, and with other credentials and private letters from particular gentlemen, it was only necessary for us to prepare for our mission, which we did without delay. But it was on Tuesday, May 22d, when Mr. Woodbridge, myself and company set out from Stockbridge for the Indian country. Our departure upon so great an errand as the planting christianity in the wilderness, about an hundred miles be-

yond any settlement of christian people, drew the attention of the whole town. And the Rev. Mr. Edwards, his wife, and others, accompanied us a considerable distance into the woods, toward Kinderhook. They returned, after taking leave of us in the most affectionate manner, and we pursued our way, having only an Indian track. We arrived at the first house, and put up for the night; and the next day came to Albany, where we tarried two nights, making acquaintances, and collecting some necessaries for our journey. We found friends, but the people in general did not much favour our undertaking. Trade with the savages was their support. This city is very compact. In time of war it is always picketed; and in the many expeditions against Canada, it has been the rendezvous of soldiers. It is considered as the head of navigation; although with small craft the river is navigable to the Half Moon, nine miles above it. The land on the back of the town is poor, but the intervals, up and down the river, are fertile; and there are some very considerable and valuable islands not far from the city.

On Friday we left Albany. Mr. Woodbridge and I set out for mount Johnson, about thirty-six miles off, on Mohawk river, to pay our compliments to Colonel Johnson, and obtain his countenance in favour of our mission. At noon we came to Skenectady, a town in some respects similar to Albany, but more pleasant. We crossed the ferry, and by a letter from Colonel Jacob Wendell of Boston, were introduced to his friend Major Glan, who hospitably received us. Having dined, we proceeded, and had a very pleasant ride up Mohawk river, on the north side. At sun-set we were politely received at Colonel Johnson's gate, by himself in person. Here we lodged. His mansion was stately, and situate a little distance from the river, on rising ground, and adjacent to a stream which turned his mill. This gentleman was well known in his civil, military, and private character. He was the first civil character in the county of Albany at that day; and after this, by means of the war, which commenced in 1755, and his connexion with the Indians, of whom he was appointed the sole superintendant for that part of the continent, he arose to great eminence. In 1756, he was made a baronet. It was favourable to our mission to have his patronage, which I never lost. In the year 1765, I found him at another mansion, about eight miles



miles from this, and four from the river. This last was a very superb and elegant edifice, surrounded with little buildings for the accommodation of the Indians, when down upon treaties or conferences with him. Mr. Woodbridge and I took our leave of him in the morning, rode up to the ford, and crossed the river, and came over to the south side, and rode to what was called the Mohawk castle; near which was a stone chapel and a village of Indians, situated on Schoharry creek, not far from the place where it discharges its waters into the Mohawk.

We dined with the commandant of the garrison, which consisted of a sergeant and few privates, under Lieutenant Butler, who resided there with his family. We heard the western news, and that the French in great force had passed the Ontario lake, going, as it was conjectured, to the Ohio; where they erected the fort, which was called Duquesne, now Pittsburgh. Mr. Butler obtained for us an Indian guide, to conduct us across to Schoharry, about sixteen miles south, through a wilderness. We went up the creek. Our path was obscure and obstructed, and the travelling uncomfortable. We came to a resting place, and breathed our horses, and slaked our thirst at the stream, when we perceived our Indian looking for a stone, which having found, he cast to a heap, which for ages had been accumulating by passengers like him, who was our guide.

We inquired why he observed that rite. His answer was, that his father practised it, and enjoined it on him. But he did not like to talk on the subject.

I have observed in every part of the country, and among every tribe of Indians, and among those where I now am, in a particular manner, such heaps of stones or sticks collected on the like occasion as the above. The largest heap I ever observed, is that large collection of *small* stones on the mountain between Stockbridge and Great-Barrington. We have a sacrifice rock, as it is termed, between Plymouth and Sandwich, to which stones and sticks are always cast by Indians who pass it.

This custom or rite is an acknowledgment of an invisible being. We may style him the *unknown God*, whom this people worship. This heap is his altar. The stone that is collected is the oblation of the traveller, which, if offered with a good mind, may be as acceptable as a consecrated animal.

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It was and is my business to declare his eternal power and Godhead, whom they acknowledged, but ignorantly worshipped; and to declare his Son, the appointed mediator and saviour, in his character, and unfold the truths of his gospel, which has brought life and immortality to light. But perhaps these heaps of stones may be erected only to a *local* deity, which most probably is the case. Mr. Woodbridge and I, with assiduity, pursued our way, one after the other, through bushes, and sloughs, water and mire, as our guide directed. And at dusk we arrived at the nearest houses between fort Hunter and Schoharry; but did not put up till we came to what was accounted a publick house, but very unfit for the entertainment of gentlemen strangers. It had only one room. In that room was what is called a *flaw-bunk*, with a straw bed, on which we lodged. This however was not the worst of it; for we had been contented with coarse fare and ill accommodations, in case we could have had quiet rest; but the unhappiness of our case was, that it was the end of the week; and to spend their wages, three or four old countrymen came in, and gamed and drank through the night, within a foot or two of our bed. We remonstrated and complained, but in vain. Having had broken rest through the week, we needed balmy sleep to refresh us, but of which we were denied.

Lord's-day, 27th. Having found our interpreter and company at the upper end of the town, we went and had a meeting at the Mohawk village, where I preached and prayed in the forenoon. In the afternoon, Mr. Woodbridge and I went to the Dutch meeting in that vicinity. Those who are in meeting behave devoutly in time of service. But without, they are at play. I have been at their meetings, when the boys through the service, and even at the celebration of the Lord's-supper, have been playing bat and ball the whole term around the house of God. Coming out of meeting, we observed the lower orders at all sorts of recreation. To us, who had been used to the strictness of a New-England sabbath, it appeared very profane. But custom will make any thing familiar.

Monday, 28th. To-day we were very busy in collecting stores and necessary for our journey, designing the next day to plunge into that immense wilderness that lies to the southward and westward of us, and inhabited only by savages.

We

We provided two sacks of flour, which we bought at very moderate rates, and hired a man and horse to carry it over land to the Susquehanna. Our company from Stockbridge was Mr. Woodbridge, Mr. Ashley and wife, and myself, and three or four blacks. Here we had volunteers, and particularly one fellow named Pallas, a vagrant Indian, whose company we had reason to regret, but could not refuse upon our mission.

Tuesday, 29th. Having assembled our company, we ascend a steep mountain, directing our course almost west. Our way was generally obstructed by fallen trees, old logs, miry places, pointed rocks, and entangling roots, which were not to be avoided. We were alternately on the ridge of a lofty mountain, and in the depths of a valley. At best, our path was obscure, and we needed guides to go before us. Our interpreter was on a single horse, which was very sure footed, but she needed every attention. She passed this wilderness for the last time. In the afternoon we came to rivulets which empty their waters into the Susquehanna, and the land becomes more level, and the travelling not so dangerous and difficult. Night approaches; we halt by one of these streams; a fire is kindled; the kettles are filled; we refresh ourselves; and we adore Divine Providence, returning thanks for the salvations of the day, and committing ourselves to God for the night, whose presence is equally in the recesses of the solitary wilderness, and the social walks of the populous city. With the starry heavens above me, and having the earth for my bed, I roll myself in a blanket; and without a dream to disturb my repose, pass the night in quiet, and never awake till the eye lids of the morning are opened, and the penetrating rays of the sun look through the surrounding foliage: when we arise refreshed, and again address that great and good being, whose constant visitation supports, cheers, and refreshes us; and invoke his protection, direction, and blessing. And this is our practice, extraordinaries excepted, through the journey, both in the morning and at evening. Our enterprise naturally inspired us with devotion; and the august and stupendous works of creation filled us with awe. We read God's name in capitals.

It may not be impertinent to observe, that in this wilderness, we neither hear nor see any birds of musick. These frequent only the abodes of man. There is *one wood* bird,  
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not often seen, but heard without any melody in his note, in every part of the wilderness, wherever I have been. In some parts of this extensive country, the wild pigeons breed in numbers almost infinite. I once passed an extensive valley where they had nested; and for six or eight miles, where the trees were near and thick, every tree had a number of nests upon it; and some, not less than fifteen or twenty upon them: But as soon as their young are able, they take wing, and are seen there on more.

Wednesday, 30th. Having met with nothing remarkable, we arrived at Towanoendalough in the afternoon. Here were three wigwams, and about thirty souls. We were impatient to see the famous Susquehanna; and as soon as we can, Mr. Woodbridge and I walk down to its banks. Disappointed at the smallness of its stream, he exclaimed, "Is this Susquehanna?"

When we returned, our young Indians, who had halted, came in, looking as terrible and ugly as they could, having bedaubed their faces with vermilion, lampblack, white lead, &c. A young Indian always carries with him his looking glass and paint; and does not consider himself as dressed, until he has adjusted his countenance by their assistance.

I visited from house to house, and found a child but just alive. I prayed with it; was desired to baptise it, but excused myself on account of my not being ordained. The Mohawks are fond of christening their children. The Indians on Mohawk river, I suppose, are all baptized. Some of them being at Stockbridge, at the birth of a child, were affronted, when the missionary there scrupled to baptize it. Indians are fond of rites and ceremonies.

The sick child died, and there were the most dolorous howlings among them at the event, which affected us.

Mr. Woodbridge and Mrs. Ashley, our interpreter, could not travel any further by land: We therefore concluded to get a canoe and convey them by water. From this place to Onohoghwàge, is three days' journey; and how bad the travelling is, we cannot tell.

May 31st. We met with difficulty about getting a canoe, and sent an Indian into the woods to get ready a bark, but he made small progress.

In the afternoon came from Otsego lake, which is the source of this stream, George Winedecker and another,  
in

in a small batteau, with goods and rum, going down to Onohoghwàge upon a trading voyage. We agreed with them to carry the interpreter and Mr. Woodbridge in their batteau; and bought a wooden canoe to carry our flour and baggage.

We soon saw the ill effects of Winedecker's rum. The Indian's began to drink, and some of our party were the worse for it. We perceived what was coming.

Our lodging was not in their wigwams; but in a little store-house set up on crotches, six feet and more from the ground, into which Mr. Woodbridge, myself, the interpreter, and her husband, could but just enter and lie down. This night we went to sleep with some apprehensions. We were awoke by the howling of the Indians over their dead. The whole village was agitated. We arose very early in the morning. We soon saw the Indian women and their children skulking in the adjacent bushes, for fear of the intoxicated Indians, who were drinking deeper. The women were secreting guns, hatchets, and every deadly or dangerous weapon, that murder or harm might not be the consequence. Poor unhappy mortals! without law, religion, or government; and therefore without restraint.

June 1st, 1753, is with me a memorable day, and for forty years and more has not passed unnoticed. We got off as silently as we could, with ourselves and effects. Some went by water; and others by land, with the horses. I was with the land party. The Indians, half intoxicated, were outrageous, and pursued both the party by water, in which was Mr. Woodbridge, and the party by land. One came so near us as with his club to strike at us, and he hit one of our horses. We hastened. Neither party met till we arrived at Wautêghe, at which had been an Indian village, where were a few fruit trees and considerable cleared land, but no inhabitants. Here, being unmolested and secure, we all refreshed ourselves. But Pallas was the worse for his rum; was so refractory, that Mr. Ashley's hired man, who had been in the canoe with him, did not like to proceed with him. I reproved him; got into the canoe with him, to keep him in order; was young and unexperienced; knew not Indians, nor much of mankind; whereby I endangered my life.

We went with the stream, till we came to slack water, when Pallas took his gun, to aim at fowl ahead of us. I was  
apprehensive

apprehensive of his gun ; for I perceived him to be in liquor. I took a paddle, and was turning the canoe, when the ducks rose, and took wing. The Indian was taking in his piece, which at that instant was discharged, and had in not been for the turn of my body, and particularly my head, the charge must have been mortal. Mr. Woodbridge, who had his eye upon me, looked to see me drop ; and was surprised, when he saw me unhurt. I had no certainty, but always suspected that Pallas designed to have murdered me.

This unexpected event filled us with amazement, and with such feelings and affections, that we immediately landed on the west bank of the river ; and passed the day in pensive and silent recollection, and such meditations as were natural to men in our situation. I retired from company. Here a small stream empties into the river, and our horses were turned out to graze upon its margin ; but in the night three or four of them returned to Wautéghe, which is twelve miles back.

June 2d. Our Indians did not recover the horses till late in the morning ; and to-day we fall down the river only six or eight miles, and lodge by the Kághucantàsis or whirlpool, because there was herbage for our horses at that place. Mr. Woodbridge made many observations concerning the consequences which would have followed, in case I had been killed.

Lord's-day, June 3d. To-day we embarked and proceeded down the river, and about noon passed a considerable village ; some families of which were of the Houssautunnuk Indians, and of the same language with the Stockbridge tribe. But as it was the christian sabbath, we did not permit Winedecker to land. They stood on the bank and beheld us. Here we left Pallas. At this place, from the N. W. rolls into the Susquehanna a river, which is navigable with canoes a day's journey. Its name is Teyonadelough. Five or six miles below, we landed on the west bank, and put up for the night.

June 4th. In the afternoon appeared at a distance Onohoghwàge mountain, and shewed us the end of our journey and the object of our wishes. It rained. Wet and fatigued, we arrived near night. The Indians flocked around us, and made us welcome. Our hopes were raised by favourable appearances. But our accomodations, considering

sidering our fatigues, were not very comfortable. Our lodgings were bad, being both dirty and hard; and our clothes wet.

June 5th. To-day there were many the worse for the rum that came with us. One of our horses hurt an Indian boy; and this raised and enraged such a party against us, as Ashley, his wife the interpreter, and the Indians at whose house we lodged, hid themselves, and would have had me and Mr. Woodbridge get out of sight; but we did not think proper to discover the least symptoms of fear, although they threatened us in the most provoking and insulting manner. In the afternoon came chiefs of the Onohoghwages, and assured us that those insulting and ill-behaved Indians did not belong to them,\* but were foreigners. We pointed out to them the ill effects of intemperance, and remonstrated against their permitting rum to be brought among them; and that it was necessary in future it should be prohibited, or the dispensing of it regulated, in case we founded a mission and planted christianity among them. In short, we now opened a treaty with them upon the affairs of our advent, and the importance of our business in every view. Having shewn our credentials, Mr. Woodbridge addressed himself in a well-adapted speech, of considerable length, to an assembly who were collected upon the occasion.

It affected them, and they appeared to be religiously moved, convicted, and even converted. But I must reserve a further account of our mission to another time, when I may copy our addresses, and the answers returned by the Indians thereunto. I am, &c.

GIDEON HAWLEY.

Rev. Dr. THACHER.

P. S. I may observe, that much has been done in this country for the Indians, and not without success. Many were converted on Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and in the counties of Barnstable and Plymouth. At the Vineyard, no less than three Indian churches were founded soon after Mr. Mayhew began to gospelize the Indians; and at this day there are a number of christian-like Indians, under the care of the Rev. Zachary Mayhew. At Nantucket were three meeting-houses, where Indians assembled for publick

\* This was partly the case.

worship, with Indian pastors ; and a few Indians yet remain there ; but they have no publick assembly of religious worship.

At Marshpee are between eighty and ninety Indian houses, if we reckon those who are in affinity with them. This blood is mixed ; but the Indian blood prevails in a very considerable degree ; and all this people value themselves on being christians, and some of them are an honour to their profession, although too many are not so. These are more civilized than any Indians in the commonwealth, but utterly unable to govern or protect themselves, being surrounded by white people, many of whom would defraud and oppress them without good men to defend them. I wish to be their friend. There are also at this day a few Indians at Portunicut, Harwich, Yarmouth, and other places below Barnstable. And in several places within the limits of Sandwich, and particularly at Herring pond, are a considerable many. And in the southern parts of the town of Plymouth, in two or three vicinities, are Indians, who wish to be christians ; and whenever they have any publick worship and instruction they are very attentivé ; and often solicit me to come and preach to them, but my age and infirmities do not permit me to visit them very often, and I find that I can do less and less. I am very confident, that those under the denomination of Indians, appertaining to Mr. Mayhew's and my pastoral care, are above a thousand souls. And they are not diminishing in numbers, and will rather increase, in case their lands are secured from alienation.

The present regulation of Marshpee has been the salvation of the Indian interest ; and every year proves its utility to them.\* But there has been scarcely a session of the General Court without petitions against it, supported by some able, but interested men.

There is now depending in the General Court a petition supported by an able attorney from this county, who has received an ample fee for that purpose ; and I expect nothing but this landed interest, if possible, will be set afloat, as soon as one or two men are removed out of the way, who now stand in the gap.

There was a time, when even at this distance, I had considerable

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\* An Indian speculator, viz. Deacon L. Nye, has said, as I am well informed, that he would give an hundred dollars to overthrow it. He has spent money for it already.



siderable knowledge of Indian affairs in the western country, where I spent my early days ; but I have now no means of information. I am confident, from what I have known that there will be Indians in these parts, when there is not one in all the country of the Six Nations. There is nothing easier than to extirpate Indians, if the government is set upon it. I am yours, &c.

GIDEON HAWLEY.

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QUERIES RESPECTING INDIANS.

- (1) What is supposed to be the general amount of the population of the tribes with which you are acquainted?
- (2) What number of warriors?
- (3) What prosperous or unprosperous events have lately happened to them?
- (4) Do they increase or diminish?
- (5) What causes affect either event?
- (6) What proportion of renegado whites are incorporated with them?
- (7) What is the state of morals, industry, and opinions in those tribes?
- (8) What is their predominant disposition with regard to the manners and civilization of the whites?
- (9) What idea do reflecting persons form of the probable destiny of the scanty remnant of the red nations?

ANSWER TO THE FOREGOING QUERIES, RESPECTING INDIANS.

(1) BY several months residence in their neighbourhood; three years ago, I became acquainted with the *Oneida Indians*, living in a number of villages, five and fifteen miles south of the Oneida Lake, in the state of New-York ; with the *Stockbridge Indians*, living six miles south of the most considerable Oneida village ; and with the *Brothertown Indians*, living eight miles south of the *Stockbridge* settlement. According to an estimate of their numbers made four years ago by Mr. Kirkland, the missionary, the amount of the Oneida population was about six hundred and fifty ; of the *Stockbridge*, two hundred and eighty ; and of the *Brothertown*, two hundred and fifty men, women, and children.

(2) Neither the name nor the character of warrior exist among the *Brothertown* Indians. Settled in an old and populous part of the state of Connecticut ; they have, during half a century, wanted both motive and opportunity to engage in war, and consequently their marshal spirit and skill have

have departed. The Stockbridge Indians have seldom used the name of late years ; it was revived by their serving with the Americans in the last war ; and, I believe, their number of warriors is about forty. The Oneidas, though much tamed by a general state of peace and an intercourse with whites, retain some ambition to be thought warlike, take pains to *excite* and maintain a martial spirit in their young men, and count one hundred warriors in the whole nation.

(3) The Brothertown Indians are the scanty remnant of the Moheakaunuck Indians, called formerly the *seven tribes on the sea coast*. They lived in Farmington, Stonington, Mohegan, and some other towns in the state of Connecticut, and Narragansett, in the state of Rhode-Island ; and gained a poor subsistence by planting a few parcels of exhausted land, fishing, and working at day labour, or making brooms, baskets, &c. for the white people, where they resided. About nine years ago, the Oneidas made them a gift of a tract of excellent wild land, lying twenty miles south of the Oneida lake ; which was confirmed to them by a law of the state of New-York. They soon emigrated from Connecticut, and took possession of this new and valuable territory. It was thought at that time that this emigration would be advantageous to them. It was supposed that the wild state of their land, the loss of their fishing, and the impossibility of much intercourse with whites, would create a necessity of labour in order to subsistence ; that this labour commenced from necessity, would be continued from habit and inclination ; and thus would gradually bring them into a comfortable and improved way of living. But these calculations have not been, and will not be, realized. These Indians have none of the spirit, industry, and perseverance, necessary in those who subdue a wilderness. A small number only have brought their farms into tolerable order. The principal part clear one field for corn, beans and potatoes, and give themselves no further trouble ; but either suffer their remaining tracts to be wild, or lease them for a small rent to the neighbouring whites, who have rapidly increased in their vicinity, and from whom they attempt to get a part of their support, as they did in New England. It is well for them that their conveyances of land are not valid by the state law ; were it otherwise, most of them would soon be divested of every inch of territory in their present possession.

The

The Stockbridge Indians were greatly injured by serving a few campaigns in the army of the United States, in the late war with Great-Britain. A large proportion of their most promising young men were killed, and their idleness and intemperance increased. They have been much benefitted by their emigration from Stockbridge in Massachusetts, nine and ten years since, to a township of good land given them by the Oneidas in their neighbourhood. They now possess more territory than heretofore; by their greater remoteness from the whites, they are obliged to live more within themselves, and attend to husbandry; and they are, as a community, more industrious and sober, and better provided than in their former situation.

The Oneidas were severe sufferers in the late war, in which they took part with the Americans. Many of their warriors were killed; and in the year 1780, the hostile Indians, British troops, and refugees drove them from their villages, which they burned and wasted. For two years they were huddled near Skenectady, or wandered in idleness and dependence among the neighbouring Dutch and English towns, till the cessation of hostilities in 1782, permitted them to return to their settlements. This event was truly detrimental to the Oneidas. At the commencement of the war they had attained to some degree of regularity, industry, and prosperity. But the devastation of their towns reduced them to absolute want and dependence; and their dispersion among the whites rendered them, more than ever, idle, intemperate, and abject. When they returned to their villages, after the peace, they were wretchedly poor, their land was much overgrown, and their reluctance to labour doubled. To these evils which they suffered from the late war, are to be added, the discord and animosity, which their different political sentiments and conduct originated. The distinction of whig and tory took place; and with it resentments and dissensions, which embitter their intercourse, and will be continued through successive generations.

The immigration of great numbers of white people into their neighbourhood, which is rapidly going forward, may be thought advantageous in some respects. It gives them opportunity to get provisions and clothing for their furs in greater quantity and cheapness, than heretofore; it favours the introduction of our arts and manners, and the English education

education of their children, if they are disposed to obtain them. But, when it is considered, on the other hand, that it threatens the speedy destruction of their game; that by affording them the opportunity of getting some provisions from the whites, it lessens the necessity and promotes the neglect of tillage; that experience proves that the Indians generally adopt the vices without the virtues of the whites who surround them; and that, as the latter multiply in their neighbourhood, they are lessened, vitiated, impoverished, rooted out, and destroyed; this immigration may be pronounced injurious to the natives.

(3) Their *numbers*, till within twenty or thirty years, were continually diminishing. Since this time, they have remained nearly stationary; allowing for the accidental destruction of some lives in war, mentioned above.

(5) The causes of this decreasing, or uniform state of population, are, as far as I am acquainted, there being a smaller number of children born among them than among civilized nations; the hardships incident to infancy; the general and excessive use of spirituous liquors by the men, and in some cases by the women; debility arising from idleness; scanty, irregular, and unwholesome diet; frequent consumptions and inflammatory disorders.

(6) Not more than two or three pure whites are found among the Brothertown and Stockbridge Indians; nor more than two or three families of whites among the Oneidas; who are generally persons of infamous character, and not superior in any respect to the natives. French and Canadian traders, in some instances, formerly incorporated and intermarried with the Oneidas; and thirty or forty of their mixed descendants exist.

(7) Little can be said in favour of the morals of these Indians. Many of their savage virtues are lost; and many of the vices peculiar to civilized society contracted. The hospitality, the courage, the fortitude, the spirit of independence, and the respect for the chiefs, which pertained to their more savage state, are in a great measure wanting. They are generally addicted to habitual lying and drunkenness; and theft and fornication are frequent. The missionaries have undoubtedly been instrumental in withstanding the progress of corruption; and maintaining among them some good practices and good characters. The Rev. Samuel

Kirkland

Kirkland is missionary from the society in Scotland and Corporation of Harvard College to the Oneidas and others of the Six Nations ; the Rev. John Sergeant from the same to the Stockbridge Indians. They generally attend publick worship and instruction on the sabbath, and behave with great seriousness and decorum during the exercises. A small number of the women seem to be influenced by the truth and motives of christianity, and live in the conscientious and uniform observance of its duties. A smaller number of the men have also professed, and appeared to regard and value, the gospel ; but rarely is there a male professor of the gospel so exemplary, as not frequently to falsify his word, drink to excess, and commit other immoralities. There are two instances in the whole Six Nations, and two only, of persons, who, since their conversion to christianity, have not been intoxicated. Art, dissimulation, and duplicity are common traits in the Indian character. Their resentments are keen and lasting ; and though they do not often gratify them by shedding the blood of their adversary, they endeavour to retaliate with interest in other methods. A party spirit rages in almost every tribe and nation, to a great degree. Contending factions often carry their mutual hatred, animosity, calumny, and abuse to dreadful lengths. The origin of these parties is generally the contests of rival chiefs for pre-eminence ; the sale and division of territory, and the intrigues and the bribes of land-jobbers and traders.

It must be acknowledged on the other hand, that the spirit of ferocity and revenge, which marked them before their acquaintance with Europeans, is much softened and subdued : their general behaviour is harmless and inoffensive, and often obliging and kind. Great civility is practised by them in conversation ; and they appear averse to contradiction and disputation. Adultry on the part of the women is almost unknown. When they seriously accept a trust, they are seldom found to betray it ; and though the basest ingratitude is very common, instances occur of remarkable zeal and fidelity in serving a benefactor.

The state of industry among them is wretched. They seem to have an insurmountable aversion to labour ; and though they discover some energy in the chase, wholly want it in husbandry and the arts of life. With respect to the Oneidas, their habitations consist of three or four framed and boarded

boarded houses, built principally by whites, a large number of unhewn, and a few hewn log houses, built by themselves, and a few wigwams, entirely constructed with bark. A few cribs and benches, wooden bowls, spoons and baskets, of their own formation, with some necessary vessels for cooking, purchased of whites, generally constitute their furniture. They dress chiefly after the Indian manner; though several can make garments in the English fashion. In two or three instances they imperfectly adopt our husbandry, possess the most necessary farming utensils, and succeed in tillage. All the others in the nation get half or two thirds of their subsistence by raising corn, beans, and potatoes, having no implement but the hoe; and the other part by hunting and fishing. The labour of the tillage is chiefly performed by the women; though latterly the men afford them considerable assistance. In short, they live in laziness and poverty. Though their soil is easily cultivated, and highly productive; and, on account of the immigration to their vicinity, the price of the productions of the earth is almost equal to that of the city of New-York; they often want the necessaries, and always the conveniences of living; and suffer greatly from hunger, nakedness, and hardship. This representation is less applicable to the Stockbridge Indians, than to the Oneidas; but the Brothertown tribe verify almost every circumstance in it.

With respect to the religious opinions of the Oneidas in a pagan state, I have understood, that they believed in a *Great Spirit*, who was supreme; and in many inferiour deities, guardians and governours of particular nations and tribes; that they offered animals in sacrifice, and observed several religious festivals; that they had an idea of a future state of rewards and punishments, where the persons who had committed certain vices, cowardice and suicide especially, would sink into a dark gulph, over which all were to walk on a small pole; and those who had practised certain virtues would get safe to the other side, enjoy a mild climate, and a country abounding with game.

These notions seem now to be generally removed or rectified by christianity, to which, as explained to them by missionaries, they appear to give a faint assent, though they often say it is a better religion for the white people than for them.

They have full faith in witchcraft, and the influence of departed

departed spirits over human affairs. Their villages are sometimes in the utmost consternation with the accounts of strange sights, apparitions, and possessions, which crafty or credulous persons circulate.

There is an opinion prevalent among them that their ancestors came originally from the west.

(8) They in general of late years think rather favourably of the manners and civilization of the whites. The inhabitants of one small village among the Oneidas, making seven or eight families, have a more savage cast of mind and manners than the rest, affect a contempt for civilization, and wish to remove from the neighbourhood of white people. But most of them acknowledge the superiour dignity and happiness of a civilized state, wish to have their children formed to it, and say that nothing but an adoption of our arts and manners will save them from extinction. If they sometimes reflect on us for being cowardly, effeminate, or tame-spirited, they do it not so much from a real contempt for us, as to relieve that uneasy sense of inferiority which mortifies and oppresses them. When, however, they have acknowledged the importance of industry and arts to their happiness, respectability, and even existence; they will add, "*Indians can't work.*" They feel fast bound by the power of their savage habits; and do not summon resolution to try to practise according to their conviction. The character of the parents is transmitted to the children; who grow up in all that indolence, listlessness and intemperance, which their predecessors exemplified, lamented, and condemned. The government of the United States has stipulated to build them a grist-mill and saw-mill, and pay annually to the Oneidas, as one of the Six Nations, their proportion of 4500 dollars, in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and the support of artizans in or near their villages. A sum has been afforded for the last purpose for three years past; but so small is the encouragement, and so unpleasant the situation, that no *reputable* persons have been obtained to settle with them.

A school-master, supported by the society in Scotland, has been employed a few years with the Oneidas: many of their children can read and write in the Indian, and a few in the English language. The Brothertown Indians generally speak and read English; and many of the Stockbridge tribe.

(9) Reflecting Indians are very much distressed with their apprehensions respecting their destiny. They have faint hopes that civilization will be introduced; but they seriously fear that they shall be obliged to remove from the neighbourhood of the whites; or that if they continue in their present situation, they shall be poor, despised, and dependent, gradually dwindling, till they become finally extinct. It is certain that as the whites advance towards Indians, the latter become vicious, intemperate, sickly, and dispirited, and, in general, diminish in numbers. I believe it is the opinion of those who best know and consider their history and present condition, that they are destined to utter extermination.

JOHN THORNTON KIRKLAND.

*Boston, Feb. 1795.*

AN ORIGINAL LETTER FROM DR. WILLIAM CLARKE, OF BOSTON, TO DR. FRANKLIN, OF PHILADELPHIA.

SIR,

*Boston, May 6, 1754.*

I received your two favours, by the two last posts; for both of which I am very much obliged to you; the former I should have acknowledged, by the return of the post; but was obliged to be out of town. I now return you the papers, with my hearty thanks for the trouble you have taken.

I fully agree to your observation in your last, that although several of the English governments are singly a match for the French; yet under their present circumstances and disposition, all of them together are not able to withstand them. I am very sorry that neither your government nor some of your neighbouring ones have exerted any proper spirit, with regard to the present measures of the French, nor a proper concern for their own security. For my own part, I cannot help thinking that unless there be a united and vigorous opposition of the English colonies to them, the French are laying a solid foundation for being some time or other, sole masters of this continent; notwithstanding our present superiority to them, in point of numbers. But this union is hardly to be expected to be brought about by any confederacy, or voluntary agreement, among ourselves. The jealousies the colonies have of each other, with regard to their  
real



real or imaginary different, interests, &c. will effectually hinder any thing of this kind from taking place. But were every thing else to be got over we should never agree about the form of the union, or who should have the execution of the articles of it. So that however necessary a step this may be, for the mutual safety and preservation of these colonies ; it is pretty certain, it will never be taken, unless we are forced to it, by the supreme authority of the nation. And how little attentive those that have the management of this authority are, and have been, to the affairs of the plantations, we know but too well.

Inclosed I send you the heads of what is intended to serve, for several small pieces, to be published at home ; if it should become necessary to raise the spirits of the people, in order to awaken the attention of the ministry. I should be extremely obliged to you for any hints upon any part of it, especially the last ; particularly the nature of the union, that ought to be established amongst his majesty's colonies, on this continent ; under what direction the whole English force of this continent might be best placed, to answer the design of the union, and by what method any tolerable computation may be made of the numbers of the people, in the respective colonies. You will find by the governour's speeches, and the address of both houses, what is the present temper of our court ; but as the new elections are coming on, we cannot well tell what may be the temper of the next.

I am your most obedient, humble servant,

WILLIAM CLARKE.

P. S. Our court have appointed commissioners to meet with the commissioners from the other governments, at the proposed interview with the Indians of the Six Nations. [*This was the congress at Albany, in July, 1754.*] The French forts are of no consequence, but as it gives them the advantage of gaining the Indians. Indeed their building forts at such distances from the places from whence they must draw their supplies, and that with so much difficulty, must, I should think, rather weaken them, than make them more formidable ; was it not hereby they will be able, in a manner, to engross the whole trade of the Indians, and so effectually to attach them to their interest, as to have it in their power to employ them to harass all the English out-settle-  
ments

ments throughout their whole extent, even in time of peace ; and when once it is in their power, we know that they won't fail of doing it.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Esq. Philadelphia.

[The following letter, written prior to the foregoing, should have been placed before it in this collection.]

AN ORIGINAL LETTER FROM DR. WILLIAM CLARKE, OF BOSTON, TO AN AMERICAN GENTLEMAN, THEN IN LONDON.

DEAR SIR,

*Boston, November 29, 1748.*

YOUR favour of the 25th of September, by Captain Fadre, came safe to my hands, and I am glad to find by it, what indeed I never doubted, that you are like to be well pleased, during your stay in England. It is not long since I have been able to procure the subscription paper for the library from Mr. Gray, and by its having lain still for so long a time, the spirit of subscribing is very much flagged ; but however I shall immediately exert myself to the utmost to complete it, and procure from friends all the assistance possible. Your family is well, as are all other friends. The club desire their compliments to you.

Many people here have been much surprised at seeing your name to a petition, dated September 21, last, presented to the lords commissioners of the treasury. For my own part, I acknowledge that I cannot account for it, without your help ; and as it at present seems to me to reflect upon your character, you will not wonder that I am uneasy till I can have it set in some other light, more consistent with your honour, than it at present appears to me in. You will therefore not only forgive me, but look upon it as an act of the strictest friendship, when I candidly, and without any disguise, tell you my objections to your conduct in this affair. First of all, then, I imagine that no number of persons whatsoever had any right to interpose, to hinder speedy payment of the money voted by parliament to be paid, to the respective colonies ; because the stopping payment of the several sums, and the regulation of the currencies, are two distinct things, the latter, many persons have a right to demand ; the other no body but the respective governments, to whom the several sums are voted to be paid. Besides, it at present appears

appears to me to be a very bad piece of policy, in any persons concerned for the interest of New-England, and especially upon the reasons given in the petition, as it is giving the ministry a pretence for delaying payment, for as long time as they please ; and as it is well known that they are always pressed and straitened for money. It is to me more than probable that they will make use of this pretence for detaining such a sum as long as possible ; and for that very reason will lay every obstacle in the way, that may hinder the settlement of the currencies in the plantations, upon a proper footing. Whereas, had the money been paid, the parliament was near sitting, and if it was thought proper to have applied for an act of parliament, to settle the currencies in these provinces, and to destroy paper money, it might then have been given as a good reason for the parliament's doing it immediately ; and not postponing it to a future time ; that now was the time when they were best able to do it, as there had been such large sums paid them, and the assistance and interest of the ministry might have been undoubtedly obtained towards procuring an act for this purpose, the very next sessions ; but I am much mistaken, if, as things stand at present, instead of this, they will not effectually prevent the parliament's intermeddling in the affair for some time at least. All this relates to the petition in general only, the petitioning the lords of the treasury to stop payment ; but there is one paragraph in the petition, which, I think at present, concerns your character, as you have signed it, more nearly, viz. " That it will be very difficult for their assemblies to agree upon an equitable rule for this purpose ; as many persons in the administration of the government there, are become possessors of the bills at a depreciated value, and expect to receive near double the sums they have expended in the collection of them ; by which means, those who have a large share of authority will not only oppose their interest to that of the colonies in general, but will probably have the charge and custody of such sums as may be paid to their agents, and consequently a power of detaining them until the other branches of the assemblies are compelled into their measures." It is generally imagined here, that governour Shirley is the chief, if not the only person designed, in this paragraph, and that it was designed that it should be so understood by the persons to whom the petition was presented ; and for my part

part I cannot possibly understand it any otherwise ; nor can I find any other person whatsoever, besides the governour of New-Hampshire, that the latter part of this paragraph can possibly be adapted to. And if this be really the case, if governour Shirley is hereby designed to be represented (and that as matter of complaint) as collecting the province bills at their depreciated value, with a design to make a profit of them ; surely whoever signed such a charge ought to have something more than bare surmise to support it, which I very well know is impossible ; the case not being in fact, with relation to him, as is there represented ; and there can be no proof of that which is not true. But as you were well known to be acquainted with the governour, and it always was supposed that there was a friendship between you, and of consequence a confidence, it will always be supposed, that you did not set your hand to this upon surmise only ; but that you had had opportunities to know how the fact was, and that you did really know that it was as is in that paragraph represented. But, *Dear Jerry*, was this really the case ? or rather had you not all the reason in the world to believe that the governour was not collecting the province bills at all ? nay, did you not know that he was the promoter of the bill, which has had the approbation of both houses, for calling in all the bills, and paying them in silver, at the rate of one shilling sterling for ten shillings old tenor, which would effectually hinder him as well as others, from taking such an advantage, contrary to the common interest ? But either I am mistaken in all this, or else you must have hastily signed this petition, without having fully considered the force and consequence of it ; for I cannot, I will not believe, that after twenty odd years experience of your honour and integrity, you could act contrary to the character you have always sustained. I shall impatiently wait to hear from you, for I long to have this trouble removed, for I assure you it is one of the greatest I ever had. I heartily wish you health and happiness, and am, &c.

[*As there appears no superscription on the MS. it is uncertain to whom this letter is addressed.*]

DR. BELKNAP'S LETTER TO DR. KIPPIS, AUTHOR OF  
BIOGRAPHIA BRITANICA.

REV. SIR,

Boston, April 4, 1795.

HAVING read, with great pleasure, some of your writings, and having heard, that you bear the character of great candour and goodness, as well as of indefatigable industry in searching after truth, it gave me very sensible mortification, to find in your life of Captain Cook, an unmerited reproach cast on the Congress of the American states.

After reciting an order, issued by the late Dr. Franklin, acting as ambassador from America, in France, in the year 1779, when Captain Cook was expected to return, from his last voyage of discovery, to Europe, in which order the Doctor recommended to American cruisers, in case they should meet Captain Cook at sea, to treat him not as an enemy, but as a friend; and assuring them, "that in so doing they would not only gratify the generosity of their own dispositions, but *obtain the approbation of Congress,*" you remark as follows, viz.

"In the confidence which the Doctor expressed, with respect to the approbation of Congress, he happened to be mistaken; as the members of that assembly, at least the greater part of them, were not possessed of minds equally enlightened, with that of their ambassador. He was not supported by his masters, in this noble act of humanity, of love to science and of liberal policy. The orders he had given were instantly *reversed*; and it was directed by Congress, that especial care should be taken, to *seize* Capt. Cook, if an opportunity of doing it occurred. All this proceeded from a false notion, that it would be injurious to the United States, for the English to obtain a knowledge of the opposite coast of America."

The unqualified assurance, with which you have introduced this assumed fact to publick view, is the more extraordinary, as you might have been induced to suspect it, by inquiring of American gentlemen whom you have seen in England. Dr. ADAMS, the Vice-President of the United States, whilst he resided in London, could have undeceived you; and I am assured that you had frequent opportunities of conversing with him. By the favour of this gentleman, during

during the last session of Congress, and by information received from gentlemen, who were delegates to Congress in the years 1779 and 1780, I have it in my power to produce the most satisfactory evidence, that the American Congress did not disapprove "the noble humanity, love to science and liberal policy of their ambassador;" that they did not "reverse the orders which he had given;" and that they did not issue any "directions to seize Capt Cook, if an "opportunity of doing it occurred;" and therefore that there is no ground for your reproachful charge against them, and the people whom they represented, as if they "were not "possessed of minds equally enlightened with that of their "ambassador;" or that they entertained "a false notion, "that it would be injurious to the United States, for the "English to obtain a knowledge of the opposite coast of "America."

The following papers, containing the detail of my evidence, are respectfully submitted to the publick; and I trust will produce conviction in your own, and in every candid mind, that you have been misinformed, with respect to what you have published as a fact. The originals are deposited in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

I am, sir, with much respect, your most obedient servant,

JEREMY BELKNAP,

Corresponding Secretary of said Society.

REV. ANDREW KIPPIS, D. D.

[From the Vice-President.]

*Philadelphia, January 16, 1795.*

DEAR SIR,

YOUR letter of the 2d was brought to me this morning, and I thank you for your attention to the reputation of our country.

I have shewn your letter to MR. HENRY, MR. ELLSWORTH, and other members of Congress in 1779 and 1780, and there is not one, who remembers any thing like the account, which Dr. Kippis has given.

I will take other measures for ascertaining facts, and transmit the result to you, as soon as I can. Dr. Franklin's recommendation to American ships of war, to respect Captain Cook, as far as I remember any thing of it, was universally approved and applauded by all Americans, without exception.

I have often been a delightful hearer of Dr. KIPPIS in the pulpit, and have often met him in company at my own house, and at the tables of other persons, and never without an high opinion of his candour, as well as his information. He has written nothing, I believe, but what he honestly thought to be true; but he has been misinformed. I will do all, in my power, to enable you to undeceive him, and disabuse the public.

I am, &c.

JOHN ADAMS.

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[From the Vice-President.]

*Philadelphia, January 23, 1795.*

DEAR SIR,

I have delivered your letter to the secretary of state, and he has caused the records to be searched; and the result is the report enclosed. I shall send you more on this subject; in the mean time you will preserve this.

With great regard, &c.

JOHN ADAMS.

*Department of State, January 22, 1795.*

I hereby certify, that I have carefully examined the records in the office of the department of state, and find no mention, made therein, of or concerning the directions issued in March, 1779, by Dr. Franklin, then in France, to all commanders of armed ships in the American service, &c. as stated in Dr. Kippis's life of Capt. Cook.

GEORGE TAYLOR, jun. chief clerk.

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[From the Vice-President to Mr. Madison.]

*Philadelphia, January 23, 1795.*

DEAR SIR,

Will you be so good as to read the enclosed letter from Dr. Belknap, and tell me, from your own recollection, of what passed in Congress in 1779, 1780, and 1781, whether there is any colour for the imputations cast on our country by Dr. Kippis. I often heard him, in the pulpit, and frequently met him, in society, in London, and ever conceived and entertained a good opinion of his candour, and a great idea of his information. I doubt not, he wrote what he believed; but, certainly, he has been misinformed.

I doubt not, he will readily correct his error, as soon as

he shall be convinced of it ; and if you will be so obliging as to recollect what passed within your own knowledge, relative to Dr. Franklin's recommendation, and write it to me, I will convey it to Dr. Belknap, and take some other measures to shew that Dr. Franklin's liberality of sentiment was never censured, but on the contrary was admired by his fellow citizens. I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN ADAMS.

[From Mr. Madison to the Vice-President.]

*Philadelphia, February 3, 1795.*

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE been induced to this delay in acknowledging your letter of 23d ult. enclosing one to you from Mr. Belknap, by a desire to obtain from my memory, all the information it might ever have possessed in relation to the error in Dr. Kippis's life of Capt. Cook.

I was not a member of Congress till March, 1780. It is probable, therefore, that if the directions to American commanders, in favour of Capt. Cook, issued, as is stated, in March, 1779, they must have been transmitted to that body, and undergone its consideration, before I could have been present. After I became a member, nothing was ever done on the subject, as far as my memory can inform me. I do not even recollect, that the subject ever fell incidentally under any public discussion. I have, however, a pretty strong impression, that it occasionally entered into the conversation of the members, as it often did into that of intelligent citizens out of doors ; and that I never heard a sentiment uttered, which did not applaud the magnanimity of the idea, which considered Captain Cook's expedition as consecrated to the general good of mankind, and consequently not included in the hostilities between particular nations.

With the highest respect and esteem, I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES MADISON, jun.

P. S. I have shewn the above to Mr. MUHLENBURG, the speaker, and Mr. BOUDINOT, a member of the House of Representatives. The former was a member of Congress during the years 1779, 1780, and 1781. The latter from July, 1780, to the Peace in 1783. Both of them concur in what I have stated, and recollect nothing more particular on the subject.

From



[From Governour Adams.]

*Boston, March 30, 1795.*

SIR,

I RECEIVED your note, stating what Dr. Kippis had asserted, respecting a recommendation of Dr. Franklin, minister from America in France, in the year 1779, to the American cruisers, to treat Capt. Cook, on his expected return from a voyage of discoveries, as a friend, and not an enemy; assuring them, that in so doing, they would obtain the approbation of Congress. But that the Doctor was mistaken, for that assembly, at least the greater part of them, instantly reversed the order of Dr. Franklin, and directed, that a special order should be taken, to seize Capt. Cook, if an opportunity for doing it occurred.

You request me to give you a certificate respecting the matter, and to express the years when I was in Congress.—I was a member from the first sitting of Congress, in the year 1774, until the Spring of the year 1781. It was my constant practice, once in twelve or fifteen months, to make a short visit to my constituents. In the year 1779, I was detained in Boston a much longer time than usual, by a fit of sickness; in which time, I constantly received from Mr. Lowell, and my other colleagues, information of the most material transactions of Congress. I do now declare to you, that I do not recollect, either while I was present in Congress, or from any of my colleagues, while I was absent, that the orders he (Dr. Franklin) had given to the American cruisers were instantly or ever reversed, or that it was directed by Congress, that a special order should be taken to seize Capt. Cook, if an opportunity for so doing it occurred.

It appears to me that Dr. Kippis must have been misinformed. I am, with respect, your friend and humble servant,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Rev. Dr. BELKNAP.

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[From James Lovell, Esq.]

*Boston, March 28, 1795.*

SIR,

HAVING been constantly upon duty, as a member of Congress, from the beginning of the year 1777 to the beginning of 1782, and, for the most part of that time, one of the committee of foreign affairs, and in some of the years upon

upon a committee for publishing the Journals ; and having also been individually in the habit of corresponding with Dr. Franklin during the whole period, I feel no hesitation in declaring the representation made by Dr. Kippis, in your extract before me, to be *false*, and though, perhaps, not *malicious*, yet most *disreputably inadvertent* in him, as the author of *Biographia Britannica*. Dr. Franklin was so sure of the liberality of the government under which he was employed, that I doubt whether he thought it necessary even to send a copy of his orders, respecting Captain Cook, for the inspection of Congress. I am, sir, with much esteem your humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL.

Rev. Dr. BELKNAP.

[From Elbridge Gerry, Esq.]

SIR,

*Cambridge, 3d April, 1795.*

IN compliance with the request of the president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, permit me to address you on the subject of an extract which he has transmitted to me from the *Biographia Britannica* of Dr. Kippis, who therein asserts, that “ Dr. Franklin, acting as minister plenipotentiary from the United States, in the year 1779, recommended to American cruisers, if they should meet Captain Cook, on a return from a voyage of discoveries, to treat him as a friend, and not as an enemy : that the Doctor was not supported by his masters in this noble act of humanity, of love to science, and of liberal policy : but that the orders he had given were instantly revoked ; and it was directed by Congress, that a special order should be taken to seize Captain Cook, if an opportunity for doing it occurred.

If such a measure had been adopted by Congress, it probably would have occurred to me, as I was a member of that body, and constantly attended it, from September, 1776, to March, 1780 ; but I have no recollection of such an act, or of any measure similar to it : admitting, however, it may have escaped my memory, it would certainly have appeared either on the publick or private journals of Congress, and I have the whole of the former, and a copy of the latter, to the period last mentioned, but cannot find, in either of them, any such order as is mentioned by Dr. Kippis, or any entry which wears the semblance of it.

That Congress therefore have neither passed or sanctioned  
such

such an order, I conceive is demonstrable ; and if this unmerited aspersion is productive of disgrace, on whom does it devolve unless on the author ? if then, to justify his conduct in this instance, the Doctor should endeavor to shew that he has been grossly imposed on in point of fact, the publick will determine whether this is a sufficient apology for his hasty and unjust reproach of the government of a nation ; or whether, as a professed friend of liberality and candour, he ought not to have presumed that Congress were incapable of such an illiberal act, until he possessed incontestible evidence to the contrary.

I have the honour to be, sir, your friend and very humble servant,

E. GERRY.

To the Rev. Doctor BELKNAP, }  
Corresponding Secretary of the }  
Massachusetts Historical Society. }

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COPY OF A LETTER FROM DR. WILLIAM CLARKE, OF BOSTON, TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, ESQ. OF PHILADELPHIA.

DEAR SIR,

*Boston, February, 3, 1755.*

WHEN you was in Boston I thought you a wise man ; that you had some knowledge of human nature and politicks, as well as of natural philosophy ; but if you have no greater pretensions to the latter, than you have to the former, I am afraid lest you be obliged to give up all claim to either ; for it has been proved by some of our own wise men and boys, (for they are sufficient for that) even to a demonstration, before a large body of people assembled in town-meeting, that you and the rest of the commissioners at Albany have shewn yourselves, by the projected *plan for an union*, to be arrant blockheads ; and, at the same time, to have set up a scheme for the destroying the liberties and privileges of every British subject upon the continent ; but this, so thinly disguised and covered, that the meanest creature in the world could see through it in an instant. For my part, I was so confounded that I had entertained so good an opinion of you and some other gentlemen, and that it was generally known, that I would fain have got out of the assembly, for fear I should be pointed at, but the throng was so great that I could not break through.

But, all joking apart, I was much surprised at the management ; as for the talk of the generality that spoke upon the

the subject, it was no other than what was to be expected from the men ; but one gentleman, upon whom there was great dependence, when he stood up, spoke so little to the purpose, that I was almost provoked to break through the resolution that I had maintained, through the whole, of not entering into any argument upon such a subject, before such an auditory : However, after much debate, being willing to prevent, if possible, the town's taking so ridiculous a step as I find they were like to, I endeavoured to persuade them that it was highly improper that a thing of this nature should be brought before a town-meeting. If these things were to come there, there was no occasion for any General Court, and that in fact it was dissolving all government, and reducing every thing to a state of nature. That that assembly were not, nor could not be, proper judges of the propriety or impropriety of what was then laid before them ; but supposing they could get over this, that at least it was a matter of such great importance, complex nature, and vast extent, that at least it required some time, for persons that were judges, to weigh every part in their own mind, before they came to any judgment about it ; and that they ought not to come to a hasty determination, within a few hours after first hearing it read ; and therefore moved that nothing might be determined by the town, but that it might be left to the judgment and direction of their representatives ; or at least, that it might be put off for some longer time ; but it was so very plain a case, that a vote was carried, by a very great majority, as you have heard.

As to the pamphlet, it is pretty much in the same situation yet, as it was when you left us. But I hope by the next post to be able to send you one.

Mr. Hunter has had a sad time of it, but has borne it with great patience, and when beginning to get better, with great cheerfulness. He is now sitting up, reading *Ld. Bacon*, but is plaguy uneasy, he cannot come to *Ld. Bolinbroke's* posthumous pieces. You will hear from him undoubtedly this post.

I hope I may, when this comes to your hands, congratulate you upon your safe arrival to your family, and finding all well there. The government does not know of my writing, or I am sure he would lay his commands upon me to send you his compliments. He is just as he was when you was here, unless, if possible, fuller of business. May we meet together in less than fifty years.

I am, dear sir, with the greatest esteem, your most affectionate, humble servant,

WILLIAM CLARKE.

A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF EXETER IN NEW-HAMPSHIRE. BY DR. SAMUEL TENNEY, CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The town of Exeter is situated at the head of the tide, on a branch of Piscataqua river, by the natives called Squamscot, or Swamscot, about fourteen miles, as the road runs southwesterly from Portsmouth, the capital of the state; and at nearly the same distance northwesterly from Newbury-Port, in Massachusetts. The first settlement was made in the year 1638, by a number of emigrants from Braintree, then a part of Boston, under, Mr. John Wheelwright, who had previously purchased of the aborigines an extensive tract of land, now constituting a large part of the counties of Rockingham and Strafford. "Judging themselves without the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they combined into a separate body politic, and chose rulers and assistants, who were sworn to a due discharge of their office, and the people were as solemnly sworn to obey them. The laws were made in a popular assembly, and formally consented to by the rulers. This combination subsisted three years." "In the year 1642, finding themselves comprehended within the claim of Massachusetts, and being weary of their inefficacious mode of government, they petitioned the court, and were readily admitted under their jurisdiction. William Wenborne, Robert Smith, and Thomas Wardhall, were appointed their magistrates, and they were annexed to the county of Essex."<sup>†</sup>

Exeter having been long a frontier town, the inhabitants were frequently harrassed by the savages, in the successive wars, in which the country was engaged with them: but they suffered far less than those of most other places equally exposed; and the settlement was never broken up. Their progress in population, however, appears to have been rather slow; for in the year 1680, when New-Hampshire became independent of Massachusetts, the qualified voters in the town were only twenty. Exeter was originally so extensive that three towns have at different times, been detached from it; viz. Newmarket in the year 1727, Epping in 1741, and Brentwood in 1742. Their united population now amounts to about twice that of the parent town.

The

<sup>†</sup> Dr. Belknap's History of New-Hampshire. Vol. I. p. 37 & 57.

The first CHURCH. was formed immediately after the settlement of the town; in the year 1638, under the Rev. Mr. John Wheelwright. "It consisted of eight persons, who, with their minister, had been dismissed from a church in Boston." In the year 1643, Mr. Wheelwright removed to Wells, in the Province of Maine. The succession of ministers since is as follows.

Rev. Samuel Dudley, settled in 1650, deceased in 1683.		Æt. 77.
John Clarke,	1698,	1705. 35.
John Odin,	1706,	1754. 72.
Woodbridge Odlin,	1743,	1776. 57.
Isaac Mansfield,	1776, removed	1787.
William Fred. Rowland,	1790.	

About the year 1745, a new society was formed, over which the Rev. Daniel Rogers was settled in 1750. He died in 1785, Æt. 79, and was succeeded by the Rev. Joseph Brown, in 1792.

As this separation was attended with a violent convulsion, it was followed by a series of mutual injuries and resentments, which greatly interrupted the harmony of society for many years. The actors have now all become extinct, without having communicated their prejudices to their descendants: In consequence of which, good neighbourhood, harmony, and sociability, are re-established; and perhaps the United States do not afford an instance of a town, whose meetings for transacting publick business are conducted with more good humour, decorum, and unanimity, than those of Exeter. For this happiness, we are, in some measure, indebted to the good fortune of having among us no man of influence, who will *condescend* to head a party.

Exeter is bounded northerly on Newmarket and Stratham; easterly on Hampton and Hampton-falls; southerly on Kensington and Kingston; and westerly on Brentwood and Epping. It is of an irregular figure, which might square upwards of four miles. The body of the town lies about the falls (which separate the fresh from the tide water) principally on the western side of the river. It consists of about 120 houses, irregularly scattered over an area of nearly a mile in length, and generally about one eighth of a mile in width. The whole town, when the federal census was taken, contained 1722 inhabitants. Its population was nearly

ly the same before the revolution. The compact part of the town is more populous than at that period, but the skirts are thinned in proportion. In justice, however, to the fecundity of the inhabitants of Exeter, it ought to be observed, that emigrants from it have, at all periods, been pretty numerous. They, or their descendents, may be found scattered over most parts of the state, besides many in Vermont and the district of Maine. Add to this, that Gilmantown, now the second in population in New-Hampshire, was settled by emigrants from Exeter.

The SOIL, in different parts of the town, is various. On the eastern side of the river it is generally of a good quality. The centre of the town consists of an extensive sandy plain, intersected by several ravines, into which it is drained by numerous springs, forming, in the course of half a mile, a considerable brook. This plain, when properly manured, produces excellent crops of indian corn; and is remarkable for not requiring to be fallowed. Some parts of it have been annually planted ever since the settlement of the town. One gentleman, lately deceased, dropped the seed for more than sixty successive crops on the same field, which will still, in a good year, yield thirty bushels to an acre. The skirts of the town, on the western side of the river, are a mixture of very good, indifferent, and very poor land. On the river, near the centre of the town, is a considerable body of low interval. It has hitherto, either through negligence or mistaken ideas of its quality, been so little attended to, that it has produced only an inferior kind of English hay: But some experiments, lately made, demonstrate, that, by proper treatment, it might be converted into as valuable a tract of land as any in the county. Upon the whole, although the soil of Exeter is not so generally good as that of several neighbouring towns, yet there is a good proportion of land capable of producing plentiful crops of most kinds of vegetables, usually cultivated in this part of the country. The general growth of timber is oak, pine, beech, and hickory, with several species of maple, birch, elm, &c.

The principal STREAMS by which the town is watered, are Squamscot, commonly called, by the inhabitants, Great River, to distinguish it from another much less, (and, by people in the neighbouring towns, Exeter River,) and Little River. The principal branch of the former arises in Ches-

ter, and after running through Sandown, Poplin, Brentwood, and a considerable part of Exeter, affording many valuable mill-seats, tumbles over a fall of 20 or 30 rods in length, and meets the tide in the centre of the town. It then spreads into a spacious bason, which, at high water, is a very great ornament to the place. Little River arises in Brentwood, and makes a junction with Great River about a third of a mile above the town. Over the falls are thrown two dams, affording seats for four double-geered corn-mills, four saw-mills, two oil-mills, and one fulling-mill. There are four corn-mills, two saw-mills, a fulling-mill, a paper-mill, a slitting mill, and a furnace, on several other falls. Of all these, the corn-mills and fulling-mills alone can commonly work in the summer.

The town is plentifully furnished with STONES. They are of the hard grey kind; and may, with sufficient labour, be wrought into handsome underpinning for houses. Many parts of the town abound in clay, suitable for bricks and earthen ware. The former might be made for exportation in any quantity; especially as there is a plenty of pine wood for burning them, within a small distance of the clay banks; which in some places extend to the borders of the river, so that the bricks might be thrown from the kiln into a boat. Of the latter, a sufficient quantity is made to supply a pretty extensive district of country. On a small stream, in the western part of the town, is a body of marle, so highly valued in Europe as a manure; but how extensive, I have not been able to learn.

The first settlers of Exeter, like those of all the other towns on the lower falls of the various branches of Piscataqua river, devoted their principal attention to LUMBERING. Of all honest employments this is well known to be one of the worst. It serves to keep those engaged in it in a perpetual state of poverty; while, at the same time, it commonly ruins their morals, and induces a premature old age. Though one of the most laborious pursuits, it seems to be of a peculiarly fascinating nature; for every other kind of business is made to yield to it; and agriculture itself is pursued only as an auxiliary. The only gainers by this favorite employment are the traders, who purchase, and the merchants, who export the lumber. Of these many have made handsome estates. Fortunately for Exeter their lumber has been, for many years, exhausted.



exhausted. Nor is there much left in Newmarket, Epping and Brentwood, the towns detached from it. The alteration produced in the face of this tract of country, within the last twenty or thirty years, in consequence of the failure of this business, is very great; and fully equalled by the improvement observable in the morals, manners and fortunes of the inhabitants. Before the late war, the taverns in Exeter (of which it always had a sufficient number) were every night thronged with people from this and the neighbouring towns, who seldom all retired sober. Our publick houses are now orderly, quiet habitations, only for the purpose of accommodating travellers, and people, whom business at the courts of law, or at the publick offices, bring into town. There is no place which does not contain some idle, dissolute, and intemperate people; but the general mass of the inhabitants of the district of which I am speaking, having long since relinquished lumbering, with its attendant vices, are now employed in agriculture and the mechanick arts. In consequence of this, they are improving their estates by their industry, economy, and good-husbandry; and securing their reputation and happiness by the regularity of their lives.

I would not be understood to mean that our farmers are remarkable for *neat* husbandry; the reverse of which is too true; but that agriculture is in a flourishing state, compared with its situation at any period before the revolution. Our cultivated lands, though naturally equal in goodness, will not bear a comparison with those of the counties of Essex, Middlesex, and Norfolk, in Massachusetts. This observation is applicable to the whole of the original settlements in New-Hampshire. In some towns, however, in this tract, there are visible marks of the progress of good husbandry; owing, perhaps, to the fortunate circumstance of their having in them several gentleman-farmers, who read, observe, and reason. The influence of such men is very observable in their vicinity; and the want of a sufficient number of them, scattered throughout our towns, is an evil seriously to be lamented. The scarcity of this class of cultivators, in New-England, has probably arisen from two circumstances — the small number of gentlemen of independent fortunes among us, and the little esteem in which agriculture has been holden by such as have not been obliged to pursue it. Till very lately it has been considered as a mean and contemptible business,

business, below the dignity of a gentleman to be engage in, and fit only to be pursued by the most ignorant and clownish of the human race. Fortunately, these ideas, which must have originated in the stupid noddles of half-polished people, are going out of repute; and men of the first character for talents and accomplishments now think it no indignity to cultivate the soil. When agriculture shall be generally considered in its proper light, as being not only the most necessary, but one of the most reputable and elegant of all employments; when it shall be fashionable for gentlemen of the highest ranks (for ranks there ever will be in society) to value themselves on being (as they may with propriety be considered) a kind of *humble assistants* to the Deity in the *work of creation*; and when to enjoy the godlike pleasure, they shall after having obtained their competency, devote part of their time to the direction of the various operations of husbandry; then shall we, probably, see a spirit of enterprise and emulation infused into our farmers, which will be productive of the highest advantages to agriculture, and to the various employments with which it is connected. From the present flourishing state of our country, and the prevalence of just sentiments of the importance of this branch of business, we may contemplate this period as at no great distance; and every liberal and truly publick-spirited mind must anticipate it with pleasant emotions.

From the SITUATION of the body of the town, which is flat, and considerably lower than the surrounding lands, strangers would naturally suspect it to be unhealthy. But it is, in fact, remarkably otherwise; few places in the country affording so little business for physicians. Fevers of all kinds are far less frequent than in the neighbouring towns. The common contagious epidemicks, as far as I can judge from my own observation, are mild and benign. The consumption seems to be the most prevalent disorder, occasioning about one third of the deaths in our annual bills of mortality. Whether this is an unusual proportion for New England, or not, I am unable to determine. Notwithstanding the general healthiness of the place, I do not know that it has been uncommonly productive of instances either of longevity or fecundity. A single example of each, however, may be produced. *Benjamin Hayley* died, four or five years since, aged about 100 years. He lived on the banks of the  
river,

river, where it is many rods wide, and, till within three or four years of his death, was accustomed, once in every summer, to dive from a wharf, and swim across and back again. The last time he attempted it, some of the family, being apprehensive that he had not strength sufficient for the enterprise, accompanied him in a boat; but he proved their fears to be unfounded, by performing it as usual. The family of *Gilman* has ever constituted a considerable proportion of the population of Exeter. They are from hence dispersed over various parts of the state, in a greater plenty, perhaps, than any other name among us. In addition to this, there are about 600 of the name in Gilmantown, which has been settled but thirty odd years. This numerous family proceeded from one pair, who were among the early settlers of Exeter. It is probable there may be many instances of as numerous a progeny proceeding from one stock in the same period; but I am not acquainted with any, in which such numbers, and of the same name, can be found together.

In regard to the WEATHER, one observation presents itself, which is probably of general application; at least within a certain distance from the sea coasts; viz. that the easterly or outwinds are much more common than formerly. In this vicinity they prevail most in the months of April and May. This may arise from the opening of the ground to the sun, by the settlement of an extensive country back of us, which was formerly an uncultivated desert. Among the most obvious effects in this change in the weather, are many cheerless days to valetudinarians, and a frequent destruction of the fruit of our trees while in embryo. This circumstance ought to induce people, who are forming new plantations of fruit trees, to choose a situation as little as possible exposed to these chilling blasts. When a natural defence is unattainable, perhaps its place might be supplied by planting a thick grove of quick-growing forest trees, to the eastward of the place designed for the orchard, several years before the trees are removed from the nursery. In many towns this is an object worthy of attention, independantly of the protection which such groves would afford to the fruit trees; as wood and timber have already become very scarce. They would, at the same time, be an ornament to the farm. *Et decus et tutamen.*

IN MANUFACTURES this town promises to make a respectable

able figure. Its local situation is peculiarly favourable. It is sufficiently remote from any of those large market towns, which, like a whirlpool, absorb whatever comes within their vortex; and is surrounded by a tract of country producing the necessaries of life in abundance. Hence living is cheap, house-rent is commonly reasonable, and the people in general are in habits of industry and economy. In addition to these circumstances, the town is situated on navigable water, by which the importation of raw materials, and the exportation of manufactures are facilitated. Before the revolution, ship-building was a very profitable branch of business, to the merchants at least. The vessels were sent, with cargoes of lumber, to the West-India Islands, the produce of which they took on freight to Great-Britain, and there sold. Notwithstanding the loss of this market, there are annually built, in the town, four or five vessels of different burthens, the river being capable of floating down those of 500 tons. Next to ship-building, the trade that brings most money into the town, is the saddler's. It is asserted that a greater quantity of saddlery is manufactured here than in any town this side of Philadelphia. Part of it is shipped, and part goes into the country.

The only regular manufactory is that of sail-cloth and twine. This was established about four or five years ago, by *Thomas Odiorne*, Esq. It is calculated for eight spinners of warp, and they commonly employ about the same number of weavers. The web is spun in private families. The legislature allow certain immunities to the persons and stock employed in this manufactory, as being the first of the kind established in the state, and pay a bounty of seven shillings per bolt on the duck manufactured. Notwithstanding the embarrassments which this in common with all such establishments as depend principally on foreign artists, usually have to encounter, and the general prejudice in favour of imported duck, the business is supposed to be tolerably profitable. It is now in the hands of four young gentlemen, who, having their fortunes to make, will probably carry it on with spirit. As they have now a competent knowledge of the business, and a handsome stock, their success is not doubtful.

The quantity of linseed oil, annually manufactured in the two mills, before mentioned, is very considerable. At some periods

periods this has been a very lucrative, and is always a profitable branch of business. It might be carried on to a much greater extent, were there not a frequent deficiency of water.

There was formerly at the falls in this town, an *alewife* FISHERY, which afforded an abundant supply of that kind of fish, for the inhabitants of the town and vicinity. But for want of sluices in the dams, by which they might ascend the fresh river, and gain proper places for spawning, they have, for many years, almost disappeared. There was also, till within thirty years, a good *bass fishery*, through the whole course of the river. But very great numbers having been imprudently, or rather *wantonly* taken in one season, they almost totally left it. For several years past, they have been returning to their old haunts, though in small numbers. Could people be restrained from taking them through the ice, it is thought that the river might again be replenished with them, and the fishery restored. The legislature has passed an act for their preservation; but, through the inattention of those, whose duty it is to guard the laws from violation, it is feared that the generous intention will be frustrated. Laws of this kind not duly enforced, serve only to favour the vicious and irregular, at the expense of the conscientious part of the community.\* Three or four miles below the falls are taken a few oysters of a small size, but good relish.

The attention of the town of Exeter to the EDUCATION of the rising generation has, for many years, been exemplary. The sum of money annually raised for the support of schools is now about £180. Of this, about two thirds are expended by the selectmen in the compact part. The skirts are divided into four districts, which draw their proportion of the money, and lay it out in hiring English masters, at such seasons as they judge most convenient. For many years the town supported two *latin* schools. Since the establishment of the Academy, to be mentioned hereafter, one of them has been discontinued, and its place supplied by an *english* school. During the summer half of the two last years, an experiment has been made of combining these schools, and placing

\* "It is said by some, that fish which are spawned in rivers, and descend to the sea, return to those rivers only, where they are spawned. If this principle be true, the breed might be renewed by bringing some of the bass, which are caught in Merrimack river, alive, over the land, to the nearest part of the waters of Piscataqua, a distance not more than twelve miles. This must be done before the spawning season, and might very easily be accomplished."

placing them under the direction of the latin master, each instructor performing a distinct part of the duty, and in separate apartments. For want of a suitable building, they are, during the other part of the year, disconnected. The misses attend only through the former period, and are not intermixed with the boys. The succes of this experiment has induced the town, at their last annual meeting, to make provision for rendering the system permanent. For the instruction of small children (none being allowed to attend the publick schools, who are incapable of reading in classes) and for teaching needle work, &c. there are six or eight private female schools; and for two years past, there has been one for instruction in drawing, tambouring, embroidery, painting on satin, &c. The number of children annually instructed in these schools is great, and their proficiency in general, such as does honour to their instructors.

This town has the happiness of being the seat of the best endowed academy in the United States. It was founded by the liberal donation of the Hon. John Phillips, LL. D. in the year 1781. Mr. William Woodbridge was publickly inducted into the preceptorship in May, 1783; who resigning the place in 1788, was succeeded by Mr. Benjamin Abbot, the present preceptor. His salary is £150 per annum; and he has an assistant, who usually receives about half this sum. The number of students is from 40 to 60. They are instructed in the english, latin, and greek languages, writing, arithmetick, music, elocution, composition, practical geometry, the first principles of geography and astronomy; and occasionally in some other branches of science. The institution is under the direction of the following board of trustees.

The Hon. John Phillips, LL.D.\*  
 John Pickering, LL.D.  
 Samuel Phillips, LL.D.  
 Paine Wingate, Esq.  
 Oliver Peabody, Esq.

The Rev. Benjamin Thurston,  
 Benjamin Abbot, A. M.

The donation, constituting the original fund for the support of the Academy, consisted in wild lands in several settled

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\* Mr. Phillips died since this account was written.

tled townships, in this state, valued at £.2000. About half these have been sold. To this were added, in the year 1787, £.4000 in specie notes on interest; and in 1789, £.2000 more. Some other donations have been made since, so that the fund at present is estimated at about £.12,000. The interest of the £.2000, last mentioned, is appropriated to the charitable purpose of paying the board of poor scholars, whose talents and characters entitle them to publick patronage, while they are preparing for college. A building has lately been erected, in a healthy and agreeable situation, for the accommodation of the students, and at the expense of the fund. The school room is calculated for about ninety; and for neatness and convenience is thought to exceed all others known in the country. The second story forms a spacious room for exhibitions, and a small one for a library. The building is of wood, 76 feet in length and 36 in width, raised on two courses of hewn stone, and has on the top an elegant cupola. The whole is executed in a style that does honour to the institution, and to the taste of the gentlemen who planned it.

The other PUBLIC BUILDINGS are a very handsome and convenient court-house, of nearly the same dimensions as the academy, erected, at the expense of the county and town, in the year 1792; and two meeting-houses, which have nothing to recommend them but an appearance of *antiquity*.

The General Court usually holds a session in this town once in two or three years. The District and Circuit Courts of the United States, as well as the Superior Court, and court of Common Pleas for the county of Rockingham, sit here and at Portsmouth alternately. And here, ever since the revolution, have been kept most of the publick offices of the state and county.

Exeter, though at present rather over-stocked, is a tolerably good stand for TRADE; and, from its situation, many have supposed it must in time be a populous place. But when we consider the natural difficulty of navigating a small, crooked river, augmented by two bridges, and the vicinity of two large commercial towns, where country produce, being in greater demand for the consumption of their inhabitants, will commonly command a higher price, and find a quicker sale than here, we can hardly look on this as a probable event. We have hitherto employed five or six

vessels in foreign trade, principally to the West-Indies. If we can keep the number good, it will be as much as can reasonably be expected. If the town shall ever become much more populous than at present, it must be by the introduction of manufactories, conducted on a large scale. Whether this be a desirable event, those, who are acquainted with the advantages and inconveniences experienced by large manufacturing towns, can best determine. It is undoubtedly of great importance to the publick, that all classes of people be able to procure constant employment; and such manufactories as provide it for those already fixed, in any place, are so far advantageous. But whether it be good policy for a town to increase its population, by drawing common labourers to it, is doubtful. This, at least, is certain, that the morals of the inhabitants of country villages, which, in New-England, are tolerably pure, would run a great hazard of being contaminated and depraved, by an intermixture of too many foreigners of the lower class of manufacturers, who, it is well known, are too generally idle, intemperate, and disorderly.

Of NEW-HAMPSHIRE at large, it may be observed, that its numbers, its wealth, and its respectability, are rapidly increasing; that its resources for the support of government are such as will, with prudent management, effectually preclude the necessity of heavy publick taxes; that the inveterate party spirit, which agitates and disgraces some states in the Union, is here utterly unknown; the odious distinctions of whig and tory, federal and antifederal, being entirely out of use: that the class of citizens, who *modestly* pretend to possess more political wisdom, sagacity, and patriotism, than the legislative and executive branches of the federal government combined, have made little progress in any attempts to sow the seeds of disaffection and sedition among their brethren: that the state is progressing, though with great *caution* and *circumspection*, in liberal policy; and that its situation is, in every respect, more prosperous and flourishing than at any former period. It may, with truth, be added, that this situation is very generally acknowledged to be one of the many happy effects, which have resulted from the adoption of the federal constitution, and from the enlightened policy, which has so conspicuously directed its administration.

OBSERVATIONS

*Exeter, April 20, 1795.*



OBSERVATIONS ON THE INDIANS IN THE SOUTHERN PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES, IN A LETTER FROM THE HON. DR. RAMSAY, CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. MARCH 10, 1795.

WE here consider the Indians as a people who cannot be civilized; who do not increase, but decrease; so that their extinction is contemplated by our most reflecting citizens. I once regarded this opinion as unphilosophical, and brought forward by interested men, grasping at their lands; but more recent experience has nearly brought me over to a belief that they will ere long cease to be a people. Our back-country settlers generally say, that to tame wolves is as impracticable as to civilize Indians. It is certain that every attempt, hitherto made, has failed. The President of the United States is labouring hard to introduce agriculture and civilization among them; but his success is more to be wished than expected.

The effects of climate are not so visible on our southern Indians as might be expected. Their manners and habits do not differ so much from those of your Indians, as the manners and habits of the whites. The reason, perhaps, in part, may be, that as all our Indians inhabit far to the westward, the sensible qualities of the air are not different from the sensible qualities of that on your western mountains. The back country of all these states is very much alike. The influence of heat, and of a low flat country, is not to be observed among our western settlers, whether white or red. I am therefore of opinion, that you may apply the observations made near home, on your own Indians, to ours, and generally to all that live at a distance from the sea-coast. Mountain air and cold are nearly the same in both cases.

Respecting the population of the Indians, I applied to Mr. Purcell, who, in the year 1780, resided among them, and have got from him the intelligence which is here inclosed.

“The population of the Muskogee Indian nation, commonly called the Creeks, including the Seminola tribe, was, in the year 1780, - - - - - 17,280  
of which were gun-men - - - - - 5,860  
The Chactaw nation, at that time, consisted of 13,423  
of which were gun-men - - - - - 4,141  
The

The Chicasaw nation were	-	-	-	-	2,290
of which were gun-men	-	-	-	-	575
The Cherokee nation were	-	-	-	-	8,550
of which were gun-men	-	-	-	-	2,800
The Catabaw nation were	-	-	-	-	490
of which were gun-men	-	-	-	-	150

The above red nations have increased in a small degree since the general peace established among them in the year 1777.

“The great quantities of adulterated and poisonous spirituous liquors, and the venereal distemper, introduced among them by the whites, check, in a great degree, the increase of population.

“The whites incorporated among these Indians, are very few in number. But there is a number of *vagabond* white men, that make a temporary residence among them, and go from tribe to tribe, as their restless disposition leads them.

“The best author on Indian affairs is Mr. ADAIR, whose history of Indian affairs was published in the year 1775.”

[N. B. MR. ADAIR'S *book would be an acceptable present to the Historical Society.*]

OBSERVATIONS AND CONJECTURES ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF AMERICA, BY THE REV. JACOB BAILEY, OF ANNAPOLIS-ROYAL, IN NOVA-SCOTIA.

*Annapolis-Royal, April 10, 1795.*

REV. SIR,

I HAVE just perused the first volume of your American Biography, with that approbation and pleasure, which must always attend researches, conducted with judgment, and communicated with impartiality and candor.

But since your sentiments, respecting those intrenchments, discovered in various parts of the interior continent, seem to coincide with mine; I beg your indulgence to a few observations.

I early imbibed an opinion, that America, in remoter ages, had been more populous and enlightened, than at the period when the European settlements commenced.

With this persuasion, I had, for more than twenty years, been making collections of many curious particulars, relative to the original inhabitants; but during the late political revolution, was unfortunate enough to lose most of my papers;

pers ; and all that I am able, at this distance, to offer upon the subject, is from recollection.

From the most authentick information we are able to obtain, it appears that the nations, north of the Mexican empire, were on the decline, before any foreign adventurers came among them : And from that period, to the middle of the present century, it is acknowledged, they have rapidly decreased.

Attempts have been made, by Charlevoix, Dr. Robertson, and others, to account for this diminution, some of which are by no means satisfactory.

War, famine, and pestilence, are reckoned the principal scourges, in the hand of Providence, for the chastisement of guilty nations : But the natural increase of mankind must be impeded, either by some concealed, or apparent cause.

The inhabitants of New-England, notwithstanding frequent wars, losses by sea, and certain malignant disorders, which frequently swept away multitudes of young people, were allowed to double every twenty-five years ; and, if I rightly remember, in 1775, the numbers were estimated at 740,000, which, at the same rate of increase, would in two centuries amount to one hundred and ninety-nine millions ; and supposing there was only one human pair in America at the birth of our Saviour, they would, by the above proportion, have multiplied to two thousand millions ; which increase would be more than twice the computed number of inhabitants upon the earth ; and in nine hundred years, would furnish every square mile of the habitable globe with three thousand four hundred persons.

These calculations, I apprehend, will afford a probable argument, that the world was fully peopled within a thousand years after the general deluge ; and consequently, that America was not destitute of inhabitants at that early period.

The complexion of the Indians, their visage, air, and want of expression, so different from the rest of mankind, indicate an original race,\* conducted hither by some influence, or means of transportation, to us entirely unknown.

If this should be admitted, there must doubtless have existed, in North-America, many centuries ago, nations powerful, extensive and populous, who had made improvements in various branches of useful knowledge. It

\* From the authorities you have produced, and from the relations of modern travellers, there is, in the northern region of America, another race, who doubtless, in more recent ages, emigrated from Lapland or Norway.

It seems to be the design of providence that some nations should remain in a state of uncultivation, to become the executioners of divine indignation, upon those civil societies whose irreclaimable impiety, injustice, and dissolute manners, demand the severest correction. At this crisis, these barbarians, fierce, enterprizing, intrepid, and cruel, firmly disciplined for excursion, plunder and carnage, and perhaps stimulated by the prospect of famine, burst like an impetuous torrent, upon their polished and more effeminate neighbours, involving in destruction, all their monuments of industry, art, and refinement. If a spirited resistance is made, extirpation often becomes the consequence of a victory; and in case of timid submission, the most humiliating and servile dependence ensues. What is more depressing than to become a slave to savages?

Tribes or nations, of the above character, have, in all ages, spread terror, havock, and desolation, through the highly improved regions of the world.

In Europe, the Goths, Vandals, Huns, and Saxons, subverted the Roman and Grecian empires, and ignorance and barbarity erected a dominion which lasted almost a thousand years. In Asia, the Tartars and Arabians destroyed millions of their more improved fellow creatures. And perhaps America may have produced fierce and adventurous tribes, who formerly invaded and overthrew flourishing kingdoms, where arts, sciences, and population, had made great advancement. The victorious invaders might have exterminated the vanquished nation, and doubtless, in such ferocious and successful movements, have destroyed every memorial of its former power, opulence and grandeur; whilst the fugitives, which escape the general massacre, are incorporated with other tribes. Instances of this nature occur in *Dupratz's* history of Louisiana.

We may further observe, that several countries are at present sunk into ignorance and barbarity, whose ancestors were, in remote ages, distinguished by learning, eloquence, and politeness of manners; as for instance, the Egyptians, Greeks, and the nations between the Pontic and Caspian seas.

With regard to the above-mentioned intrenchments, might they not have been regular fortifications or citadels, into which the inhabitants of the adjacent towns and villages retired for protection, in times of imminent danger?

These

These erections, composed of earth, though greatly diminished, by age and accident, will, I am persuaded, exhibit their original form much longer, than fabricks, or even walls, constructed with brick and stone.

We have some evidence of this at Annapolis. The ramparts and fosses formed by the French, in the last century, are still entire, whilst the latter built, but unrepaired structures of the above solid materials, are almost crumbled into dust, and covered with herbage.

For when such edifices are broken down, and exposed to the alternate influence of the sun, rain and frost, they quickly begin to moulder into minute fragments. Some kinds of marble, however, when well polished, will continue undissolved to a more extensive period, than the granite, lime, and freestone of America; especially in Egypt, the deserts of Palmyra, and in other countries, where it seldom rains, and frost never penetrates.

The interior parts of America are but thinly peopled by European planters. The country is generally overspread with immense forests; and when settlements are commenced, situations are chosen which promise convenient and speedy improvements, and our researches seldom extend beneath the surface of the earth.

Cities overthrown, and wholly deserted, however elegant and supurb their structures might be, must, at the conclusion of three or four centuries, exhibit a dreary appearance. A rocky and uneven surface will present itself, covered with impenetrable thickets, infested with noxious animals, and so difficult to subdue as to reject every idea of cultivation. And if we allow the destruction to have been effected ten or twelve hundred years ago, the ruins will probably become invisible.

The vestiges of many cities, famous in the records of antiquity, cannot, at the present day, by the most curious inspector be discerned. But in places where the rage of earthquakes and volcanoes never reached, by digging, buildings, pavements, and other exhibitions of human art and industry, are displayed.

The first cultivators of a country are not commonly men of learning; and being engaged, by laborious exertions, to acquire immediate subsistence, they have neither inclination nor leisure to make curious inquiries. And should any monument of ancient ingenuity be by accident discovered

it might excite a momentary wonder, and then be thrown aside, as a piece of useless lumber, and remain forever without the inspection of any person of proper skill and information.

I am convinced that many artificial productions may be found in North America, which exceed the contrivance and ability of the existing generation of Indians: something of this nature, I conceive, has fallen under my own observation.

About thirty-five miles distance from the mouth of the Kennebeck, and sixty rods to the west of the river, in the midst of an extensive plain, there arises an hill; its base, I conjecture, is six hundred feet in circumference, and its perpendicular height fifty. It is entirely composed of stones, intermingled with earth and sand, and in many places covered with shrubs and bushes. Its summit is a flat surface, near twenty feet in diameter, and exhibits a kind of pavement of large smooth stones.

Thus it appeared twenty-five years ago. And we were further induced to consider it as an artificial erection, because the surrounding lands, at some distance, were wholly destitute of stones; some, indeed, which resembled them in hardness and colour, were found on the beaches of the river.

That civilized nations once existed in America, may be presumed by the structure of several Indian languages, which, instead of consisting mostly of monosyllables, supposed to prevail among rude and uncultivated people, their words are generally composed of many syllables, and are often very lengthy.

Again: From several sources of information, we may conclude that the Indians had formerly a method of conveying knowledge by Hieroglyphicks. Some of these characters have been discovered, engraven upon large rocks, in different parts of the continent. The Mexicans inscribe their ideas upon cloth; by which means they transmit intelligence to every division of the empire.

I am assured from good authority, that the Mickmacks, of this peninsula, had the same method (upon the rind of birch) of expressing their sentiments. There is in this town, a gentleman of learning, and curious in his researches, who has not only surrounded, but travelled through the interior length of this province. He informs me, that he has seen these characters, both upon bark and paper, and that some of the Romish missionaries perfectly understand them.

Upon

Upon the whole, when a civilized nation is either exterminated or enslaved by an irruption of barbarians, who despise every art and invention which conduces to improve their minds, to polish their manners, or to soften their ferocity; that country will, in a few ages lose every expression of its ancient glory and magnificence. And those unfortunate exiles, who escaped the general carnage, by a rapid flight to rugged climates and unsubdued wilds, will be so wholly employed to procure a scanty subsistence, as quickly to forget every elegant, and even useful improvement; and their descendants will continue perfect barbarians, till some genius shall arise, or circumstance occur, to revive the arts and sciences.

And now, the best apology I can make for this lengthy epistle, is, if agreeable, an offer to transmit you some biographical anecdotes: and permit me to propose this question; Are not some of the interior tribes of Indians more numerous and improved than they were at the beginning of this century?

I am, reverend sir, with great respect and esteem, your obedient and very humble servant,

J. BAILEY.

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REMARKS ON MR. BAILEY'S LETTER, BY THE REV. JOHN  
THORNTON KIRKLAND, OF BOSTON.

REV. SIR,

I HAVE been much gratified with the perusal of the letter you were so kind as to send me: which is ingenious and entertaining, if not convincing. I know little, and therefore ought to say little on the subject of it: a few ideas that occurred to me, I will suggest.

If the world were fully or chiefly peopled within a thousand years of the deluge, and consequently North-America contained "extensive, populous, and improved nations in those remote ages," it seems unaccountable that more satisfactory and copious evidence of these events should not be furnished by monuments, tradition, or history.

When the probable increase of mankind, after the deluge, is estimated by a comparison with the increase of the people of New-England, it should be inquired if the natural, civil, social, and moral state of any considerable portion of the

human race, has ever been in any measure so friendly to their population as ours; if uncivilized nations have not been generally found to make slow progress in population, and if many civilized countries have not had centuries pass over them with little addition to their numbers?

When barbarous invaders take possession of the country of an improved people, will they destroy every vestige of improvement? will they not adopt *some* of the arts and improvements of the conquered? and if they adopt for a time, will they not forever retain some of the most *necessary* arts, the use of iron and implements of tillage for instance?

Were not many opinions, practices, and improvements which pertained to the inhabitants of the Roman empire in its most enlightened and flourishing state, adopted by their savage conquerors; and retained during the most ignorant and barbarous period of the *dark ages*? and does not Egypt, degenerate as it is, exhibit many indubitable marks, in the character and customs of the people, as well as in the face of the earth, of the knowledge, arts, and opulence which it possessed three or four thousand years ago?

If the length of words in the Indian language be derived from civilized nations whom they conquered, enslaved, or incorporated with them; why would not some arts be derived with the language?

The fortifications certainly evince greater knowledge, as well as industry and patience, than the present race of northern Indians possess. I suppose there is no tradition respecting the date and the builders of them among the Indians, but that which my father declares to exist among the Senekas, who relate, that those in their territory were raised by their ancestors in their wars with the western Indians, three, four or five hundred years ago. But their uncertainty about the time of their erection, which could hardly exist, were it even five hundred years since; and the total want of tradition respecting them with other tribes on the continent, are circumstances among others, which perhaps justify the suspicion that this story originated in *national vanity*, for which the Senekas are distinguished, rather than truth; or even a belief of its reality.

I do not know but it may afford some sort of solution to the question respecting the builders of these entrenchments, if we suppose that the original inhabitants of New Spain,  
from



from their improved state when first discovered by Europeans, were many centuries ago capable of such works; and in those migrations from the north and north-west, which it is said they universally believe, and declare their ancestors to have made, raised them, for defence against each other; or against the incursions of the barbarous predecessors of the present northern Indians.

To the query in the last page, I am not able to give a correct answer. All the northern Indians, who have held any commercial intercourse with the whites, have improved in dress, mode of living, arts of hunting, war, and tillage; but I believe it is agreed by all who have had opportunities to observe, that they have generally diminished in numbers, and degenerated in vigour. I am, &c.

J. T. KIRKLAND.

May 1, 1795.

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IN PLYMOUTH,  
THE FIRST CHURCH IN NEW-ENGLAND, FROM ITS ES-  
TABLISHMENT TO THE PRESENT DAY. BY JOHN COT-  
TON, ESQ. MEMBER OF SAID CHURCH.

(Written in 1760.)

THE dealings of God with our ancestors of precious memory, the first settlers of New-England, were truly wonderful and surprizing; the grounds of their enterprize, the hazards they run, and the difficulties they encountered in England, Holland, on the seas, and in their first entering, and after-establishment, in this waste and howling wilderness, are well recounted in Dr. Mather's *Magnalia*, Mr. Morton's *New-England memorial*, and other writings of eminent men, who have given us an account of those early times. The design of this appendix is to give some brief relation of Plymouth church in particular; its first establishment, preservation, growth, its principles and practices, and the several pastors with which it has been favoured; and other things that may not only satisfy curiosity, but be of use to the present and after generations, taken chiefly from the records of said church, compiled by secretary Morton, and continued by some of the pastors.

In the year 1620, a considerable number of pious people, after a tedious voyage from Holland, but last from England, arrived

arrived at Cape-Cod, November 11. And after diligent search for a convenient place for settlement, they set down upon a spot called by the Indians Patuxet, and by them New-Plymouth, being named in grateful remembrance of the christian friends they found at Plymouth in England, the last town they left in their native land. Here they began to build huts and cottages, to protect themselves from the inclemency of the winter; and with much difficulty they weathered out the cold season, though near half their company (and among the rest Mr. John Carver, a deacon of the church, and their first elected governour, a man of singular piety and usefulness) died: the Indians in the mean time standing aloof, being small in number, having been almost all destroyed by a terrible plague three or four years before, and being deterred for fear of retaliation of the injuries done to some fishermen and traders in former years.

These first inhabitants of this new world immediately formed themselves into a body politic, for the orderly carrying on civil affairs; but they did not embody into a new church-state, looking upon it as unnecessary, as being a branch of the English church at Leyden in Holland, under the pastoral care of that worthy and excellent man, Mr. John Robinson, and they expected the pastor and the rest of the church soon to follow them into this wilderness. For some time after their arrival, they were destitute of a teaching elder; but that want was well supplied (as to the teaching part) by their venerable ruling elder, Mr. William Brewster, a man of considerable parts and learning (being educated at the university of Cambridge) as well as of great piety: who used to preach to them during a vacancy and want of other means; and sometimes when they had a teaching elder, till his death, which was about 23 years after their first settlement in the country.

I find that the want of sacraments was early objected against them by adversaries in England. To which they sent this answer verbatim, (as recorded in the church records): "The more is our grief that our pastor is kept from us, by whom we might enjoy them, for we used to have the Lord's-supper every sabbath, and baptism as often as there was occasion of children to baptize."

By several cross providences, the rest of the church, that were left behind in Holland, did not rejoin them for several years;

years ; and their much valued pastor, Mr. Robinson, whom they had long waited for, died there March 1, 1624, 5, aged near 50, to their great grief and disappointment, being one of the most celebrated divines of the age. The chief obstruction to his and their coming was the opposition of several of the merchant adventurers in England, who not liking their principles of strictness in religion (apprehending that it would hinder the growth of the plantation, by keeping many back from settling with them) would not provide shipping and money ; and they were unable to do it themselves, being brought low, partly by persecution in their own, and the difficulty of subsisting in a foreign country. However, a considerable number of them, viz. about 35 families, were at last transported hither in the year 1629, at the charge of their brethren here, which was cheerfully borne by them, though it amounted to about five hundred pounds sterling. The same year, several other godly persons, some of whom had been of Mr. Lothrop's church in England, came over and joined with them. So that the church of Plymouth, through the goodness of God about this time, became pretty numerous and flourishing, although in regard of ministry it was low with them.

In March, 1623, 4, one John Lyford, a minister, came into the country, being sent by some of the adventurers to hinder Mr. Robinson. The church improved him in preaching for some time, and were liberal and generous to him and family, while he behaved well : But discovering him to be a vile man, and an enemy to the plantation, as is at large recited in the New-England memorial, he was discarded and banished hence ; and after spending two or three years among some straggling settlers in the Massachusetts, went to Virginia, where he soon dies miserably.

In the year 1628, a young man, named Rogers, was sent over to be their minister, without any invitation from the church ; who, having smarted in Lyford's case were become cautious of improving ministers without personal knowledge, or sufficient recommendation. They, however, made some trial of him ; and soon perceiving him disordered in brain, they were at considerable charge to send him back the next year ; and after his departure, he grew quite delirious.

Not long after, Mr. Ralph Smith, another minister, came from the Massachusetts, and was kindly entertained ; and  
after

after some time of trial was chosen to be their pastor, being a grave man, and continued in the ministry here about 5 or 6 years. But finding him to be a man of low gifts and parts, they, as providence gave opportunity, improved others as his assistants; particularly Mr. Roger Williams (a young man of bright accomplishments, but of unstable judgment) who preached among them for about three years: But at last, beginning to vent some errors which were offensive to the church, they, at his desire, gave him a dismissal to Salem, where, being called to office, he more openly propagated his principles, and did much mischief, as the ecclesiastical histories of the country give an account. The next year after Mr. Williams's departure, (which was anno 1634,) Mr. Smith also resigned his ministry, partly of his own accord, as thinking it too heavy a burden, and partly at the desire and by the persuasion of others, who apprehended him not sufficiently gifted for the work.

During the time of Mr. Smith's ministry, they employed Mr. Edward Winslow, who was sent an agent to England, to procure them a teaching elder to be joined with Mr. Smith; who accordingly agreed with Mr. Glover, an able dispenser of the word, to come over to them; but he ended his life in London before he came on board. Afterwards, Mr. Winslow providentially meeting with that worthy man, Mr. John Norton, then intending for New-England, he treated with him about supplying Plymouth; and coming over in the same ship with Mr. Winslow, he landed here, and preached to them for one Winter, but declined settling, though earnestly pressed to it. In the Spring he went into the Massachusetts colony, and soon after settled at Ipswich; from whence, upon Mr. Cotton's death, he was translated to Boston.

Thus was this poor church disappointed, from time to time, in their attempts to settle the gospel and ordinances among them to their full satisfaction. "But it pleased the Lord, at last, (as the record expresses it), to send them Mr. John Reyner, an able and a godly man, of a meek and humble spirit, sound in the truth, and every way unreprouable in his life and conversation; who, after some time of trial, they chose for their teacher, the fruit of whose labours they enjoyed many years, with much comfort in peace and agreement."

The deacons that officiated in his day were Mr. John Doane,

Doane, Mr. William Paddy, Mr. John Cooke,\* and afterwards Mr. John Donham: And before his time was Mr. Samuel Fuller, an eminent surgeon, and a man of great piety, who, together with governour Carver, were chosen to that office while the church resided in Holland. After their arrival here, the deacons they first elected were Messrs. Richard Masterson and Thomas Blossom, two experienced saints, the former especially, a man of rare abilities, a second Stephen, to defend the truth against gainsayers, and one who had expended most of his estate for the publick good. These blessed servants of Christ lived not long after they were chosen, but changed this life for a better, within a little time one of another, before the year 1630.

In the year 1632, a number of the brethren inhabiting on the other side of the bay, at a place since called Duxborough, growing weary of attending the worship of God at such distance, asked and were granted a dismissal; and soon after, being embodied into a church, they procured the Rev. Mr. Ralph Partridge, (a gracious man of great abilities), to be their pastor.

The second church that sprang out of the bowels of the church of Plymouth, was that of Greens Harbour, (first called Rexham by the General Court, afterwards Marshfield), who were incorporated soon after Duxborough, and had Mr. Edward Buckley, (an able and faithful preacher), for their pastor. A considerable number also of Scituate church derived from hence, and settled Mr. John Lathrop as their minister; who, sometime after, with a great part of the church, removed to Barnstable.

In the year 1638, the church used many endeavors to obtain Mr. Charles Chauncy, a very learned and godly man, to be a colleague with Mr. Reyner; the one to officiate as teacher, the other as pastor, according to the distinction used in those days,† founded upon Eph. iv. 11. But which the generality of the churches since suppose to be synonymous phrases, or to indicate the same office. Mr. Chauncy accordingly came and preached with them the most part of three years, but declined settling, the church and he being  
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\* This Cooke was afterwards excommunicated by the church, having first been the author of much dissention and division both in this church and the church of Barnstable, and afterwards running into sectarian and anabaptistical principles, in which he remained obstinate, notwithstanding all the endeavours used with him.

† The teacher, according to them, was chiefly to explain doctrines; the pastor to enforce them with suitable counsels and exhortations.

of a different mind about the mode of baptism, which he held ought to be by *dipping or plunging the whole body under water*. Much pains were taken to remove his scruples, several ministers conferring with him, and writing to him, upon that head, but without success. And at last, the church (being loth to lose a man of such eminency), conceded so far as to offer, in case he should settle, to suffer him to practice according to his persuasion, by administering the ordinance in that manner to such as desired it, either for themselves or infants, provided he could peaceably suffer Mr. Reyner to baptise according to the mode in general use, when it was requested; so as there might be no disturbance in the church about the matter. But he did not see light to comply. So that there was a necessity of parting. He went from hence to Scituate, where he, for some time, remained a minister to the church there, and was afterwards elected president of the college.

Sometime after this, (viz. about the year 1643, or 1644), many having left the town by reason of the straitness and barrenness of the place, and their finding better accommodations elsewhere; and sundry others still, upon every occasion, desiring their dismissions, the church began seriously to think whether it were not better jointly to remove to some other place, than to be thus weakened, and as it were insensibly dissolved. Many meetings and much consultation were held about the premises, and there was a great diversity of sentiments; some were still for staying together in this place, alledging that they might live here well enough, if they would be content with their condition; and that it was not for want or necessity so much that they proposed a removal as to enrich themselves. Others were resolute upon removal, and declared that if the whole church would not go, they would go by themselves. So that at last, to prevent a dissolution, a remove was universally agreed to, if a fit place could be found that might more conveniently and comfortably receive the whole, with such accession of others as might come to them for their better strength and subsistence. And sundry places being propounded, and among others, Nauset, near Cape-Cod, which had been superficially viewed, they fixed upon this last: and sent a number for further discovery, and also to make a purchase from the natives; who, upon better view, found the place too  
strait

strait for their purpose, not being sufficient to accommodate the whole church for the present, much less to leave room for further addition or increase. Besides, its situation was too much on the outside of the country, remote from all society, and so wholly unfit to be the metropolis of the government; however, they thought proper to purchase the place of the Indians. The committee returning with this report, the church changed their resolutions: But such as were before resolved upon removal, took advantage of the general agreement above specified, and went on notwithstanding; neither could the rest hinder them, they having made some beginning, and agreeing to pay for the whole purchase, which was made in the church's name. And thus was this poor church (say the records) left like an ancient mother, grown old and forsaken of her children, (though not in their affections, yet) in regard of their bodily presence and personal helpfulness; her ancient members being most of them worn away by death, and those of latter times being like children translated into other families, and she like a widow left only to trust in God. Thus "she, that had made many rich; became herself poor" The principal members that then removed were the honourable Thomas Prince, (afterwards governour,) deacon John Doane, with several others of the church, who were very desirable, and they became a body of themselves, distinct from the church of Plymouth, and settled at said Nauset, by them called Eastham. This was the third church, which came forth, as it were, out of our bowels.

In the year 1644,\* died their reverend elder, Mr. William Brewster, who had done and suffered much for Christ and the gospel's sake, both in England and Holland, and in this wilderness; the Lord upheld him to a great age, being above eighty when he died. Some account of him is given in the New-England memorial, page 153, &c. To which we may add, some further hints from the records. He had the happiness of an early conversion, his heart being seasoned with grace while at the university. And after his leaving it, he was usefully employed in state affairs, for some years, under that religious gentleman, Mr. Davison, then secretary of state to queen Elizabeth, and afterwards ambassador in Holland, who found him so discreet and faithful as that he trusted

\* In the New-England memorial his death is placed under the year 1643; but in the church records it is said to be April 16, 1644.

him above all others in office under him, and made use of him only when matters of greatest importance and secrecy occurred. He esteemed him rather as a son than a servant; and for his wisdom and piety would converse with him in private more like a familiar than a master. He attended Mr. Davison in his embassy, and assisted him in all the weighty affairs of state, and was betruſted by him with the keys of Flushing, one of the cautionary towns in Holland, then garrisoned by the English: And upon their return to England, the states of the United Provinces honoured him with a gold chain for his fidelity, which his master commanded him to wear, as they passed through the country, until their arrival at court. He afterwards remained with Mr. Davison, until he was removed from his secretary's post, which was about the year 1587, and did him many offices of service in the time of his troubles which followed his removal. Afterwards he retired into the country, among his friends, in the north of England, and was highly esteemed by the gentlemen in those parts, especially the godly and religious; and did much good there in promoting and furthering religion; and that not only by his practice and example, and stirring up and encouraging others, but by procuring good preachers to the places thereabouts, and exciting many to disburse freely for the support of the gospel, he himself being most commonly deepest in the charge, and sometimes above his ability. And in this state he continued many years, doing the best good he could, and walking accordingly to the light he had, until the Lord discovered further to him the corruptions of the established church, and seeing the tyranny of the then bishops against godly preachers and others, in silencing, fining, and imprisoning them, &c. He and many more withdrew from the communion, and embodied into a church state, (having the reverend and aged Mr. Richard Clifton, and Mr. Robinson, to preach to them, the latter of which afterward became their pastor), usually meeting for solemn worship at Mr. Brewster's house on the Lord's days, where he, with great love, entertained them, being at considerable expense in making provision, &c. and continued so to do whilst they could stay in England. But, great troubles and persecutions following from the prelatick party, they determined upon a remove into Holland, in which Mr. Brewster was one of the forwardest; but all the ports and havens being shut against them,



them, they were obliged to get away secretly, and to give the mariners extraordinary fees for their transportation: A vessel being hired by him and company, they went on board in the night, at Boston, in Lincolnshire, with their goods, &c. But through the perfidiousness of the ship-master were betrayed into the hands of the searchers and other officers, who seized them all, and putting them into open boats, rifled and ransacked them at a strange rate, searching even to their very shirts for money, and even going beyond the bounds of modesty with the women; taking away their books and goods as well as money, (in which Mr. Brewster was the greatest sufferer): And then carried them back into the town where they were made a spectacle of derision to the wondering multitude, who came flocking from all quarters to see them;\* and being afterwards presented to the magistrates, they were committed to ward, and an account of them transmitted to the lords of the council; who sending their orders, the greater part of them were released after a month's imprisonment, and sent back to the place of their former abode; but seven of the principal (of which Mr. Brewster was the chief) were kept still in prison, and bound over to the assizes: But at length, with much difficulty and expense, obtaining his liberty, he (with Mr. Robertson and other principal men) first assisted the weaker and poorer of the flock in getting over, and then followed them into Holland; where for some time he suffered much hardship, most of his estate being exhausted, and his family large, having many children and dependents, and in regard to his former breeding and course, not so fit for manual labour as others were, who had been inured to it: yet he bore his condition with much cheerfulness and contentation. And the latter part of the time of his sojourning in that country, his outward condition was mended, and he lived well and plentifully: For being well versed in the Latin tongue, he set up a school, to which many scholars of the university of Leyden, and some great men's sons, resorted, to be initiated in the English language; and by his method they quickly and with great facility attained the knowledge of it, he having drawn up rules to learn it by, after the Latin manner. Besides, by the help of some friends he set up a printing press, in which he had sufficient employment,

\* The records observe here, "That by these and the like publick troubles in other places, their cause became famous, and occasioned many to look into the same; and their godly carriage and christian behaviour was such, as left a deep impression in the mind of many, &c."

ment, especially of books sent over from England against the hierarchy, &c. which would not be allowed a publication at home. But at last, removing into New-England, all these things were laid aside, and he began a new course of living, in which he was no ways unwilling to take his part and bear his burden with the rest, living sometimes without bread many months together, having often nothing but fish, and sometimes even destitute of that, and drank nothing but water for many years together, yea, until five or six years of his death: And yet he lived (by the blessing of God) in health until very old age; and besides that, he would often labour with his hands in the field, as long as he was able. Yet when the church had no other minister, he taught twice every sabbath, and that both powerfully and profitably, to the great satisfaction of the hearers, and their comfortable edification; yea, many were brought to God by his ministry, doing more in this respect in a year, than many, that have their hundreds per annum, do in all their lives. He was a man of considerable abilities, both natural and acquired; was wise, discreet, and of a ready utterance, very sociable and pleasant among his friends, of a humble and modest spirit, of a peaceable disposition, undervaluing himself and his own abilities and sometimes overvaluing others; inoffensive and innocent in his life and conversation, which gained him love and respects from them without, as well as those within; yet bold and courageous in reprovng the faults of others, both publickly and privately, as there was occasion, but in such a manner as was usually well taken from him. He was tender-hearted and compassionate towards any distress, especially towards such as had been of good estate and quality, and where by the providence of God reduced to want and poverty, either for religion's sake, or by the injury and oppression of others; looking upon these, of all men, most deserving pity and relief: and none did more offend and displease him than such as, being risen from nothing, and having little else to recommend them than their fine attire or riches, would behave themselves proudly and haughtily, treating others with disdain and contempt. In his publick administrations, he was very moving and pathetic, also very plain and distinct in what he taught, addressing the understanding as well as the affections, by which means he became the more profitable to the hearers. He had a singular good

good gift in prayer, both publick and private, full and comprehensive in the confession of sin, and laying open the spiritual diseases of the soul before God, and very earnest and fervent in imploring pardoning mercy through Christ; and had an admirable dexterity in adapting his prayers to the spiritual exigencies of the flock, &c. Yet seldom lengthy or prolix in the exercise; looking upon it as much better for ministers to study brevity and comprehensiveness in that duty, except on days of humiliation, and such like solemn occasions, than to endanger the devotion of the hearers by too long a performance: the heart and spirits of all, especially of weak christians, he said, being too apt to flag and fall off, rather than continue bent towards God, as they should be, when the duty was too extended. As for the government of the church, which was most proper to his office, he was ever careful to preserve good order, and keep purity of doctrine and communion, and to suppress errors and contentions at their first appearance; and accordingly God gave good success to his endeavours herein all his days, and he saw the fruit of his labour in that regard. He, after his various distresses, died in peace upon his bed, in the midst of his weeping friends, to whom he endeavoured to administer the same divine consolations which he felt in his own soul. His sickness was not long, and till the last day was not wholly confined to his bed. His speech continued until about nine or ten hours before his death, and then failed him; and late in the evening he expired, without any pangs or gaspings, drawing his breath long, as a man falling into a sound sleep, and so sweetly departed this life into a better. He left an excellent library (for that day) valued at £43, silver money, a particular catalogue of which I find in his inventory in the colony records.

About four or five years after Mr. Brewster's decease, the church chose Mr. Thomas Cushman as his successor in the office of ruling elder, son of that faithful servant of Christ, Mr. Robert Cushman, who had been their chief agent in transacting all their affairs in England, both before and after their leaving of Holland, till the year 1626. And this his son, inheriting the same spirit, and being competently qualified with gifts and graces, proved a great blessing to this church; assisting Mr. Reyner, not only in ruling, catechising, visiting, but also in publick teaching, as Mr. Brewster had done

done before him : It being the professed principle of this church, in their first formation, " to choose none for governing elders but such as are able to teach : " Which ability (as Mr. Robinson observes in one of his letters) other reformed churches did not require in their ruling elders.

The year 1654 was rendered sorrowful by the departure of that worthy man of God, Mr. Reyner, from this place, after he had served Christ in the office of teacher about eighteen years. He was (says the church record) richly accomplished with such gifts and qualifications as were befitting his place and calling, being wise, faithful, grave, sober, a lover of good men, not greedy of the matters of the world, armed with much faith, patience and meekness, mixed with courage in the cause of God ; was an able, faithful, laborious preacher of the gospel, and a wise orderer of the affairs of the church, and had an excellent talent in training up children, in a catechetical way, in the grounds of the christian religion. So that by loss of him, ignorance ensued in the town among the vulgar; and also much licentiousness and profaneness among the younger sort. His removal was partly occasioned by the unhappy differences then subsisting in the church of Barnstable, which much affected this church ; and partly by the going away of divers of the church, yea some of the most eminent among them, to other places ; and partly by the unsettledness of the church, too many of the members being leavened with prejudice against a learned ministry, by means of sectaries then spreading through the land ; an epidemical disease prevailing in too many of the churches about that time. He left Plymouth in the month of November, 1654, and went to Boston, where he continued that Winter, and came back the Spring following in way of visit, and would have easily been persuaded to have returned again, if the people would have complied with a proposition made by him : But they not doing it, to their after-sorrow, he went back ; and being invited to Dover, on Piscataqua river, he there settled in the ministry, and continued in the work till his death, which was in the month of April, 1669.

During these ancient times of the church, I find them surrounded with dangers and difficulties on every hand : The troubles they met with, in regard to the ministry, have been recounted ; besides which, they had frequently great troubles from want of subsistence, from the threatening of the natives,  
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from losses at sea, from pestilential sicknesses, &c. And once or twice they were threatened with total dissipation from the authority in England; particularly in the year 1634, archbishop Laud, (that great persecutor of Calvinists and Dissenters, under the name of Puritans), obtained a commission from king Charles the 1st, under the great seal of England, wherein he, together with the archbishop of York, and ten more of the great officers of the court,\* (wholly at Laud's devotion, and some of them known Papists), were empowered "to revoke all the charters, letters-patents, and "rescripts royal, before granted from the crown to the several "colonies and plantations, and to make such laws and constitutions as to them should seem meet; to remove and "displace the several governours and rulers of those colonies "for causes which to them should seem lawful, and others in "their stead to constitute, and to punish those of them that "were culpable by mulcts and fines, or banishment from "those places they had governed, or otherwise to punish according to the degree of their offence: To remove any of "those colonies, (as well as their rulers), causing them to "return to England, or commanding them to other places "designated, as according to their sound discretions should "seem necessary; And to constitute judges and magistrates, "political and civil, for civil causes, and to fix upon such a "form of government as to five or more of them should "seem expedient. And also to make laws and constitutions "ecclesiastical; and to ordain spiritual courts, to determine "of the form and manner of proceeding in the same, and "the method of appeals, &c. To assign congruent portions "of tythes, oblations, and other things, for the maintenance "of the clergy. And to make provision against the violation "of any of their constitutions, by imposing penalties, by "imprisonment, and if the quality of the offence require it, "by deprivation of members or life, to be inflicted, &c."

This arbitrary commission (which made the country no better than slaves†) is recorded at large by Mr. Morton in the

\* Their names are as follows; William, archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas, lord Coventry, keeper of the great seal; Richard, Archbishop of York; Richard Weston, earl of Portland, lord high treasurer; Henry, earl of Manchester, keeper of the privy seal; Thomas, earl of Arundel, and surveyor marshal of England; Edward, earl of Dorset, chamberlain to the Queen; Francis, lord Cottington, under treasurer of the exchequer; Sir Thomas Edmonds, treasurer of the king's household; Sir Henry Vane, controller of the same; Sir John Cooke, the king's privy secretary; Sir Francis Windebank, ditto.

† There is not the least mention, throughout the whole commission, that the laws and ordinances enacted by them should be agreeable to the laws of England; the only limitation is, that the king's assent should be had thereto in writing, under his signet royal.

the church records; and says he, "I have done it, that after-ages may improve it as an experiment of God's goodness in preventing its taking effect, which had it done, this poor church at Plymouth (with the other churches of New-England) had been destroyed. Surely it was the Lord's work in a special manner, and it is, and ought to be, marvellous in our eyes; and it is our duty to render praises to his name for the same through all generations." A sketch of it is now published to the world, because I do not remember to have met with it in any printed author. In pursuance of this commission, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was, by the archbishop's favour, constituted general governour of the country, and was about to be dispatched to his government the year following, accompanied by some that were to be furnished with episcopal authority to disturb the peace of the churches and destroy their constitution. But Mr. Edward Winslow being sent over agent for the country about that time, by his indefatigable endeavours, and the influence of some great men, the storm was diverted, though it fell heavy upon Mr. Winslow, who, by the archbishop's procurement, was committed to the fleet prison in London, where he remained about seventeen weeks before he could obtain his release.\* A specimen of what the people here must have expected, had not the commission before mentioned been superseded.

A few years after, the church was threatened by the coming over of some sectaries from England, leavened with Antinomian and Familistical principles, as the N. E. memorial at large relates. Some of Plymouth church was led away, particularly one John Weeks and his wife, who in some short time became very atheists, and were cast out of the church for

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\* The case was this, the pestilent Thomas Morton (who had broken up the settlement at Mount Walston, since Braintree, and was the ringleader in setting up the idolatrous Maypole, &c. of which in New-England memorial, p. 95.) was improved by archbishop Laud, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Mr. Mason, to make complaint against the country before the lords commissioners for the plantations; to whose complaints Mr. Winslow made answer to the good satisfaction of the said lords, who gave Morton a shrewd check, and blamed the others for countenancing him. This nettling the archbishop, he immediately called Mr. Winslow into question for something personal, namely, that being a layman he had assumed the ministerial office; 1st, in teaching publicly in the church; 2d, in marrying people. And for this Morton was produced as an evidence; who testified that he had seen and heard him do it while he lived in New-England. To which Mr. Winslow answered, as the 1st, that sometimes, being destitute of a minister, he did exercise his gift to help the edification of his brethren, when better means could not be had. And as to the 2d, he acknowledged that he had married some, but he did it as a magistrate, not as a minister; that marriage was a civil ordinance, and he no where found, in the word of God, that it was tied to the ministry; that necessity obliged them to it, having for a long time together at first no minister; that the thing itself was no novelty in the reformed churches, he himself having been married by the magistrate in Holland, in their state-house. These answers not satisfying, the archbishop, by vehement importunity, procured their lordship's consent to his commitment, upon these and the like charges.

for their abominable opinions. Several young people also, belonging to the church, had like to have been carried aside into the paths of darkness, but God in mercy prevented. This was in the year 1637.

Some considerable time after this, one Samuel Hickea, a member of the church, began to be unsettled about the ordinances of the gospel, and questioned several of them, about baptizing of infants, singing of psalms, the office of ministers, the institution of a sabbath, &c. which occasioned a church meeting, wherein Hickea proposed to the church several queries on these and other heads; to which the church returned large answers in writing; both which are recorded in the church records, taking up about 4 or 5 pages in folio. The issue was, this poor unsettled man fell yet further and further, and at last became a Quaker.

This leads me to observe, that the Quakers much infested the country between the years 1650 and 1660, and proved very troublesome,\* and subverted many; the church of Plymouth, in particular, was much endangered by them; several were wavering and hesitating, one family only was wholly led away. The Lord was pleased to bless the endeavours of their faithful elder, Mr. Cushman, in concurrence with several of the abler brethren, to prevent the efficacy of error and delusion; and (though destitute of a pastor) the body of the church were upheld in their integrity, and in a constant opposition to their pernicious tenets. "And we desire (say the records) that the good providence of God herein may never be forgotten, but that the Lord may have all the praise and glory thereof: For how easily might these wolves in sheeps cloathing have ruined this poor flock of Christ, if the Lord had not interposed with his almighty power and goodness; improving this our good elder as a special instrument in this worthy work, both by teaching the will of God every Lord's-day, for a considerable time, plainly, powerfully and profitably; and seconding the same by a blameless life and conversation."

After Mr. Reyner's departure, the church remained sundry years destitute of a teaching elder, notwithstanding the great pains and endeavours that were used to obtain one; sending frequently to the ministers of the Massachusetts on this errand,

\* Here may be observed, that the honor of this colony, that though the provocations of the Quakers were equally great here as elsewhere, yet they never made any sanguinary or capital laws against that sect, as some of the colonies did.

and keeping many days of fasting and prayer for the divine aid and direction. But still they were not destitute of preaching, the neighbouring ministers frequently coming to their assistance; but more stately the worship of God was carried on by their elder, Mr. Cushman, assisted by some of the brethren; insomuch that not one sabbath past (during the vacancy) without two publick meetings, in which the word of God was dispensed. After some considerable time, they obtained Mr. James Williams, an able gospel preacher, and had hopes at his first coming of his continuance with them; but he soon left them, and went for England. Afterwards they procured Mr. William Brimsmead, a well-accomplished servant of Christ, who preached to them several months, but he at last left them also, and settled at Marlborough, in the Massachusetts. This was about the years 1664, 1665, & 1666.

“ And thus (says Mr. Morton) we remained as sheep without a shepherd, until at length it pleased the Lord to send among us Mr. John Cotton, the son of Mr. John Cotton, that famous gospel preacher, late teacher of the first church of Christ in Boston. The said Mr. Cotton, jun. was a man of strong parts and good abilities to preach the word of God, who, after some time spent among us, was chosen our pastor, and has continued in that station among us for the space of ten years and upwards, at the writing hereof; from whom we have received many very profitable truths, and who ought to be the subject of our prayers, that the Lord would inspire him more and more with his Holy Spirit, so as he may be an instrument of his praise, that so by soundness of doctrine and sincerity of conversation, he may be enabled instrumentally to save his own soul, and the souls of those that have or may hear him.

“ Thus the Lord hath built this church, and preserved it in gospel order and holy profession of his truth these three-score and twelve years, twelve years in Holland, and three-score years in New-England, and hath carried it through many dangers, sorrows, persecutions, and oppositions, so as it remains, although much inferiour to its first beginning, yet a church of Jesus Christ; having many names in it who have not defiled their garments, who no doubt will walk with Christ in white, for they are worthy, Rev. iii. 4. Yea, the Lord in former times hath made it an enlightenment and directory unto others, both in this colony and other colonies



“ colonies in this land. Blessed be his holy name for the same. And here let it be noticed, that at the writing of this small history [anno 1680] there are fourscore churches in the gospel order in New-England, maugre the malice of men and devils; so greatly is the honour of the King of kings, our Lord Jesus, advanced by the multitude of his subjects in New-England; and we doubt not but there are many blessed saints in the land, which are fit to be laid and placed in the Lord’s building. The Lord add unto his churches, from day to day, such as shall be saved.”

Thus finish the church records, as drawn up by Mr. Morton. They were afterwards continued by Mr. Cotton, who informs us, that he was first called to Plymouth in September, 1666. But being under engagements elsewhere, he could not then come; but the church renewing their invitation the year following, he removed to Plymouth, with his family, November 30, 1667. But he was not ordained till June 30, 1669. The churches that were present at the ordination (at the desire of this church) by their elders and messengers, were those of Barnstable, Marshfield, Weymouth and Duxborough; the pastors names, Mr. Walley, Mr. Arnold, Mr. Torrey, and Mr. John Holmes.

At Mr. Cotton’s first settlement, there were resident in the place forty-seven church members, in full communion; but the deacons of the church being all deceased or removed, they, on August 1, elected Mr. Robert Finney and Mr. Ephraim Morton to that office, and the elders ordained them.

Afterwards the pastor, with the ruling elder, made it their first special work together to pass through the whole town, from family to family, to inquire into the state of souls; and according as they found the frames either of the children of the church or others, so they applied counsels, admonitions, exhortations, and encouragements; which service was attended with a blessing; for in divers, with whom God had begun his work, it prevailed to stir them up to lay hold of his covenant; and others were awakened more seriously to attend upon the means of grace, and to mind the concerns of their souls, and practice family prayer more constantly. The work of God seemed in those days to have a considerable revival.

In November began catechising of the children by the pastor (constantly attended by the ruling elder) once a fortnight,

night, the males at one time and the females at the other. The catechism then used was composed by the Rev. Mr. William Perkins. Some years after the assembly's catechism was introduced.

In January following, the church agreed to begin monthly church meetings for religious conference, which were constantly attended for many years, and much good attended that exercise. I suppose the monthly meeting, that subsists to this day, was but a continuation of this, though in latter years it was put something into another form.

The members admitted to full communion, the first year of Mr. Cotton's ministry, were twenty-seven. In 1670, fourteen members were admitted. In 1671, seventeen. In 1672, six. And during the thirty years of his ministry, there were 178 members admitted. The practice was for men orally to make a confession of faith, and a declaration of their experiences of a work of grace, in the presence of the congregation; having been examined and heard before by the elders in private; and they stood propounded in publick for two or three weeks ordinarily: And the relations of the women being written in private from their mouths, were read in publick by the pastor, and the elders gave testimony of the competency of their knowledge. This was the ordinary way of admission of members at their first entrance; but if any members came from other places, and had letters of dismission, they were accepted upon that testimonial, and nothing further was required of them. In 1638, the church, at the motion of the elders, consented to some alteration of their practice: It being observed, that divers men, who offered themselves to church fellowship, were bashful, and of low voice, and so not able to speak in publick, to the edification of the congregation, nor to the hearing of the whole church; it was generally agreed, that those who could speak audibly, &c. should do so in the whole congregation, as formerly: But if the elders judged any man not capable thereof, they should call the church together in private, to hear such make their relations; but voting their admission, and covenanting with them, should be deferred to the publick assembly.

In July, 1676, the church (and all the churches in the colony, at the motion of the General Court) solemnly renewed covenant with God, and one another, on a day of humiliation appointed for the purpose; wherein, after confession

fession of the prevailing evils of the times, they entered into strict engagements (through the assistance of divine grace) for personal and family reformation. The children of the church bore a part in this transaction. The covenant of reformation is recited at large in the church records, as also the whole method of carrying on the affair, which is worthy of publication; but this appendix having already far exceeded the bounds at first designed, it must be omitted. The church also renewed covenant in the like method in April, 1692; which transactions were attended with much solemnity and were of great service to the interests of vital piety, stirring up the godly to more vigilance and zeal, and laying a great restraint on the corruptions of others. They were likewise followed with divine blessings in a remarkable manner, which was much noticed by all at that day. Some motions have been made for renewals of covenant in latter years, as I find in the records, but they proved abortive; which is too speaking an evidence of prevailing degeneracy.

A few months after the first renewal of covenant in 1676, the elders stayed the church after publick worship, and informed them, that there were rumours as if some of the brethren walked disorderly, in sitting too long together in publick houses, and with vain company, and drinking; it was therefore propounded in order to the healing of that evil, and unanimously consented to by the whole church, that they would all take themselves bound, in case they saw or heard of any such carriage in any of the church for the future, to demand a reason of the party why he so did, and that we would satisfy the demands of each other in such a case; and if any did not give satisfying answers to such sober, christian demands, it should be accounted just matter of offence. The elders also then propounded, that due care might be taken of the children of the church, that they might not transgress in this kind. The elders and brethren also bore strong testimony against such irregularities in the year 1684, with serious warnings and desires, that God would help all to more care and watchfulness in their whole conversation.

In January, 1678, 9, the pastor, Mr. Cotton, desired all the church seed, who were heads of families, to come to his house on the 19th of said month, which they generally did; and he then gave them sundry questions for them each man severally to return answers to out of the scriptures; that hereby  
might

might be discerned what knowledge they had of God's word. This exercise was to be attended once in two months ; and so it was for divers years, not without a blessing and some good success : For men of 30, 40, 50 years of age did attend, and give their answers to those divinity questions in writing. Then the pastor, having read all their answers, gave his own to each question, and preached thereupon. the elder always present, and making the concluding prayer ; and ordinarily many, if not most of the church, were then present also.

December 19, 1686, deacon Finney being disabled, through infirmities and old age, from coming abroad, Mr. Thomas Faunce was unanimously chosen deacon in his stead, and was ordained to that office soon after Deacon Finney died about a year after, on January 7, 1687, 8, being 80 years of age, a good old man. His colleague, deacon Morton, (a serviceable man in church and town), survived until October 7, 1693. *Ætat.* 70.

December 11, 1691, the good elder, Mr. Thomas Cushman, died of a lingering illness, near the end of the 84th year of his life, who had officiated in that office near 43 years, being ordained April 6, 1649. He had been a rich blessing to this church scores of years ; was grave, sober, holy, and temperate, very studious and solicitous for the peace and prosperity of the church, and to prevent and heal all breaches. Much of God's presence went away from this church, when this blessed pillar was removed. December 16, was kept as a day of humiliation upon the account of his death ; and then a liberal contribution was made for his widow, as an acknowledgement of his great services to the church whilst living.

June 19, 1692, the pastor propounded to the church, that seeing many of the psalms in Mr. Ainsworth's translation, which had hitherto been sung in the congregation, had such difficult tunes that none in the church could set, they would consider of some expedient that they might sing all the psalms. After some time of consideration, on August 7, following, the church voted, that when the tunes were difficult in the translation then used, they would make use of the New-England psalm-book, long before received in the churches of the Massachusetts colony ; not one brother opposing this conclusion. But finding it inconvenient to use two psalm-books,

books, they at length, in June, 1693, agreed wholly to lay aside Ainsworth, and with general consent introduced the other, which is used to this day. And here it will be proper to observe, that it was their practice from the beginning, till October, 1681, to sing the psalms without reading the line; but then, at the motion of a brother, who otherwise could not join in the ordinance (I suppose because he could not read) they altered the custom, and reading was introduced; the elder performing that service, after the pastor had first expounded the psalm, which were usually sung in course: So that the people had the benefit of hearing the whole book of psalms explained.

In the spring of the year 1694, the pastor introduced a new method of catechising, (in which he used the assembly's shorter catechism), attending it on sabbath-day noons, at the meeting house, the males one sabbath and the females another, successively; and then preached on each head of divinity, as they lie in order in that catechism. This course was constantly attended for more than three years, from sabbath to sabbath, till the pastor's dismissal; only on sacrament days, and in the short winter days, and very unseasonable weather, there was a necessary omission thereof. Many of the congregation usually heard the sermons preached at the catechising and God strengthened and encouraged in the work.

In March, 1694, the church chose Messrs. George Morton, Nathanael Wood, and Thomas Clark, to be deacons of the church; and nominated deacon Faunce and Mr. Isaac Cushman for elders. The deacons were in the same month ordained.

In the same year, two members of Plymouth church, viz. Mr. Jonathan Dunham and Mr. Samuel Fuller, had a call, and were ordained to the work of the ministry, the former at Edgarton, upon Martha's Vineyard, the latter at Middleborough; where a church was at the same time gathered, consisting partly of members from Plymouth. Mr. Fuller died about eight months after, August 24, 1695, aged about 66 years; a great loss to that place, (says Mr. Cotton), being a sincere godly man, and a useful preacher. He (before his settlement) had preached to them occasionally above 16 years. Mr. Isaac Cushman, another brother of this church, was invited to succeed him; but he rather chose to settle at a village

village since called Plympton, where he had an invitation at the same time.

His preaching and pressing on a settlement, and before his designation to the office of ruling elder by the church, bred some uneasiness between the pastor and church, their sentiments being diverse about the matter. And this (as I understand) laid the foundation for an after-parting. These affairs were in agitation about three years, and occasioned some considerable ferment, and the withdraw of some from the communion; and though sometimes the difference seemed to be in a measure composed, it would soon break out afresh: And this disposed the dissatisfied (as is common in such cases) the more readily to listen to such ill reports as some raised of their pastor, which added fuel to the flame. So that at length the affair came to a crisis; a council was called by mutual consent, who took great pains for a reconciliation and accommodation of differences; but not succeeding, they at last advised the pastor to ask a dismission, and the church to grant it, "with such expressions of their love and charity as the rule called for." Mr. Cotton accordingly resigned his office. and at his request was dismissed October 5, 1697, to the great grief of a number in church and town, who earnestly desired his continuance. After this, he tarried something above a year in Plymouth: in which time he preached some sabbaths at Yarmouth, upon their invitation: And then having a call to Charlestown, the chief place in South-Carolina, he accepted the same; and having made up all differences with Plymouth church, and receiving a recommendation from several ministers, he set sail for Carolina, November 15, 1698, where arriving, he gathered a church, and was very abundant and successful in his labours, as appears from a daily journal under his hand, which is yet extant, (in which are the devout breathings of a pious soul, holding daily communion with God). He died there, much lamented, on the 18th of September, following, *Ætat* about 60. In the short time of his continuance among them, there were about twenty-five members added to the church, (besides those first incorporated), and many baptized, it being much of an heathenish place before. He had abundant respect shown him, especially by those that were good, and also by some that were great. He was there counted worthy of, and received double honour, being (through the blessing of heaven)

heaven) a spiritual father to great numbers among them. The church there were at the charge of his burial, and in token of respect erected a handsome monument over his grave.

The same month that Mr. Cotton received his dismissal, Mr. Ephraim Little had an invitation to preach to them, whose labours gave general satisfaction; and after some time, they gave him a call to settle among them, which he accepting, was ordained October 4, 1699, after he had preached to them near two years. The churches assisting at the ordination were those of Weymouth, Marshfield, Duxborough, and the second in Plymouth.

This second church in the town had been formed about a twelve-month before, and Mr. Isaac Cushman was ordained their pastor, who afterwards proved a useful instrument of building up Christ's kingdom. This was the fourth church derived from us, seated at a place since called Plympton.

In April, 1699, the church chose deacon Thomas Faunce their ruling elder, to be helpful to Mr. Little in church affairs; and he was ordained to that office by Messieurs Little and Cushman, October 25, 1699. He lived to a very advanced age, being in his 99th year when he died, which was on February 27, 1745,6. He was a man of considerable knowledge, eminent piety, and great usefulness, always full of religious discourse.

In May, 1706, this church, and all the churches in the province, had a contribution for the island of St. Christophers, which had been lately insulted and ravaged by the French. The contribution was large, considering the remoteness of the place, and our little connection with it.

February 6, 1707,8, at a church meeting, the pastor proposed to the church the setting up private family meetings, in the respective neighbourhoods in the town, for family and other spiritual exercises, which was approved and agreed upon.

On the 3d of June, 1715, the meeting-house here (which was erected anno 1683) was struck, and very much rent, by a terrible clap of thunder. The same week, a day of fasting and prayer was kept upon the account of the great sickness and mortality prevailing in the town, above forty dying within a little time; and behold a gracious God so far heard the cries of his people, that the sickness abated, and there was no death for many weeks after. O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness!

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In the spring of the year 1716, the church unanimously chose Messrs. John Foster and John Atwood to the office of deacons: But the pastor questioning the lawfulness or expediency of ordination in such cases, declined it for a time; at which the majority of the church being much dissatisfied, he at last conceded to give them a solemn charge, but without the imposition of hands; which was done accordingly, with the church's consent. November 11, the pastor beginning with prayer, and the elder concluding.

July 19, 1718, Ephraim, the son of Eleazer Holmes, was baptized on a saturday at his house; it being at the point of death, and died about six hours after. This being the first instance of that nature in the town, viz. of any baptized privately, the pastor sets down the grounds of the proceeding as follows: "1st, The child was undeniably a proper subject of baptism, (even agreeable to the ancient practice in Plymouth), the mother being in full communion. 2d, I never could find that baptism (viz. the administration of it) is any where in scripture limited to the sabbath, or a publick assembly: And I always had a greater regard to the scripture, than the custom or practice of any minister or church, &c."

In or about the year 1717, the north part of the town was set off into a distinct society, and settled Mr. Joseph Stacey as their minister, who lived till 1741. This was the fifth church springing from us. They were made a township anno 1724, and named Kingston. After Mr. Stacey's death, first Mr. Maccarty, and then Mr. Rand, were settled in the ministry among them.

November 23, 1723, the Rev. Mr. Little died, after having been in the pastoral office here about twenty-four years, and in the 48th year of his age, and lies buried at Plymouth; being the first minister that was buried here, after 103 years settlement of the place. "He was a gentleman more inclined to the active, than the studious life; but yet did a great deal of service here as a minister, being one of a good memory, a quick invention; having an excellent gift in prayer, and in occasional performances also excelling. But what can never be sufficiently commended, was the generosity of his spirit, and his readiness to help all that were in distress, &c."\*

After

\* This character of him is extracted from some manuscript memoirs, written by one contemporary with him.



After Mr. Little's decease, and the ministers of the neighbourhood had taken their turns in supplying the pulpit, Mr. Nathanael Leonard was chosen to succeed him on the 13th of February, 1723,4; he accepted the call March 19, and was solemnly ordained to the work of the ministry on the 29th of July following. The churches sent to, most of which were assisting, were that of Taunton, Cambridge, Situate south church, Marshfield, Duxborough, Norton, Plymouth 2d church, Pembroke, Middleborough, Bridgewater north and south churches, and Sandwich.

January 22, 1727,8, the church elected Mr. Haviland Torrey and Mr. Thomas Clark to the office of deacons. March 18, deacon Clark died, and on the 29th of December deacon Torrey was ordained, with prayer and imposition of hands.

December 2, 1731, after several years consideration, the church voted their consent to the synod's propositions in 1662, relating to the subjects of baptism; it being ever their practice, before, to admit only the children of communicants to baptism.

January 31, 1733,4, at the motion of the pastor, the church unanimously voted to desire the deacons to catechise the children between meetings on the sabbath, as soon as the days were sufficiently lengthened; to ask them four or five questions a time, till they had learnt the catechism through. This the deacons complied with: and it was found serviceable. This practice was likewise continued the next year.

November 8, 1738, a church was embodied at Monument-Ponds, consisting of twenty-five members from hence, and Mr. Jonathan Ellis ordained their pastor. This was the 6th church derived from this ancient church. Mr. Elijah Packard succeeded Mr. Ellis there anno 1753, and continued with them till the year 1757, and they are now as a flock without a shepherd.

In the years 1741, 1742, 1743, there were great awakenings, and a remarkable reformation in the town, as Mr. Leonard has given the publick an account. In the two first of these years, thirty-nine males and fifty-eight females were received to full communion in this church.

In 1744, a third church was embodied in the town, to which nine male members were dismissed by the church; and first Mr. Frink, and afterwards Mr. Bacon, were settled

as their pastors. This was the seventh church that sprang from us.

July 1744, the first society in Plymouth erected a new meeting-house, which they began to raise on the 17th, and on the 29th they began to meet in it : Mr. Leonard then preaching from psalm cxxii. 1, 2, 3, 4 verses.

May 2, 1745, Mr. Thomas Foster (son of the late pious deacon Foster) and Mr. Joseph Bartlet, were chosen deacons. And October 3, 1754, Mr. John Torrey (son of that valuable and useful man, deacon Haviland Torrey) was chosen to that office.

In the fall of the year 1755, the Rev. Mr. Leonard labouring under many infirmities of body, the precinct procured Mr. Foster, a young candidate, for his assistant three months ; and after this, Mr. Leonard himself preached constantly till July, 1756, when finding his bodily disorders increase, he requested further assistance ; and first Mr. Reed, and afterwards Mr. Jackson, were obtained for some months. After this, Mr. Leonard preached but little, and in the spring asked a dismissal : The church granted his request upon certain conditions ; and the precinct having agreed to give him £.160 lawful money, he removed his family to Norton, June, 1757. The dismissal from his pastoral relation to the church not to be completed, till another minister was settled.

The church, after this, used many endeavours for the re-settlement of gospel-ordinances among them, and several had a call for settlement : as, Mr. Sprout, Mr. Whitney, &c. and many other candidates were heard ; and at last providence led them to the choice of Mr. Chandler Robbins, October 30, 1759. He accepting, was solemnly ordained to the work of the ministry, January 30, 1760 ; whom, we trust, God will make a great blessing to us and ours. The preceeding pious and seasonable sermon\* (which was very grateful to the numerous auditory) was preached on that occasion : And the churches assisting, were the first, third and fourth of Bridgewater, the first of Rochester, the first of Plympton, the first of Middleborough, Abington, Halifax, Bristol, Taunton, Raynham, Berkley, Milton, and Branford in Connecticut colony.

The same day Mr. Robbins was ordained, the church, pursuant

\* This account was first printed as an appendix to the ordination sermon by the Rev. Philemo Robbins, of Bradford, in Connecticut.

pursuant to agreement, and by advice of the council, gave Mr. Leonard (who was personally present, and assisted in laying on of hands) a dismissal, in the terms, following. "Whereas we have for many years enjoyed the learned, orthodox and godly ministry of the Rev. Mr. Nathanael Leonard, and he, through bodily indisposition, being incapacitated from further carrying on said work, and he now desiring a dismissal from his pastoral relation to us, and we having the advice of an ecclesiastical council now convened in this place, to grant his request; we hereby signify our compliance, and accordingly dismiss him from his pastorate over us: At the same time acknowledging it as a great favour of heaven, that we have enjoyed his labours so long, viz. for near three and thirty years. In this time we have found him a diligent, zealous, faithful minister of Jesus Christ, and have great reason to be humbled before God for our own unfruitfulness, and for God's correcting rod in removing him from us. And we do freely and heartily recommend him to the work of the ministry, if God should restore his health; and also to the communion church of Christ in Norton. We desire still an interest in his prayers, wishing himself and family all blessings, temporal, spiritual, and eternal."

Signed by

JOHN COTTON, } In the name  
THOMAS FOSTER, } and behalf of  
JOHN TORREY. } the church.

Thus having given some historical account of this ancient church, from its first rise to this time, it will be proper here to mention a few things relative to its principles and practices.

1. As to their principles in doctrine, the first settlers in this place professed a strict adherence to the confession of faith agreed to by the protestant churches in France, which was drawn up by Calvin's own hand; and which was the same for substance (though in a different mode of expression) that was many years after compiled by the Westminster assembly: Looking upon it as fully agreeing with the scriptures of truth, which they held to be the only infallible standard of true religion, both in doctrine and practice.

As for the doctrines of Arminius, (which began to take deep root when they first settled in Holland), they had them

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in great detestation. In Leyden, the place of their residence, they found the university engaged in daily and hot disputes about the Arminian doctrines; the two divinity professors being divided in their sentiments; Episcopius (Arminius's successor, who died anno 1609) appearing for them, Poliander against them: And the contention grew to that head, that few of the disciples of the one would hear the other. But Mr. Robinson, though he preached thrice a week, and wrote sundry books, besides his other manifold labours, yet constantly attended the lectures of both: By means of which, he was soon well grounded in the controversy, and saw the force of all their arguments, and knew the shifts of the Armenians; and being himself very able, none was fitter to encounter them as appeared by sundry disputes; so as he began to be a terror to the Arminian party; which induced Episcopius, their head, to exert his best strength, and set forth sundry theses, which he declared, he would defend by publick disputes against all opposers: Upon which Poliander, the other professor, and the chief preachers of the city, desired Mr. Robinson to dispute against him: But he being a stranger, was loth to engage: Yet the other continuing their importunity, telling him that such was the ability and expertness of the adversary, that the truth was in danger to suffer, if he did not help them; he at last complied, and prepares himself against the time: And upon the day prefixed, he enters the lists, and by dint of argument foils the opposer, so as to put him to an apparent non-plus, in a great and publick audience. And the like he did two or three times afterwards, upon such like occasions: The which, as it caused many to praise God, that the truth had so famous a victory; so it procured him much respect and honour from those learned men, and others, who loved the truth.

2. As to church-government and discipline, they disclaimed the name of Brownists, which was thrown upon them by the adversary; and were first called Independents, afterwards Congregationalists; holding the equality of pastors and churches, and the distinct right each church had of ordering its own affairs, without controul from any superiour authority: Yet ready to hold communion with all churches professing the true faith and worship of Christ, and to afford (as well as receive) assistance by council and advice, as there was occasion. We have an early instance of this, in their sending

sending messengers to Salem, to give the church there the right hand of fellowship at their first incorporation, anno 1620, which was the second church in the country.

The platform of church discipline and government, agreed upon by the venerable synod convened at Cambridge, anno 1648, was entirely agreeable to their sentiments, and according to the model long before laid down by their pastor, Mr. Robinson, in his printed works; although I cannot find that they sent any delegates to that assembly; it being chiefly (if not wholly) composed of the churches of the Massachusetts; and only Mr. Partridge of Duxborough, out of Plymouth colony, mentioned as present, (whether by delegation from his church, I know not), who was one of the committee for drawing up the platform. Yet some of the most famous in that synod readily acknowledge the light they derived from Plymouth church, in the formation of it; which being the first, became a pattern, by which the rest were modelled: whose members being but lately withdrawn from the church of England, could not be supposed to be so well studied in the controversy, as the other, who were of longer standing, and had borne the burden and heat of the day.

The church here had left the communion of the church of England many years before their coming over; and this not so much upon the account of doctrine (although they thought their articles too general and short) as upon the account of discipline and government and ceremonies. The two latter they looked upon as relicks of popery, without scripture warrant, and encroachments upon the kingly office of Christ: And they were much offended at the laxness of the former, the most scandalous being admitted to the Lord's-supper (as members of the national church) with little or no restriction. For this their dissent they suffered much in their native country, as has been hinted before; some were cast into prison, some beset in their houses, some forced to leave their farms and families, &c. insomuch that they were obliged at last to fly the land, and take refuge in foreign countries, where liberty of conscience was allowed, with the small pittance of their estates that they had saved from the hands of the oppressors: And yet even this they did by stealth; for if their design of going was discovered, they were stopped and imprisoned, and their goods seized. Mr. Robinson, with as many of his people as could get away, arrived in Holland in  
1607,

1607, and 1608, and first settled at Amsterdam; and about a year after, removed to Leyden, where (having about 300 communicants) they continued near 11 years, till the removal of part of them to New-England. Thus were they driven to and fro, and tossed as with a tempest; having few friends to comfort them, and no arm of flesh to support them; so that (as the record expresses it) “if in some things they were too rigid, &c. they are rather to be pitied, considering their times and sufferings, than to be blasted with reproach to posterity.”

3. In regard of the ministry, they held the necessity of gifts and study, and the great advantage and usefulness of human learning to qualify for the office, and improved men of an academical education, as they had opportunity, from their first settlement: But their pastor being kept back from them by the plots of evil men, the necessity of the times obliged them to use the best helps they could get: Accordingly the ruling elder, when he wanted assistance, used frequently to call upon some of the gifted brethren to pray, and give a word of exhortation in their publick assemblies; the chief of whom were governour Edward Winslow, governour Bradford, his son in law, Mr. Thomas Southworth, secretary Nathanael Morton: men of superiour knowledge and parts, and of good school-learning. But this gives no warrant to private brethren (however qualified) to do the like in our days (as some of our present separates have urged); there not being the same necessity, where good ministers may be had. Hear the sentiments of our fathers on this head, as recited in the church records: “Though neither all nor most  
“ of the brethren of a church have ordinarily received a gift  
“ of publick prophesying or preaching; yet in defect of publick  
“ ministry, it is not an unheard-of novelty, that God  
“ should enlarge private men with public gifts, and to dis-  
“ pense them to edification: For we read, that when the  
“ church at Jerusalem were all scattered abroad, except the  
“ apostles; yet they that were scattered went every where  
“ preaching the word. Acts viii. 5. and xi. 19, 20, 21.”

II. In regard of their practices, I have in some measure prevented myself, having occasionally mentioned several, as about frequent renewals of covenants, conference-meetings, catechising, singing, &c. I would further remark:

- I. As to the admission of members. The elders first examined

amined the candidates for communion, in private, of their knowledge of the doctrinal articles of religion; allowing and encouraging any person to declare his confession of faith in his own way and method. But if any, through bashfulness or defect of memory, choose to have particular queries put to them, they usually inquired of their belief, concerning God, his nature, attributes, the works of creation and providence, (preservation, gubernation), the trinity of persons in the unity of essence, &c.

Concerning man: His original state, his apostacy, and the tempter to it, the sin itself, and the effects of it in the curse on himself and posterity, inward and outward, here and forever.

Concerning man's recovery by Christ: His twofold nature, the reason why God and why man, his three Offices, and the work of each office; and the several benefits coming by Christ, as justification, adoption, and sanctification, with eternal glory. How we come to be partakers of Christ and his benefits, namely, by faith; the nature of faith, the means to beget and increase it, and how the word is made effectual to this end: How God prepares the hearts of sinners to believe: How repentance is wrought, and the nature of it.

Concerning the church: Its officers and ordinances; the proper end and use of baptism, and who the subjects of it: The end why the Lord's-supper was instituted, and what is signified by the breaking of the bread and the pouring out of the wine; what is requisite to worthy receiving; what the proper matter of self-examination. Here it was expected, that the sacramental graces should be specified, and what experience they had of a law and gospel work upon their souls.

Concerning the duty of church-members towards one another, as love and holy watchfulness; and what is required in cases of offence, whether public or private.

Lastly; concerning the state of man after this life, the resurrection, general judgment, heaven, hell.

"I know not (says Mr. Cotton) in these thirty years, that any person examined in private by the elders, but did in some degree give a satisfying account of these things, though some much more fully than others; and though some did not presently give a direct and proper answer to some questions, yet in further discourse about it, it usually appeared they competently understood the thing."

The elders being satisfied in private, the method of proceeding in public was as has been recited. But they saw cause to alter their practice in November, 1705. The elders then representing to the church, that the obliging male persons, at their admission, to make a personal and oral relation, might be an hinderance to some gracious souls, and obstruct the growth of the church; they voted, that a relation given in, in writing, publicly read, and the person standing forth publickly to own it, should for the future be as satisfactory to the church as if delivered *viva voce*.

2. Another thing proper to remark is their behaviour towards the children of the church. When the church publickly and solemnly renewed covenant, they called upon all baptized adult persons to own their interest in the covenant of their fathers, and to endeavour to stir up themselves in the use of all due means for obtaining the good and blessings of that covenant: Which they readily complied with, as has been hinted; withal confessing their covenant violations, and engaging (through the assistance of God's spirit) to reform the evils abounding among them.

And in general, they were very strict in watching over the children of the church; dealing with them as with members in full communion, in case of scandal, requiring a publick confession where the offence was public. Many instances of this sort I find in the church records; as, for evil speaking, slandering, intemperance, uncleanness, selling liquor to the Indians, &c. And when they proved obstinate (which was but seldom) they were cut off from their relation to the church. And some instances there are of their sending admonitions to the church-seed removed to other places, when guilty of publick offence, which was of good effect.

3. Another thing that may be noted, is their method of voting. The elders called for the votes of the church, sometimes by lifting up of hands; sometimes by silence; sometimes calling upon every brother, one after another, to speak his mind; sometimes, when divers had particularly spoken, asking if the rest were so minded, they in a more general way assenting. Any of these methods were attended, as the elders thought most expedient. It is also to be noted, that in all church affairs, when the elders called for the vote of the brethren, they never called for a negative, or contrary vote; as judging it would be the using of ax or hammer in temple-work;



work : Only care was taken, before the vote was called for in any case, to gain the consent of every brother ; and in case any could not actually vote ; yet expressing, that they could rest in the act of the church, it was satisfying : And this was a great preservative of the peace of the church.

4. I would observe, that previous to Mr. Little's settlement, both church and town joined in inviting him to preach as a candidate, as well as afterwards in giving him a call. None, it seems, in that day, pleaded for the society's right of supplying the pulpit, without the church's leading in the affair. And in more ancient days, by some hints in the church records, it may be gathered, that the church managed the whole affair, both of inviting and calling, there being no mention of the congregation.

5. And lastly. We may observe their general regard to religion and practical godliness. For this they were had in renown, both far and near ; coming as nigh the primitive pattern of the first churches, as any church in these latter ages has done, according to their rank and quality.

Particularly, they were remarkable for their strict piety towards God their strong and lively faith, their fervent love, their flaming zeal for the divine honour and interest, their watchfulness and prayerfulness, their conscientious regard to his sabbaths and institutions, their delight in his word and ways, their frequent days of humiliation, readiness to attend religious meetings, &c. Which things proved such an eyesore to some coming among them, merely upon secular views, that they soon withdrew, and turned bitter adversaries to the plantation.

They were likewise eminent for sobriety, temperance, and chastity, for mortification and great self-denial in regard of themselves. And in respect of others, how diligent and faithful in the discharge of relative duties, whether in family, church, or commonwealth ! Their training up their families in the ways of the lord ; their circumspect watch over their brethren ; their strict justice and righteousness in all their publick and private concerns, ought to be had in perpetual remembrance. Nothing endeared them so much to the natives, as their impartial regard to justice, without fraud or cozenage, in their dealings with them. This (together with their love and kindness expressed) linked them so fast to them, that they had no wars in their borders, till another generation

tion rose up about fifty-five years after their first settlement. Such was their single-heartedness and sincerity in those days, that their word was reckoned equivalent to their bond; and they took but little care to tie one another by hand and seal, in their sales and contracts; which has given occasion to so many law-suits, and such overturns among their posterity, who were possessed of another spirit.

Their fervent love and charity also towards their brethren and fellow-christians shone fourth with peculiar lustre. During their residence in Holland, they lived together in love and peace, without any considerable difference or disturbance, but what was easily healed in love; insomuch that the magistrates of Leyden, about the time of their removal, gave this commendatory testimony of them, in reproof of the Walloons (members of the French church in the city): "These English, (say they) have lived among us now these twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation brought against them; but your strifes and quarrels are continual," &c. And, after their coming over here, they walked in the same steps. What unity and harmony was there among them! and how did their charity, in the midst of their deep poverty, abound; and how ready to bear one another's burden!

In the first twelve years after their settlement, numerous objects of charity presented, which they were ready to relieve, even beyond their power. Some shipwrecked on their coasts; some vessels destitute of provisions, or most of their hands sick; multitudes landing here, in order to go to other colonies for settlement, &c. All met with kind entertainment for the most part upon free cost, and sometimes for months together, &c. For which, from several, they met with very ungrateful returns. And then their expending some hundreds gratis to procure passage and provisions for their poor brethren in Holland (as has been noted) is never to be forgotten; as also (after their arrival) their giving them houses, preparing them ground to plant, and supplying them with provisions, &c. above thirteen or fourteen months, till they have a harvest of their own production. And the same charitable disposition prevailed in after-years, though there was not so much occasion for the outward expressions of it. About the year 1676, the church and people here made a large collection for the relief of the distressed in the Indian war, in some parts of the colony. The like they did  
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in the eastern war with the natives, anno 1689, and sent it to the distressed eastward. Also divers times, there were considerable contributions for particular families, whose houses were burnt; and for sundry persons brought low by sickness and long affliction. "This may be truly left on record (says Mr. Cotton) that upon any motion of the elders for a contribution on such accounts, there was a great readiness in the people to hearken thereto, and give freely and abundantly: The Lord reward it."

Thus having given a summary account of the principles and practices of this ancient church, what remains but to bring these things home to the present generation in a brief address.

Hence, see what grounds of praise and thanksgiving for God's wonderful goodness to our ancestors. We have abundant cause to bless his name for his presence with them, and protection over them; for putting it into their hearts to transplant themselves, over the ocean, into this then hideous wilderness; for keeping them in their way, and preparing a place for them; for settling them here in peace, and providing for them in their low estate; for defending them from the insults of the natives, and preserving their civil and religious privileges, notwithstanding the many attempts of enemies to overthrow them: for increasing their numbers, and causing them to take deep root, so that the land at this day is overspread with inhabitants, and these once barbarous regions filled with churches, devoted to the honour and service of our great Redeemer. For these and innumerable other mercies (of which we their posterity receive the benefit) we have cause to sing the divine praises, to the latest generation. Divers attempts had been made by both French and English to settle these American regions before, upon mere temporal views. But such a train of crosses accompanied their designs, as that all proved abortive, till this pious people made the attempt upon better views, and then all difficulties vanish before them. For which let the Lord have all the glory.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CLIMATE, SOIL AND VALUE OF THE EASTERN COUNTIES IN THE DISTRICT OF MAINE; WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1789. BY THE HONOURABLE GENERAL LINCOLN.

THE Counties of Cumberland and Lincoln, from their situation in the centre of the temperate zone; the purity of the air; the frequent gales; the nature of the soil; the height of the lands; the balsamick quality of many of the trees in the forest; the rapidity of its streams; their exemption from stagnant waters, poisonous animals, and noxious plants; the temperature of the weather in summer, and the regularity of the seasons in winter, are rendered equally, if not more healthy than any part of the United States; and probably in this respect they are not exceeded by any climate whatever.

The sea coast, which is about two hundred miles in length, of which there are the most accurate maps, abound with safe and commodious harbours; besides which, there as a security given to navigation, by what is called an island passage. Almost the whole shore is covered by a line of islands, among which vessels may generally anchor with safety.

There are in these counties, many large rivers, some of them navigable far up into the country; and although navigation for large vessels is interrupted by falls, when far up the rivers, yet above the falls there is a plenty of water, for small craft nearly to the source of the rivers, our northern bounds. From the various branches of these rivers, extending from east to west, and the different lakes and ponds whence they issue, there is a water communication, with few interruptions, from the western to the eastern bounds, across the country above the centre of it. By this route, its productions may, with the greatest ease and safety, and with a very inconsiderable expense, be transported to the different seaports. Until a great proportion of the country shall be settled, there will be but few, if any instances, where the land carriage will exceed thirty miles, and never much more than that distance.

From the different rivers, water may be drawn for mills, and all water work; besides, many are the advantages, which arise to a country, through which streams of water are so liberally interspersed, as they are in this; and especially when they

they abound, as many of these do, with fish of different kinds ; among them are the salmon, the shad, the alewife, and others, which seek the quiet waters of the lakes, as the only place in which they can with safety lodge their spawns. From this source, the inland country may draw a supply of fish, equal to all their demands, if they are not interrupted in their passage, which are rendered peculiarly valuable, as *their annual return is at a season of the year when most needed*, and when they can be cured with a very little salt ; so that a long and free use of them will not be injurious to the health of the inhabitants. The certainty of the supply adds to its value. *These fish*, as is supposed, and of which there cannot, I think, be a doubt, *return to the same waters, yearly, in which they were spawned*, unless some unnatural obstructions are thrown in their way. Whilst the people inland may be thus supplied with fish, the inhabitants on the sea coast may be supplied by the cod and other ground fish, which are allured quite into their harbours, in pursuit of the river fish, and may be taken with the greatest ease, as no other craft is necessary, in many places, than a common canoe. Great advantages arise, also, to those who live on the sea coast, from the shell fish, viz. the lobster, the scollop, and the clam. To these advantages may be added, those which arise from the forests being filled with the moose and deer, and the waters being covered with wild fowls of different kinds.

The country, though high, is not mountainous ; and a great proportion of the lands are arable and exceedingly fertile. In every experiment made within my knowledge, where the ground has been properly fitted to receive the seed, it appears to be very friendly to the growth of wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, hemp and flax, as well as for the production of all kinds of vegetables, and of English grass. We have little reason to doubt, but that apple and other fruit trees would flourish there, and that it would produce good orchards. There are now many good ones to the northeast of these counties, in the province of Nova-Scotia. If we can credit tradition, there were good orchards, a century past, within the county of Lincoln, about the bay of Passamaquady, which were destroyed after Colonel Church broke up the French settlements at that place.

On the Sea coast, where the lands are thought to be more indifferent, and less fertile, the deficiency is in a degree made up,

up, by the large quantities of manure, which may with great ease be obtained from the shores.

The rockweed is the principal; it abounds in these counties, and is an object of great importance. It is a marine vegetable, adhering to the rocks, lying between high and low water mark. The border of rockweed increases in width, in proportion to the height the tide generally rises and falls, which, in the eastern part of the county of Lincoln, is from twenty-five to thirty feet. This rockweed makes a most excellent manure, is well calculated to bury under the furrow, or to spread, in the month of April, on our meadows. A dressing of about ten loads upon an acre will last for three years. In that period it comes again to perfection on the rock, so that the returning wants of the lands will find a continual supply, from the same source. After a storm, large quantities of this manure will be found washed up to high-water mark, whence it is easily carted upon the lands. But the most usual mode of obtaining it, is by pulling or cutting it from the rocks, and loading it into carts, where that can be done; where it cannot, it may be loaded into scows. The supply of rockweed is immense, for it generally grows, in these counties, on all the shores which are washed by the sea; and although the shore, upon a line, will not probably exceed two hundred miles in length; yet, from the indented shores of the main, and all the shores of the islands, it will be found, that the sea, in these counties, washes more than two thousand miles of shore. If we estimate the border of rockweed to be one rod in width, taking one place with another, in the two thousand miles will be found four thousand acres of rockweed. I suppose that one acre will produce, annually, twenty loads; so that, on the whole shores of these counties, if my estimate is right, eighty thousand loads of good manure may be obtained every year from the rocks. Besides this, there are, many other marine vegetable substances, which are, from time to time, washed on our shores, and which make an excellent manure. But this is not all the advantage that may be derived from it; a salt is produced with great ease, which is an article of export, being much used in all the glass manufactories. It is made with little expense, nothing more being necessary than cutting the weed from the rocks, carrying it upon the shores, and spreading it until it shall be partly dry. A pit is then to be formed, proportionate

tionate to the quantity you shall have to burn, lined with clay ; a fire built in the bottom of it, made with light wood, and the weed put on. When it begins to burn, you may keep feeding the fire with weed until your pit shall be full of the kelp ashes, or you have exhausted your stock of weed. When you have done burning the salt, which will be run into a body a little like potashes, it is to be cut out of the pit and put into casks ; when so done it is fit for the market. From this salt, by a very simple process, two other articles of exports may be drawn, the marine alkaline salts and the Epsom salts. For the former, there are great demands in Europe, and are generally, if not universally, obtained from Spain, called in that country Barilla, which, though obtained from another marine plant, is of the same nature.

To return to the article of manures : Besides the rock-weed, and other marine vegetable substances, which are obtained from the sea, there are marls of different kinds to be procured. But as this will always be a grazing country, the manure from the barn yard will be a fruitful source, whence large supplies may be annually drawn.

The lands in these counties are easily cleared, there being in general but little under brush. Whilst the husbandman is cutting off his timber, and is opening his lands, he may keep a large stock of cattle, from the spontaneous growth of the wilderness. In it there is not only the browse, common to all wood lands, but a full supply of common plants, and many peculiar, I think, to these lands, on which the cattle eagerly feed, and from which they seem to draw equal nourishment as from common English grass. The young cattle, raised in these woods, are equally large with those fed in our common pastures ; and cattle for beef fatten exceedingly well in them. Whilst large stocks of cattle are thus fed in summer, from the grass cut in many parts of the country, on the meadows made by the beavers, and from the salt marshes, a full supply of hay may be obtained the very first year, for keeping large stocks of cattle through the winter.

Upon these lands, are large quantities of pines and spruce, suitable for masts, boards, shingles, &c. This timber may be rendered very beneficial to the new settlers. From this source they may find a very useful employment in winter, in fitting the stuff for the market. The ease with which it is conveyed thereto, adds to its value, and makes it an object

worthy of attention ; *care must, however, be taken, that this business doth not break in upon the time which should be employed in husbandry ; that, by settlers in general, must not be sacrificed to any other object whatever.*

It is a circumstance, much in favour of these counties, that they abound with so many articles necessary for building. The ease with which the inhabitants in general procure their timber, their boards, their shingles, their lime, their bricks, their clay, and their stone, frees them from a considerable part of that heavy expense, so much felt, and so much complained of, by most people who have experienced it.

These counties are rendered peculiarly friendly to commerce, by their local situation on the Atlantick ocean, and from their contiguity to the great fishing banks ; for the fish, when taken and cured, make a valuable article of export at all times, and especially with the lumber, with which the country abounds, and which is rendered more valuable by its being united in commerce with the fish ; for it is so bulky an article, that it will hardly bear the expense of exportation, alone, to a foreign market. These lands abound with timber, and other necessary articles for ship building, of which it was thought deficient, until, by repeated experiments, *black birch* is found to answer the purpose ; *many fine vessels have been built of this timber*, sent to sea, and proved not only excellent for the West-India trade, but have sold well in Europe, so that, as they have iron ores among themselves, they have every advantage necessary to constitute an independent, commercial people.

The natural and very intimate connection, subsisting between these counties and the old counties of the state, must contribute much to their interest, while in their infancy : for every article they have for sale, they find a ready market. Even for the wood which the husbandman is obliged to remove from his land, he receives a consideration equal, at the least, to the expense of cutting it off. From this source he may obtain his bread, while he is fitting his lands for a crop ; so that the man, in the habits of industry and economy, who settles near the sea, or upon navigable rivers, with two months provisions, and an ax in his hand, may venture to set down, in this country, with a rational confidence that he can procure his bread, until he shall have opened his lands, so as to draw it from them.



Some have affected to consider these lands as cold, barren and unpleasant. The old part of the Massachusetts was so considered by some, in the early days of its settlement, and representations much to its disadvantage, were transmitted across the Atlantick; those misrepresentations had their ill effects, at that time, as false representations have at this day. It is true, that the eastern part of the state is a little farther north than Boston; but all agree, who have experienced both, that the fall of the year in the new counties, is equally pleasant as the fall in the old part of the state. Winter hardly ever sets in until Christmas; and when it commences, there is such an uniformity in the weather; that it is rendered more agreeable, and less injurious, than it is when it is more open and changeable. The snow seldom or ever falls so deep, as to prevent the people from doing business with their teams, in the woods, all the winter. It is said, vegetation is not so forward there, in the spring, as it is in the old counties: It may be so at the beginning of May: but before the end of it, from what I saw the three seasons I was in those new counties, there is very little, if any difference to be discovered; for the progress of vegetation is much more rapid in northern than in southern climate. I believe that there has not been any year, when, upon the cleared lands, there has not been a full supply of grass, for the cattle, by the twentieth of May. As soon as the lands shall become fully opened, there will not, in my opinion, be any considerable difference between the length of the winters, in the counties of Cumberland and Lincoln, and those in the counties of Hampshire and Worcester.

Some make an objection to the country, from a supposition that Indian corn will not grow in it. Admit, for a moment this to be the case, and consider why that should operate in the minds of any to the disadvantage of the country, or cause any anxiety in the mind of a settler, while he can be assured, that his land will produce him good wheat and rye, both which are raised in great plenty, and with much less expense, than is Indian corn, and are much more beneficial when raised. If we should contract the value of lands, capable of producing good wheat and rye, with those which will produce Indian corn only, we cannot hesitate one moment in pronouncing in favour of the former. None, however, need be anxious, though strongly attached to the use of  
Indian

Indian corn : if they really wish to have it, they may raise a supply, by procuring their seed from those inhabitants living north of them, some of whom annually raise considerable quantities of it.

Some people, who have seen the lands, in the eastern part of the county of Lincoln, entertain unfavourable ideas of the soil, as in many parts they are covered with a white birch, which growth is supposed to indicate that the lands are cold and barren. Such a conclusion cannot be justly drawn, respecting those lands, for all of them, which have fallen under my particular observation, of this growth, were, a few years since, covered with a growth of a very different kind. This is evident, from the remains of trees now lying on the ground, by which we learn, that the former growth was a mixture of the pine, spruce, hemlock, and different kinds of hard wood ; and as the remains of the trees appear to be partly burnt, it is probable that the former growth was destroyed by fire. In this sentiment we are confirmed, by what took place about seven years since, on the bay of Cobscook ; when the fire ran over, and destroyed the timber, on three or four thousand acres in one body ; those lands were covered with the pine, spruce and hemlock, with some hard wood, as black birch, maple, &c. The fire-weed succeeded ; after that, the white birch ; and in a few years, from its present appearance, there will not be any vestiges remaining of the late growth. The white birch, or rather the yellow-hearted birch, (for it seems a different kind of white birch from that which grows in the old part of the state), with which many of these lands, near the sea-shores and rivers, abounded, flourishes on the high, gravelly hills, equally with that on the cold, flat vallies ; so that we cannot any more determine the value of the soil by the present growth, that we can determine it by the springing up of the fire-weed ; for the white birch seems as naturally to succeed the fire-weed, as that doth the burning of the lands. It has been found, by experience, that those lands which have been formerly burnt over, and are now covered with the white birch, are among the most valuable of the lands, as they are cleared with more ease, and produce better crops than others, when they are cleared.

Objections have been made to these counties, on account of the black flies, and other insects. It is true, they are troublesome

troublesome in the woods, two or three months in the year, but they decrease in proportion as the lands are opened. After a few acres are cleared, little is to be apprehended from them, and nothing, when the lands are generally so. The settlement at Machias is a proof in point; they, a few years since, as in other parts of the new counties, were infested with these insects; but as the lands about the settlement are generally improved, they are now as free from them as in any part of the state.

An idea that the lands are generally covered with fogs, has probably deterred some from becoming adventurers in them. The fogs frequently extend over the islands, and a small border of the main next the sea coasts; so that if they were really prejudicial to the country, a small part of it, only, is affected by them. But it remains a doubt whether they are injurious or not; people on the islands are equally, if not more healthy, than are those inland, where they are not exposed to fogs; and the soil appears to be equally productive, at the least, on them as on the main, and the grain not more liable to blasts.

As people may, with great propriety, inquire, if this is really a territory so valuable as has been represented, why has the sale and settlement of it been so long delayed? and as many may be strangers to the true causes hereof, I cannot, in justice to the subject, omit mentioning some of those, which appear to me to be the principal ones. Among them may be considered the very extensive grants to small companies and individuals: The different claims to the same lands, arising from a partial and vague description of some of them, and the continual law suits consequent upon disputed titles, and the little prospect discovered in many instances of obtaining a good one: The want of power in the commonwealth to grant any of the lands lying between the rivers Penobscot and St. Croix: The hazard and the sufferings experienced by the settlers, from the very frequent wars with the savages for nearly a century and an half were not only damps on the spirits of too many of the settlers, but deterred others from joining them: Hence their attention to husbandry, which should have been their chief employment, was diverted, and they were led into other pursuits, less interesting, though from them they received an immediate supply; so that their lands, although the timber was cut off, were neither properly

ly cleared nor seeded, were soon over-run with bushes, fell thereby into disrepute, and many of the inhabitants into poverty and want.

Whilst these counties were labouring under so many embarrassments, fully seen by the state, but of such a nature as could not be removed by government, its attention was turned, more particularly, to the settlement of other parts of the commonwealth; and by a wise and judicious system, adopted by it, in selling the unlocated lands therein, at a very moderate price, in townships, and in annexing certain conditions, of such a nature as secured not only a speedy sale, but settlement. And although the price of the lands was thereby reduced, yet the settlement of them, in consequence thereof, became so rapid, that in a very short time the revenue, arising from them, amounted to more money than would have been the value of the lands, had no conditions been annexed. Large bodies of unlocated lands are of little or no value to a state; the importance of a nation doth not arise from the extent of its territory, but from its numbers, and from the wealth of its inhabitants.

The obstructions which for a long time retarded the settlement of the lands, in the counties of Cumberland and Lincoln, are pretty generally removed, and the General Court have gone a very considerable length, in digesting, and bringing forward a system, which, when completed, must operate much to the interest of the present inhabitants, and more especially to all new settlers. It must be a pleasing circumstance to all persons interested in these counties, to know that a large tract of land is appropriated, by the commonwealth, to remain as a fund, for the establishment and support of an academy, in a part of that country, so central, that the whole may be well accommodated: That in the sale of the several townships, lands are retained by the state as publick lots, for the support of the gospel ministry, for schools, and other publick purposes: That a road is to be opened, at the public expense, through lands unsold, from the bay of Passamaquady to Penobscot-river: That the county of Lincoln is, for the accommodation of all parts of this large county, to be divided into three distinct counties. This event will take place as soon as the people can support the little expense of it. And for the present accommodation of the inhabitants, the General Court have established some principal

principal officers, in the lower part of the county, such as judge of probate, and register of deeds. Besides, as a farther encouragement to the settlement of these lands, many of them, by an act of the General Court, are exempt from taxes for a number of years to come. These attentions of the legislature cannot fail of producing consequences beneficial to the whole, as they will promote the sale and settlement of these lands. An event of so great a magnitude cannot be accomplished with so much dispatch as our interest demands ; for it is with this large tract of country, as with every thing else presented to market, which commands a price and a speedy sale, in proportion to the quantity offered, compared with the number of purchasers. It must be manifest to every person, who attends to the subject, that the market is much over done, and that there is no proportion between the quantity offered for sale and the number of persons who wish to become adventurers in them.

From the situation of a considerable proportion of these lands, remote from the sea, the proprietors will not be able to realize any thing from them until they shall become settled. This event cannot very soon take place, respecting all of them, for their limits are very extensive, and there are such constant drains upon our natural growth of inhabitants, by the large opening for settlers, and the daily emigrations from this state into the state of New-Hampshire, New-York, Vermont, and upon the banks of the Ohio. Hence many of our lands must remain unsettled, as the property of the commonwealth, or as the property of individuals, for some time yet to come. This period however might be shortened, if the state should think proper, in addition to what they have done, for the encouragement of settlers, and for the promotion of the sale of those lands, to open wide the doors of the commonwealth for the reception of foreigners.

When it is considered, what large tracts of unlocated lands are now owned by the state, and that a spirit of emigration from it has manifestly discovered itself ; and when we contemplate the state of our publick debt, questions of very great importance offer themselves to the mind, viz. Whether we ought to proceed further in our present line of conduct, hold our lands at the price at which they are now selling, though we should progress slowly in this business ; or  
whether

whether we ought to reduce the price of them, so as to make it for the interest of individuals to become purchasers of them, though many years may elapse before they shall become settled. These inquiries are interesting in their nature; and on a just decision of them, much depends; a task to which I feel myself perfectly incompetent, and shall therefore only observe, that whilst these lands remain the property of the commonwealth, the most valuable tracts will be engrossed by individuals; as also the most beneficial mill-spots, and the best of the timber, which eventually must operate much to the injury of the state, and to after settlers. If these lands should be sold, the moment they become the property of individuals, they will claim their immediate attention; and no measures will be left untried, to effect an early settlement of them, as from a great proportion of them, nothing can be realized until they are peopled. As the purchasers will probably be dispersed through the different parts of the commonwealth, they will have an extensive influence therein, and thereby have it in their power to engage their neighbours as settlers, and check the spirit of emigration from this state, so prevalent in it, and which operates so much to its disadvantage. If these things are effected, they must be the result of private exertions; they cannot be produced by the state at large; for the benefits to be expected from the object, are too general to claim the particular and constant attention of its citizens.

We have, in the counties of Cumberland and Lincoln, a large extent of country yet unsettled; it must be for the interest of the whole to make the terms for settlers as alluring as possible, and as light and easy as they are made by any of our neighbours. The moment we do this, and the intentions of government shall be fully known, and the value of the country placed in its proper point of light, we cannot doubt but the attention of our people will be arrested, and fixed upon our eastern territory; and especially when it is considered, that this part of the commonwealth is healthy and fertile; that it abounds with every necessary of life; that it affords many valuable articles for exportation; and that hence, and from its local situation, its advantages, as a commercial country, are peculiarly great. In this channel, the industrious inhabitant will find a ready and a good sale for all the surplus of his labours. This consideration will  
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be a strong inducement to economy and industry ; industry is the road to virtue ; it gives health to the body and vigour to the mind. A people thus situated, will from the nature of things, become well informed and enlightened. None, therefore, may hesitate to pronounce this a country which will entail freedom and happiness to its inhabitants, if they are not wanting to themselves.

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COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE HON. GENERAL LINCOLN, ON THE RELIGIOUS STATE OF THE EASTERN COUNTIES IN THE DISTRICT OF MAINE.

*Boston, February 10, 1790.*

REV. SIR,

MY particular acquaintance with the state of the inhabitants in the eastern part of this commonwealth, especially of those inhabiting the land upon, and eastward of Penobscot river, and with the evils they suffer from the want of a regular, settled ministry, will, I hope, apologize to you, and your brethren of the clergy, for my taking up a matter which may be supposed to belong more properly to them.

There are not more than three ordained ministers from Penobscot river to Passamaquady, an extent of more than 100 miles square ; and now so filled with inhabitants, that the General Court has thought them sufficient in numbers, and of ability, to constitute two distinct counties ; and they are accordingly organized into two counties, by the names of Washington and Hancock.

In the two counties there are 21 incorporated towns and 8 handsome plantations ; and the inhabitants are rapidly increasing, not only from natural growth, but by the emigrations from the old part of the state. Most of the present inhabitants are emigrants from those towns where publick worship has always been kept up. They have been in the habit of attending it, and all the ordinances of the gospel, and now feel themselves unhappy in being in a situation by which they are deprived of those enjoyments, which they consider important, and essential to a full discharge of their duty.

In this state of mind, many of them eagerly invite every stranger to preach among them, who has assurance enough to assume the character of a preacher. Happy would it have been for those people, had there never been any improper  
 VOL. IV. T teachers

teachers among them. They would in that case, at least, have escaped some examples poisonous to the mind, and which have a natural tendency to beget a disbelief of the christian religion; to lessen the evidence of its importance, and to throw down the barriers between virtue and vice.

Although among itinerant preachers there are many sober, well-meaning men, yet they hold nearly as many different creeds as they are in number. You know, sir, that I am no bigot; I hope and trust I am catholick enough; but I think, however, that the future happiness of these people depends, in a great measure, upon their now being kept right. For if, from their want of proper instruction at this day, they should be so unfortunate as to divide into as many sectaries as there are families (of which there is danger) the most unhappy consequences must result; as in any future day, it will be next to impossible to obtain that union necessary to the settlement of a regular ministry among them.

Few, if any, of these itinerant preachers, who are frequently among them, have authority to administer the sacraments of the New-Testament: Very few, therefore, of the children, born in that country, are baptized; nor has the Lord's-supper ever been administered in most of the towns and plantations below Penobscot. There is great reason to believe, that, unless some care is immediately taken to remedy the evil, by sending regular, ordained ministers into that country, who shall, by their examples of piety and righteousness and benevolence, enforce the truth of the doctrines they teach, the inhabitants will acquire, at least, an indifference to those important truths, which were impressed on their minds in tender youth; and their children will be left in a situation so unfortunate as never to have the means of knowing them. It is unhappy for our new settlements that there are so few candidates for the ministry. That circumstance, joined to the present mode of education, and of living, makes it exceedingly difficult to procure candidates for our infant settlements. Young gentlemen, at this day, would hardly, as many formerly did, think of going and settling down, in the morning of life, with a people in a new township, and *rough it* for a few years with them. There are now so many vacant parishes, in the old towns, that the few candidates find employment without those exertions, which I am fully in opinion, it would be their interest to make, and settle in the new parishes. In



In all places they could have a handsome grant of lands, in the centre of a town ; and although the people might find it difficult, the first few years of their settlement, to pay them much money ; yet they would with pleasure, build them a house, and clear their land, which would soon put them into an independent situation. Before the close of ten years, their prospects, in general, would probably be much more eligible than that of most of the ministers in our old towns. Besides, I cannot help thinking it would be a very pleasing consideration to a young gentleman, who settles in a new place, that the people are advancing in life with him, and that the little hardships they may experience, for a few years, would have a natural tendency to assimilate them, and strengthen their friendship.

There is also a pleasure which must, I think, arise in every mind, on seeing the desert become a fruitful field, and the wilderness blossoming as the rose. Permit me to add one inducement more, which should lead young gentlemen of the ministry into a new country ; that if they have a family of children, they have it in their power to settle those around them ; a circumstance very important to parents, and especially as they approach the evening of life.

After all, as I said before, such is the mode of education, and such are the ideas of the day, that people must not think of sitting down in life until they can support a certain style of living. It is hard to persuade gentlemen of the age of twenty-one of the truth of those facts, of which they are generally pretty fully convinced before thirty.

I hope that no person will attribute the want of a regular ministry, in the eastern country, to the neglect, much less to the dissatisfaction of the people ; but that they will rather inquire what can be done to place them in a situation interesting and important to themselves, and beneficial to the community at large.

Suffer me to suggest one idea more on the subject, viz. that if a number of candidates for the ministry be ordained, and encouraged to go into that country, they might get some pay from the people, and travel through the lower counties ; preach to the people, baptise their children, form the societies into regular churches, and administer the Lord's supper. These things will have the best effect upon the minds of the people ; and bring them into a state of order. Such young  
ordained

ordained ministers might travel in that county very agreeably for six or eight months in a year; they would, I think, become pleased with it, and soon get particular settlements in it. I have the honour to be, &c.

B. LINCOLN.

REV. MR. LITTLE.

EXTRACT OF TWO LETTERS FROM CHARLES THOMPSON, ESQ.  
SECRETARY OF CONGRESS DURING THE REVOLUTION-  
WAR, TO THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,  
RELATIVE TO DR. KIPPIS'S MISREPRESENTATION.

(See page 85)

*Harriton, March 9, 1795.*

SIR,

I DID not till yesterday receive your letter of the 4th of February, with the enclosed letter to you from Dr. Belknap, dated January 7, &c.

Though on reading these remarks *I could not hesitate a moment in contradicting them*, because Congress never did express a disapprobation of the direction issued by Dr. Franklin; nor did they ever direct that especial care should be taken to seize Capt. Cook, if an opportunity of doing it occurred; yet I thought it might not be improper to pause, and try to find from what source this misrepresentation sprung.

It is true that in the year following, viz. on the 2d of May, 1780, Congress passed a new form of a commission for private vessels of war, and new instructions to the commanders; in which the ships or vessels with their cargoes belonging to the inhabitants of Bermuda, and other vessels bringing persons with an intent to settle and reside within the United States, are expressly exempted from capture; and *no notice is taken of Captain Cook*. But I very much doubt, whether at the time of passing this act, Congress had any knowledge of the directions issued by Dr. Franklin, and I am inclined to think that upon examining the dispatches received from him between March 1779, and this time, it will appear, that *they had not received any notice of them*.

Though from this act, in which there is no exception in favour of Capt. Cook, an inference might be drawn, that Congress reversed the orders which their ambassador had given; yet, there is nothing in the commission or instructions.

tions, nor in any other act of Congress, which will warrant the assertions, "That it was directed by Congress, that especial care should be taken to seize Capt. Cook, if an opportunity of doing it occurred; and that all this proceeded from a false notion that it would be injurious to the United States for the English to obtain a knowledge of the opposite coast of America."<sup>a</sup>

With regard to Dr. Kippis's *note* of his having obtained the account from Sir Joseph Banks; as Sir Joseph could not have given it from his own knowledge, but must have had it from others, I am led to conclude, that this has arisen from misinformation; or from some of those spurious pieces which were fabricated and published within the enemy's lines, as acts and resolves of Congress, with an intent to vilify Congress, or to answer some hostile purpose. I am &c.

CHARLES THOMSON.

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*Harriton, March 17, 1795.*

SIR,

THE day after receiving your favour of February 4, I wrote the enclosed answer. But as my mind has been so long withdrawn from the occurrences in Congress, and so wholly bent on a different object,\* I was not in haste to send it, until I refreshed my mind by looking over the journals. After all the search I have made, and the recollection I am master of, I see no reason to alter it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES THOMSON.

*The Vice-President of the }  
United States. }*

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LETTER FROM REV. MR. BENTLEY TO THE CORRESPONDING  
SECRETARY.

*Salem, 14 May, 1795.*

REV. DR. BELKNAP.

SIR,

YOUR ample vindication of our government, from the hasty charge of Dr. Kippis, induced me to lay before you, a charge against the manners of our country. We are not accountable for the rash acts of the people; but a general  
insult

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\* Mr. Thomson has employed himself in his retirement in translating the *septuagint*; and in making a new translation of the *Greek Testament*.

insult to the work of a learned foreigner must have a cause in the influence of publick manners, or publick men.

In the fifth volume of the "Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique, par une Société de gens de lettres, 6me ed. Caen, 1786," I find that, speaking of the Abbé Mably and particularly of his "Entretiens de Phocion, sur le rapport de la morale avec la politique," it is observed, "Ce livre rendit l'Abbé de Mably, si recommandable, que les Polonois, et les Americains,†

Then there is a note subjoined, which I copy.

† "Ce dernier peuple a bien changé, depuis, ses sentimens, de deference pour cet écrivain philosophe. Voici ce qu'on lit dans le Mercure de France, Janvier, 1785, No. III."

"Le dernier ouvrage de M. l'Abbé de Mably, *sur les constitutions des Etats Unis de l'Amérique*, a revolté les Americains contre cet estimable écrivain. Dans plusieurs etats, on l'a pendu en effigie, comme, *ennemi de la liberté, et de la tolerance*. Et son livre a été trainé dans la boue. Ce traitement qui pourra paroître plus honteux encore pour ceux qui l'ont infligé, que pour celui qui en est l'objet, prouve du moins que les Americains n'aiment pas qu'on leur donne des avis."\*

With every sentiment of respect, your devoted servant,

WILLIAM BENTLEY.

\* This book (Conversations of Phocion upon the relation of morality with politics) made the Abbe de Mably so respectable, tht the Polonois and Americains had recourse to his understanding.

There has since been a great change in the sentiments of the last mentioned people, according to what we read in the Mercury of France, January, 1785.

"The last work of the Abbe de Mably, upon the constitution of the United States of America, has provoked the Americans against this estimable writer. In many states he was hung in effigy, as the enemy of liberty and toleration. And his book was dragged in the mud. This treatment, which may appear still more to the shame of those who inflicted it, than to him who receives it, proves, at least, that the Americans are not fond of receiving advice."

NOTE. *The Editors of this work do not recollect any thing which could have given rise to the supposed insult on the Abbe Mably; but are inclined to rank it among other European slanders on the United States of America.*

AN INQUIRY INTO THE RIGHT OF THE ABORIGINAL NATIVES TO THE LANDS IN AMERICA, AND THE TITLES DERIVED FROM THEM. WRITTEN IN 1724, BY THE REV. JOHN BULKLEY, MINISTER OF COLCHESTER IN CONNECTICUT,

THE natives' right, as it is commonly called, or the right the aborigines of this country (all or any of them) had, or have, to lands in it, is an interest which, every one knows, has not wanted many advocates among us, especially of late years who have endeavoured to advance or set it up as our only valuable title to whatever lands are in the country; some, perhaps, acting in what they have done with a real persuasion of this; but far the most, no doubt, on other considerations.

For my own part, I have ever thought this a matter more talked of than understood, and am ready to think of those, who are of the above mentioned opinion in this matter, that they have drank in this article of their faith, as perhaps they have many of the rest, without due examination or search into the matter.

I presume we are generally agreed there is such a thing as native right, to speak in the vulgar phrase; or a right which the aborigines of any country, and consequently of this, (or some of them at least), have, or had, to lands in it, I mean to particular tracts or parcels of it: I suppose there are few that in this point bring them down to a level with the brutal race, how barbarous or uncultivated soever they were: And sure I am, that none will deny it, that considers that as there never was any among mankind, even the most barbarous, but what were capable of impropropriating lands, as well as other things, so that among the aborigines of this country there was that found that was sufficient for that end. Yet, notwithstanding, to assert their right in that extent that many do, and suppose it, without excepting any, to extend to all lands in the country, whether cultivated by them or not, is what I never could, nor yet can, see any sufficient reason for. And though I know to countenance, and give a currency to this opinion, the authority of those truly worthy men that were the first settlers of English colonies here, as well as that of the several governments in  
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the country, from the beginning to this day, is wont frequently to be alleged in discourse by our bigots to this principle, who would bear us in hand they were one and all of the same persuasion, and accordingly accounted no lands in the country their own till obtained of the natives by compact, or otherwise ; yet, for my own part, I could never think so diminutively of them, or at least many of them, as to believe they acted on this principle in the regard they shewed the natives, and their pretended claim to the country, by entering into treaties with and allowing them gratuities for the lands ; but rather that they acted on prudential considerations, taken from their own and the natives' circumstances.

And as it is an undoubted truth, that the aborigines of this country, some or all of them, had right to lands in it, so it is equally certain that of what extent soever it was, it arose from one of these two things, viz. either the law of nature, or positive laws, or constitutions of their own (tacit or express) regulating or determining the matter of property ; one or other of these must give them what they had. And by consequence, nothing with any certainty can be determined upon the extent of the claims or properties of any single person or number of them, till first it be determined what their condition was, whether they were a people in the state of nature, and so had only what the law of nature gave them ; or had quitted that state, entered into communities, and by compact one with another, and positive constitutions of their own, (tacit or express), had fixed the bounds of each community respectively, and settled or determined the matter of property in land within themselves severally : And in case this last be found, viz. that they had entered into communities, and performed those consequent acts, further it must be determined where the bounds of each community respectively were, and what disposition or settlement the laws of each society or community made of the lands within their limits severally. These are things which perhaps few of those, who have appeared with such heat and zeal for the forementioned principle, ever thought of ; yet I am well assured there is no intelligent person but will readily grant, that, till these things are determined, nothing, with any certainty, can be known or resolved upon the extent of the claim or property of any among them, whether single person or community. And

And because diverse persons of different sentiments in this matter, viz. what the condition of the persons, I am now speaking of, was, as to this, at the time of the first access of the English to the country, when such large tracts of land are supposed by some to be obtained of them; some being of opinion they were a people in the state of nature, others that they had quitted that state, entered into communities, and put on some form of civil policy, &c. And because, as I said, nothing can be determined as to the extent of the right or property of any of them, without a determination of this matter; although I shall not presume upon any umpirage of it, yet shall examine each of these hypotheses, and on a supposition of the truth of both of them, severally, shall shew what can be determined upon the extent of the rights or properties of any of them; which, when I have done, I am prone to think, that those who, with such confidence, and to the no small harm and injury of their country, have appeared on the side of the forementioned extravagant principle, will see they have not such evidence of the truth of it, as perhaps now they think they have.

I take it for granted, and think it needs no proof, that as all men are, and ever were, born free, equal, and independent as to civil subjections or subordination, so there was a time when the state of nature obtained in the world.

This state of nature is a state wherein men, not having any common, established, positive law, (tacit or express), or judicature, to appeal to, with authority to decide controversies between them, and punish offenders, every man is judge for himself, and executioner.

“Those who are united into one body, and have a common, established law and judicature to appeal to, with authority to decide controversies arising between them, and punish offenders, are in civil society one with another; but those who have no such common appeal, I mean on earth, are still in the state of nature, each being (where there is no other) judge for himself and executioner.” See Locke’s *Treatise of Government*, page 247, and afterwards page 280. Accounting for the defects of this state, he says,

1. “There wants in it an established, settled, known law, received and allowed by common consent, to be the standard of right and wrong, and the common measure to decide all controversies arising between men. For

“ though the law of nature be plain and intelligible to all rational creatures, yet men, being biassed by their interest, as well as ignorant for want of study of it, are not apt to allow of it as a law binding to them in the application of it to their particular cases.

2. “ In the state of nature, there wants a known, indifferent judge, with authority to determine all differences according to the established law ; for every one in that state being both judge and executioner of the law of nature, men being partial to themselves, passion and revenge are very apt to carry them too far, and with too much heat in their own case, as well as negligence and unconcernedness to make them too remiss in other men’s.

3. “ In the state of nature, there often wants power to back and support the sentence when right ; and to give it due execution, they who by any injustice offend, will seldom fail, where they are able, by force, to make good their injustice. And such resistance many times makes the punishment dangerous, and frequently destructive to those who attempt it.” Thus that great man.

In a word, in this state, as men have no other law than that of nature or reason to be the measure or standard of right and wrong, and are without any common superior on earth, with authority to decide controversies, and a force or power to execute his sentences, to whom they might appeal when disputes arise, so every man has right in himself both to judge of the transgressions of that law, and punish them as far as he is able. And from this short account of this state, it is easy to see both what it is, and wherein it differs from a state of civil society ; for whereas, in this state, men have no other law than that of nature, and every man has in himself right to judge of, and punish, the transgressions of that law ; in that of civil society, there are other laws for a measure or standard of right and wrong, and this right of judging and executing is given up, by every individual, into the hands of the community ; for which reason, in this state all private judgment, in any matters, ceases, and the community is umpire, and by settled, standing laws, made by themselves, indifferent, and the same to all parties, and by men having authority from the community to execute those laws, decides all differences that happen between any particular members, concerning any matter of right, and punishes all offences with such penalties as the law has established. Now



Now, on the supposition that the aborigines of this country, before and at the time of the first discovery and planting of it by the English, were in this state, and not to be considered as having put on any form of civil policy, let us inquire what can be determined concerning the extent of their rights to lands in it: And here it must be considered, that during the continuance of this state with any persons, though all have a right or claim to the earth, as well as all other things made for the use and comfort of man, by virtue of the grant of the Most High, the great proprietor of the world whereby, as the psalmist says, he has given the earth to the children of men; yet as by that they are made but commoners in them, and can claim only as such, so there is, I suppose, but one way whereby any particular person can begin a property in any thing, be it land or any thing else, exclusive of the rest of mankind, and this is by adding to it something which is his own; for instance, his labour, which is his alone, and no one else has any right to. Thus, in this state, the law of nature or reason, to which alone men are subject, and which gives them whatever they have; this law, I say, makes and allows the land a man tills and subdues, to be his peculiar property: By his labour, which is his own, (and no man else has any right to), bestowed upon it, he does, as it were, enclose it from the common; and that deer, or hare, or fruit, a man spends his time and strength in the chase and gathering of, it allows to be his property: He does thereby take them out of that common state wherein nature had made them. Worthy to be inserted here are the words of that great man\* before mentioned; "Thus," says he, "this law of reason makes the deer the Indian's who has killed it; it is allowed to be his goods, who has bestowed his labour upon it, though before it was the common right of every one." He adds, "And amongst those who are counted the civilized part of mankind, who have made and multiplied positive laws to determine properly, this original law of nature, for the beginning of property in what was before common, still takes place; and by virtue thereof, what fish any one catches in the ocean, (that great and still remaining common of mankind), or what ambergris any one takes up here, is, by the labour that removes it out of the common state nature left it in, made his property who takes that pains about it." Thus he.

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\* Mr. Locke.

Indeed, after any portion of the earth, or any thing else, is by this means taken out of the common state it was in before, and a property is begun in it, this state of nature seems to admit of other ways of fixing a property in the same thing or things by others; Thus, in this state, that land or other thing I began a property in, by my labour, may become the property of another man, by gift or purchase, as well as in a state of civil society; But labour only seems to be the thing that begins property, and first takes things out of their common state. As in the beginning, before men entered into society, this was the beginning of it, (Cain and Abel had their right of property, the one in the lands he cultivated, the other in the flock he kept, from their labour spent on them), so it is, ever since, where the same state of nature obtained, nor can it be begun, that I can see, otherwise.

And to this voice of the law of nature, viz. that labour in this state shall be the beginning of property, seems well to agree the voice of God himself, in the gift or grant he made of the earth, the creatures and production of it, to mankind, Gen. i. 28. Where we find that cultivating and subduing the earth, and having dominion, are joined together; thereby assuring us, that, as in that gift he then made of it in common to men, he did not design it should serve to their benefit and comfort only by its spontaneous production; but that it was his will, that by art and industry, in subduing and cultivating of it, they should draw still more from it, so that this should be their title to it, at least during the continuance of that state of nature, and still, by positive constitutions of their own, the matter of property should be otherwise determined and settled

And if this be true, as I think it is, viz. that in the beginning of the world, before men entered into society, and so in all ages and places since, where the state of nature obtains, and there are no positive constitutions (tacit or express) regulating the matter of property, this is the only way of beginning a property in things, be it land or what else you please, it seems no way difficult to determine upon the extent of men's properties during the continuance of this state of things among them; for this being the cause and original of all property, must be the measure of it too, whatever ways of fixing a property in things, thus firstly  
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impropriated, may be consequent upon it : As far as labour extends, and things by that are taken out of the common state nature left them in, so far the right of property must extend, and no farther ; what is beyond this, must remain still in the same common state it was made in. And further, at the same time reason forces us to conclude that as to a right of property, in land particularly, it cannot be of great extent during men's continuance in this state, at least so long as they continue their simple, mean, inartful way of living, are mainly fed and clothed with roots, fish, fowl, deer, skins, &c. the spontaneous productions of nature, and have those provisions of it in such plenty that want does not oblige them to cultivate or till the earth. While things continue thus among them, what temptation can they have to impropriate much, especially if at the same time the necessary utensils, such as ploughs, hoes, axes, &c. are wanting, as we all know was the case with the aborigines of this country before the arrival of the English to it.

And now, from what I have thus said concerning the way of original or primary impropriation in the state of nature, it cannot be difficult to determine of the extent of the properties of the aborigines of this country, or any of them, in land, at the time of the access of the English to it, on the supposition of their being in this state ; inasmuch as it assures us their labour or improvement was the measure of it. And to instance in the Moheags in particular, or any of them, concerning whose pretended claims there has been so much noise and strife in the country, which even to this day is not ended, what has been said assures us that on the supposition of their being in this state at that time, instead of such large territories they have been ignorantly (as well as knavishly enough to doubt) thought by some to have, they had really good right or title but to here and there a few spots of it, viz. only to so much as by the means abovementioned they had separated and enclosed from the rest of the country. I shall not presume upon an umpirage in this matter, by saying they were doubtless at that time in the state of nature. I remember what the judicious Mr. Hooker, in his learned Treatise of Ecclesiastical Policy, lib. 1. sect. 10. suggests concerning the defects of polities civil in their beginnings, in the more early ages of the world ; and perhaps it is a difficult thing to fix the bounds between the  
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state of nature and that of civil policy, or say how far the rights of the law of nature must be given up, or retained, by persons, in order to their belonging to the one or the other; yet thus far I shall venture to say, viz. that if what has been said, descriptive of this state of nature, be true, as I think it is, and if withal we may make a judgment of the customs and way of living of the persons I am now speaking of, at that time, by the customs and manners of the more uncivilized part of their survivors at this day, who, I imagine, may reasonably be thought the liveliest images of their ancestors, and most to retain their customs; if we may do so, I say, the probability seems to lie on the affirmative side, viz. that they were, with their brethren in Peru, Florida, Brasil, &c. beforementioned from Acosta, to be ranked with those in a state of nature.

Who, that is not a stranger to them, will say the forementioned essentials of a state of civil policy are to be found among them? That they have any established, settled, common law, received and allowed so much as by a tacit consent, to be the standard of right and wrong, and the common measure to decide controversies arising among them? And herewith, a known, indifferent judge, with authority to determine differences according to this established received law? Who knows not that an attempt to find these things among them, is like a search for the living among the dead? And that when controversies arise among them, without a reference of the matter to the decision of any common umpire or judge, every one looks on himself as vested with the rights of the law of nature, and accordingly is judge for himself and executioner! This every one knows is the common, uninterrupted practice of those of whom I am now speaking, and what is accounted reputable and laudable among them, in all disputes where the contending parties are capable of it, and in such as issue in the death of either of them; consonant to the same law, the nearest relative or relatives of the slain look on themselves as the persons concerned to do justice on the murderer, and accordingly fail not to watch all opportunities, till at length, by surprise or violence, they compass it, and by the gun, hatchet or knife, end the controversy.

I think I am not injurious, in this account of the present state of things among those of our natives, as we call them,

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I am now speaking of; nor can I so much as suspect a censure for it, since it is no more than what most, that are not strangers to them, know. The tragical end of Mahomet, eldest son, as I take it, to Owaneco, with the like tragical occasion of it, is yet fresh in our memories, and it is needless for me to relate: And who knows not that that was but one instance of that justice which is as frequent among them as there is the like occasion? This, every one, I think, must say, looks very much like the state of nature, (if the fore-mentioned account of it be true); and if it be not an evidence of its obtaining among a people, is at least an evidence of such an imperfect state of civil policy as borders very near upon it. And if it be so with these now, we have, I believe, reason to conclude the condition of their ancestors, living at the time of the access of the English to the country, and before, was not better; for who can think that these their present survivors are more degenerate, and farther removed from a state of civil policy, than they were? For my own part, I have ever thought, on the other hand, that even the main of that shadow of it, which is now among them, is of later date, assumed by them partly from an humour of conformity to us their new neighbours, and partly for other reasons, and not a continuance of ancient, immemorial customs among them.

Nor is it, as I conceive, any conclusive evidence of the contrary, that they lived in some sort of society or neighbourhood, and had their chiefs or superiors among them, whether they were such as were so by nature and age, or by election; since the state of nature, though it banish or implies an absence of all inequality among men, as to civil authority or jurisdiction, yet does not exclude all inequality whatsoever. The state of nature is a state of subjection to the dictates and direction of the law of nature; which law is so far from banishing all inequality or subordination among men, that it ordains it in divers instances of it, particularly in the relations of parents and children, husband and wife, captain and soldiers. Right reason, which is this law, says there shall be subjection and subordination. These inequalities, therefore, are no ways inconsistent with this state, nor of themselves evidences it does not obtain among any. And these, I think it not improbable, were the only inequalities or subordinations among the persons I am now speaking of,  
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at this time, and perhaps ever before. Their chiefs or superiors seem to have been either such as were so by nature or age, ancient fathers, or military heads, chosen by them to lead them out against their enemies. Thus where families among them happened to be numerous, continued entire together, and thought themselves sufficient to subsist by themselves, without uniting with others, (as was oft the case, no doubt, in that day, when there was no want of land; all the country, excepting here and there a spot, was an uncultivated wilderness, all provisions of nature accommodate to their plain, mean, inartful way of living, were in great plenty, and nothing found to give price to them farther than this did, and consequently temptations and occasions of strife or contention among them were few and rare during this day or time, I say), the fathers of such families in succession seem to have been their only superiors or chiefs, and by the exercise of their paternal authority (to which such families had been accustomed) maintained the little order was among them. They seem to have been their captains or leaders too, when occasion required, unless by reason of some defects of body or mind they were incapable of it. But when the case happened to be otherwise, as no doubt it often did, and divers families saw a necessity of uniting together for their better security against foreign force, their superiors or chiefs were by election, and seem to have been chosen by them for no other end than to be generals of their armies, as among their brethren in Peru, &c. beforementioned. Nor do they seem to have had but little, if any dominion at home, in times of peace. In this respect, they seem (if the comparison may be allowed) to be like the judges in Israel of old, who certainly were little, if any thing, more than generals of their armies.

These, I am much inclined to think, were the only superiors or chiefs they had among them, and which, perhaps, by an abuse or misapplication of the term, sachem, (which probably, in its original sense, intends no more than a chief father or captain), have in later times gone by the name of kings or civil heads. And though perhaps some will say, this is all but conjecture or chimera, and as such only to be regarded: yet I must tell them, I cannot but much incline to this opinion, and think I shall do so till I can see some further evidence of the essentials of kings in them

them than ever yet I did, and can believe that there is so much of spell in that title or epithet that the bare application of it to a person is sufficient, without any thing else, to make him in fact so. But whatever may be the truth as to this, and on which side soever those who are judicious, and more learned in these things than I, may resolve the matter, yet supposing what I have discovered, as my prevailing opinion in the case, to be truth, and that after all the honours done their chiefs by the glorious titles of kings, emperors, allies, &c. they were but chief fathers or captains, and really in the state of nature with the rest of their brethren, I think it is pretty clear the properties of any or all of them in lands were of no greater extent than has been above expressed, and consequently vastly short of what, by many wanting probity and sense, we have been born in hand they were.

I come now to consider the second hypothesis, viz. that how defective or wanting soever their state might be, as to the forementioned requisites of a state of civil society; and though, judging by what was generally practised among them, (every one retaining in his own hands the rights of the law of nature), they seem to have been in that state, yet that they had really quitted it, entered into communities, and by compact, and at least tacit constitutions of their own, settled the matter of property, both with their neighbours respectively, and severally among themselves; and that these forementioned customs, with others of the like nature arguing the state of nature, obtaining among them, were rather from a defect in establishing proper methods for the execution of their laws, than evidences that they had none.

I have already expressed my sentiment in this matter, which, whether it be right or wrong, matters not as to what is now before me, which is to consider this opinion, and see what (upon a supposition of the truth of it) can be determined upon the claims or pretensions of any of them to lands in the country. And I am pretty well assured this opinion, (how fond soever our bigots to native right are of it, yet will less serve that interest, at least in the present day, than the former; in as much as on a supposition of it, though it must be allowed they had a common property, considered as communities or publick bodies; and besides this, that some or all the members of each community

respectively had severally particular properties of their own, exclusive of the rest of mankind, yet) all becomes so perplexed and in the dark, and so many difficulties inextricable, at least in the present day, unavoidably attend all, that nothing certain can be determined upon the properties of any of them, whether communities or particular persons; I shall give some evidence of this, when I have premised this, viz.

That allowing it to be true, that they had quitted the state of nature, and put on some form of civil policy, yet it does not from thence necessarily follow that lands were brought under the regulation of compact, or any positive constitution of their own, (tacit or express); or that they were held by them any otherwise than as in the state and by the law of nature. Certain it is, there is no necessary connexion between those things; the former does not infer the latter. A people may put on some form of policy without any determination of the matter of property in lands, whether by compact with neighbouring polities, or any positive constitutions of their own. And, for my own part, I never yet saw any sufficient reason to conclude there was any thing of this nature done by them before the arrival of the English here: Nor do I think it will seem probable there was, to any that considers their poor, mean, barbarous way of living, the great plenty of all the provisions of nature that required, the very little use they made of the earth further than to walk upon it, together with their want not only of that communication with other parts of the world, but of any thing among themselves that might give a value to the provisions of nature over and above what their own necessities did. Their way of living the poet well describes; when accounting for the golden age, he tells us of men then,

*Contentique cibus nullo eogente creatis,  
Arbuteos fetus, montanaque fraga legebant;  
Cornaque et in duris hærentia mora rubetis,  
Et quæ deciderant patula Jovis arbora grandes.*

And men themselves contented were with plain and simple food,  
That on the earth, of nature's gift, without their travail stood,  
Did live by respis, hipps and haws, by cornets, plums and cherries,  
By sloes and apples, nuts and pears, and loathsome bramble berries,  
And by the acorns dropt on ground from Jove's broad tree in field.

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Certain it is, nature prepared the main materials of their subsistence, without any art or labour of theirs; they had but little more to do than to catch or gather what they had provided for them. And during this state of things among any societies of men, of what consideration or value can land be to them, especially when these spontaneous provisions of nature, in all places, are in such abundance that there is no danger of want, and all means of communication or trade with other parts of the world, together with the use of money, among themselves, (which things might impair their stock of provisions, and give a value to them over and above what their own necessities did), are wholly wanting, as we all know was the case with the aborigines of the country? Surely it could not be of such value to them as to put them upon a partage or impropriation of it farther than was done before by the law of nature. Let us suppose an island so separated from the rest of the world as to be under an utter impossibility of any commerce with it; wherein there were inhabitants embodied together in civil societies, yet living almost entirely on what nature prepared to their hands, and so disproportioned in number to the quantity of their provisions that after their consumption of what was needful for them, there remained enough for perhaps ten times the number, and at the same time nothing in the island, either because of its commonness or perishableness, fit to supply the place of money; what inducement could such societies have, by any compact, either with one another, or among themselves respectively, to fix a property in lands, beyond what was done in the way before mentioned by the law of nature, for my own part I cannot excogitate any. And who knows not that this was the very case with the persons I am speaking of, before the arrival of the English here. For this reason, I think it highly probable, yea next to a certainty, that such lands only as their poor way of living rendered their tillage of necessary, (and how small a part was this, compared with the rest of the country)? they put any value upon: The rest they looked upon as of no more price, nor advantage to be impropriated, than the air they breathed in: And therefore, like other things of the like nature in all communities, lay neglected in that common state wherein nature left it. Nor let this be thought strange, since, from divine revelation itself, we have pretty good assurance, that  
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it is no more than was common in the more early times of the world: There we find that in those days men did not always, immediately upon their entering into society, set out the bounds of their distinct territories, and by laws within themselves respectively settle the matter of property; but suffered a great, may I not say the greatest part of the land? to lie in the same common state it was in before. Even in Abraham's time we find men wandered up and down with their flocks and herds, freely and without molestation, seeking pasture where they liked best; and that Abraham himself did this in a country where he was a stranger, and there were many kingdoms or communities of men, and they not newly formed neither. Which to me seems a pretty good evidence, that at least a great part, yea probably the greatest part, of the land lay in common, that the inhabitants valued it not, at least so far as to think it worth their while to come to a partage of it, and fix their respective properties in it: The reasons of which, no doubt, were their rude, mean, inartful way of living, feeding and clothing themselves mainly with what nature prepared; in which preparations, as they were in great plenty, so probably they had no money, or any equivalent of it, that might give a value to any thing above what their way of living did.

I make no doubt there are those who will not scruple to say, the contrary to this is evident in the aboriginès of this country, and that in fact they had, by compact and constitutions positive, (tacit or express), settled the matter of property in lands, each society with its neighbours, and among themselves severally: But be it so, I think it is probable, if not more than so, from what I have said, that they had not; and though I suppose I know the reasons on which they may so assert, as well as they, yet as I think they will scarcely weigh in the balance with the evidence to the contrary given above, so desire to see some further and better reason for it before I believe it. It is very true, that when, after the arrival of the English here, by conversation and commerce with them, they were made sensible of the value of the money they brought with them, and made tender of for land, they could not then but see that the lands beyond what they improved, and so held by the law of nature, might be very profitable to them; and on this, I doubt not, they were full enough in their assertions of this nature, viz. that  
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by compact and constitutions of their own, they were entitled to such and such limits respectively ; but this, I think, can carry with it little evidence of the thing to one who knows what they were, and withal considers what is universally observable in their posterity, at this day, when such a temptation is laid before them. To all which I may add, what I suppose comes pretty near a demonstration in the case, viz. their palpable contradictions one of the other in their pretensions, or the accounts they gave, on this occasion of their respective claims or properties ; one sachem or community often claiming what another did. This who knows not to be fact as to lands in this part of the country,\* where the claims of Hioms, Uncass, and Sannup, are found to interfere ; the consequence of which has been, that persons claiming under them, have endeavoured each one to set up his title in opposition to the other, to the no small expense of time and money, as well as hurt to the public.

Now supposing this to be so, it is evident the hypothesis or opinion of their having quitted the state of nature, and put on some form of policy, merely, does no service to the interest the zealous assertors of it endeavour to advance by it, does not extend native right one inch farther than the former opinion did : For the unavoidable consequence of it is this, viz. that as no societies of them had any common right or property, as such, so neither had any particular member of those societies any, by virtue of any positive constitutions, or otherwise than by the law of nature ; and that setting aside here and there a spot, this or the other person or persons improved, and so impropriated and held by the law of nature, all the rest of the country remained in the same common state wherein it was made, as much the property of the kings of the Indies, on the opposite side of the globe, as theirs. Now, in order to the rendering this opinion of any service to the end for which it is so zealously avouched and advanced by many, it is not enough to assert, yea and make evident too, that our aborigines had quitted the state of nature, and put on some form of policy ; but further, as I before observed, that they had, by compact one with another, and positive constitutions, (tacit or express), determined and settled their bounds, and the terms of each community respectively ; and after this is done, it will be of no advantage still to the pretensions of any particular community,

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munity, or any member or members of it, till we are assured what bounds, by compact with its neighbours, it had, and what settlement its constitutions made of the lands within it; which I conjecture none can do without the help of divination.

This brings me to what I proposed, which was to shew, that on a supposition of the truth of this, (viz. that our aborigines were to be considered as in a state of society civil, and had by these consequent acts determined and regulated the matter of property), all their rights or properties instantly become so perplexed, and in the dark, that nothing can be known or determined upon them, and consequently no good title possibly founded on them. And in pursuance of this, and at the same time to convince the bold avouchers of this opinion, I would demand of them in a few things :

1. On a supposition of the truth of this, who can account for the true extent of the common properties of their respective communities or any one of them? If I have not been misinformed, some pains was formerly taken, both in this and some neighbouring governments, for a resolution in this point; and for that end, persons were deputed to inquire and obtain the best light they could of the natives. What success attended these endeavours, in other governments, I know not; but in this, I suppose none at all. It is true, the gentlemen deputed by this government, to inquire into the claim of the Moheags, made return of something to the assembly, which they called an account or description of their claims by certain abutments, and which the assembly so far had regard to, as, if I mistake not, to allow of its entry on record. But yet, can any of those, who would persuade us to think that native right is our only valuable title, acquiesce in this, or think it of any value, when at the same time their neighbours, the Pequots, Quinebaugs, Nahanticks, (all of them as worthy of credit as the Moheags), give another account, some of them claiming all the lands within those limits, saying the Moheags had none, and others of them claiming at least large tracts within them? I suppose none will deny this to be fact; or if there be that shall do so, that the claimers under Hiums and Sanup will stand by me in it. Now if native right be our only valuable title, what shall be done in this case to know where or in whom this right to these lands is? Certain it is,  
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if they were communities, or bodies politick, properly so called, they had a federative power; and if, in the exercise of it, they made a partage of the lands, in this part of the country, among them, their title respectively was good, and as good in one community as another; and what shall be done in this case? How shall we be satisfied which of them speaks truth, and consequently where the right is, and of whom to be obtained? Nor can it satisfy any but fools to be able, in this case, to say, they have purchased of the natives. Nor is there any thing, I know of, can help in this case, but a supposal of the falseness of all their pretensions to a partage or impropriation of the lands to any limits: And that whatever compacts they made, determining their bounds respectively, they had therein a sole reference to the hunt or game, and designed only an impropriation of that; at the same time, not having the least regard to the lands, nor caring, excepting as above, who had it, it being a thing of no price to them. And this, as it is undoubtedly the truth of the matter, so reduces the right of property of such lands to some certainty, lets us know where or in whom it is, and to whom we must apply for the fixing a property in them. But supposing this difficulty attending this opinion were removed, and the common right of each community set out by monuments; yet

2. Who could tell us what disposition or settlement the constitution (tacit or express) of each society made of the lands within their limits respectively? The resolution of this is as necessary as the other, in order to a determination upon the extent of the properties of any or all of them. I take it for granted, and think it needs no proof, that as all men, by virtue of the grant of the Most High before mentioned, are not only commoners of the earth, but equally so, none having a right by that to claim more or larger portions of it than others, so that when any numbers of them enter into society, and by compact with neighbouring societies, settle their limits, the lands within such limits are the common right of the community, and equally so; and that the several members remain commoners in an equality, till by constitutions of their own, they make another settlement of them. And because this is supposed (by such as assert the politick state of the natives) to have been done by them long before the arrival of the English here, I therefore demand  
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what disposition or settlement did their constitutions make of the lands within their respective limits? When they came to a partage or impropriation, did they impropriate in an equality, or, if not, what other settlement did they make of them? Or if this be thought an unreasonable demand, because of the generality of it, I demand what settlement did the constitutions of any one community (to instance in the Moheags our neighbours) make of the lands within their limits? To be more particular here;

(1.) Where or in whom did they place the lands? I observed but now, they were originally or firstly in the community, and equally so, and must remain so till by acts of their own they make a disposition of them into another hand or hands: And reason will tell every man it must be so. Now, if by acts or laws of their own, they altered the original or primary state of the lands, I demand what was the alteration? Where or in whom did they place or settle them? Did they settle them in any one single person or relation, or in a certain number of men of any certain order or character? On the supposition of the truth of the opinion I am now considering, nothing can be determined of the extent, no, nor the reality, neither of the property of any of them, till this be resolved. I know very well our bigots say here, that their constitutions vested all the lands in their kings, or in the crown, (to use our English phrase); but besides that that is spoken without any proof, or any possibility of it, as I imagine; besides this, I say, allowing it be truth, yet it brings not the state of the lands in any particular community to any certainty, nor resolves us in whom the property of all or any part of them, till we are also resolved in the following particulars also, viz.

(2.) What they intended by sachems or kings, in whom their constitutions vested the lands? Whether such as were so de jure or de facto, i. e. whether such as were rightfully or by the laws and constitutions of the societies so, or in fact only. And in order to this, we must be resolved of the particular form of policy agreed upon in the several societies, viz. whether in case it was monarchical, that they were hereditary or elective monarchies; and not only so, but, moreover, whether Uncass, Sasacus, Aramamet, or any other chief among them, of whom we would obtain lands, be king or monarch, according to the fundamental laws or constitu-  
tions

tions of the society, yea or not; For if not, (the lawful king's right of property being merely and altogether from the concession or grant of the community), they cannot have any pretence to it, nor possibly make out a good title to any other.

(3.) We must be resolved how or in what sense they vested the lands in them? Whether so as to make them their inalienable right or property, as the case seems to be with lands in some constitutions: Or alienable: And if in this last sense, whether they were so absolutely put into their hands, that they had right of disposal where and to whom they saw cause, or in trust only for the use and benefit of the societies respectively? In which sense, as I understand it, all lands in our English dominion are by our constitution vested in the king or crown; and lands in this government are by the charter vested in the corporation, and for that reason are alienable from it, and may become the property of others. If their constitutions vested the lands in their kings in the first sense, by what right or authority did they alienate or dispose of them to others? All alienations made by them must be ipso facto void: For if the communities, in vesting the lands in them, gave them no power of alienation, they could have none. If it be said they were vested in them in the second sense, viz. with an unlimited power of making alienation of them to whom they saw cause; I say this is incredible; for if lands were of such value with them that they saw it worth their while to bring them under the regulation of positive constitutions, it is unreasonable to think they should, in this sense, put them into the hands of any person or persons whatever; and by consequence, (supposing the hypothesis, I am now examining, be true, and that lands by their constitutions (tacit and express) were vested in their kings), it cannot be imagined they had right or power to make a partage or division of their dominions among their own children, to the exclusion of the rest of the community: For which reason, I have ever thought Allawhanhood's, alias Joshua's right, nothing worth, even upon the very principles of the advocates or assertors of it. And if the last sense be asserted, (which indeed carries with it the greatest probability, if any thing of this nature was done among them), then I demand again, by what right or authority did they divide their dominions among their children, (an instance of which was but now given), or make

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conveyances of them to the English? Such alienations must be as void as on the supposition of the truth of the first sense.

(4.) And in case their constitutions vested the lands in their kings in this last sense, viz. in trust, &c. before we can be resolved of the state of the lands in any society, and of the reality and extent of the right or property of any particular member or members of them, we must be resolved also whether any alienations were made by their kings to their subjects, and what they were, together with the tenures in or by which they were to be holden of the grantees?

It is possible in what I have now said, I may not have expressed myself in the most proper terms: It requires perhaps, more knowledge of the law for a person to be able, in an affair of this nature, to do so, than I may pretend to. However, I hope what I have said is intelligible; and being so, may suffice as to what I scope at in it; which is to shew what little service this hypothesis, concerning the aborigines of this country, does to the interest many endeavour to advance and serve by it; and that a supposition of its truth inevitably involves their rights or claims in so many inextricable difficulties, and renders them all so uncertain, perplexed and in the dark, that nothing certain can be known or determined upon them. And though, perhaps, some may think what I have here advanced as necessary, on this hypothesis, to be resolved, in order to a determination upon their rights, absurd, yet I cannot but think all those that think of things, not with the multitude, (who, generally speaking, have too much rubbish in their brains to think of any thing with distinctness), but as they are in themselves, will say, that without a resolution of them nothing can be determined with any certainty upon this matter.

To conclude: The sum of what has been said is this, viz. either they were a people in the state of nature, or they were not. This I suppose, all must allow, there being no third state wherein any persons, either now, or at any time heretofore, were. If they were in the state of nature, they had then right of property only in such lands as they impropriated (and held) by the law of nature, which, as we all know, was only here and there a small spot in the country. If it be said, they had quitted that state, and put on some form of policy, then I say, either they had, by compact and positive constitutions of their own, (tacit or express), settled the  
matter



matter of property, or they had not; If it be said they had not, then it follows, that the state of the lands in the country was not altered from what it was before; but they all (excepting only what was impropriated by the laws of nature) remained in the same common state, and equally the right of every man, as they were before, while the state of nature continued: Nor was the prince or the peasant distinguished, as to right of property in them, otherwise than as in the state of nature. For as property in lands is not included in the notion of a king, or the want of it in that of a subject; so the making one person a king, and another a subject simply in itself, will not make a right of property, and give it to the one, or banish it from the other, without some other act or acts concurrent with it. If it be said, they had brought the lands in the country under the regulation of compact and constitutions of their own, then it will follow, that they had given up their title by the law of nature, that what was before, by the law of nature, the title of any of them to lands, was not, at least, qua such, their title now; but that what right or title any or all of them had now, was by their constitutions positive, the inevitable consequence of which must be, that till those constitutions are declared, and we assured what they determine upon this matter of property, nothing can be known or determined upon the rights of any of them, we cannot say where or in whom right or property was, whether in the prince or people, some or all of them. And this having never been done, it is beyond me to see of what advantage this hypothesis can be to the end for which it is so zealously asserted by some.

But it is time to hasten to an end. And from the whole that has been said, I cannot but think the following must be allowed to have considerable evidence of truth in them, how contrary soever to vulgar sentiments in the present day; viz.

1. That such lands only as any of our aborigines subdued and improved, they had a good right or title to. For although we are sure they had the law of nature, giving them a right of property, by their labour, in what before lay in common, and was equally the right of every man, yet we are not sure (nor indeed have we so much evidence as amounts to a probability) of their having any other law to entitle them to lands, or any thing else, on any conditions whatsoever.

2. That

2. That supposing their chiefs to be kings or civil heads, properly so called, yet there is more reason to suspect a right of property in them, than in any of their subjects. Yea, the more reason to suspect it, because of their dignity. Nothing ever did or can appear evidencing so much as a probability of such a right in them by the positive constitutions of their communities; and as for acquiring it by labour in subduing and cultivating, it is reasonable to think their exaltation rendered that too great a stoop for them.

3. That supposing the English to be the first (of civilized nations) in the discovery or the country, they had (the royal allowance and favour concurring) an undoubted right to enter upon and improve all such parts of it as lay waste or unimproved by the natives, and this without any consideration or allowance made to them for it. Whatever ties prudential considerations might lay them under to acknowledge them, and present them with their gratuities under the notion of their being a price for lands; yet all such lands being like the ocean itself, *publici vel communis juris*, they could be under no obligation from the head of justice. We have as much assurance of this, as we have that lands were held by the natives only by the law of nature, and of that I think pretty good evidence has been given in what has been said on this argument. And by consequence it follows also,

4. That as that darling principle of many, viz, that native right is the only valuable title to any lands in the country, is absurd and foolish, and may with reason be looked upon as one of our vulgar errors; so that the endeavours of any, whether in more early or later times, to maintain and propagate it, (to the prejudice of new settlements, and not only to the disturbance of honest men in their possessions and improvements, but ejection out of them, as well as the hurt of the publick, as they have been without any justifying reasons, so) must be looked upon as very culpable. It is well known that not only in the more early days of the country, but in latter times, there have been those, and they not of the plebs only, who, with a great deal of zeal and application, have laid out themselves in this affair; a zeal and application, which, without a crime I think, I may say, would have been more decorous in them had it been otherwise employed. Native right, they have told us, is our only title; if we have not this, we have nothing. It is not an easy thing  
to

to account for the train of evils that have ensued hereupon, not only to particular plantations and persons, but to the publick, in the great delay and embarrassment of business in our assemblies, as well as the multiplication of suits in the law, beyond account. But how unjustifiable must these things be when in all, the persons I am speaking of, have endeavoured to impose upon us but a mere chimera of fiction? I cannot forbear mentioning here, that among other methods improved by them in the management of their designs, one is, they have endeavored rather to work on our passions than our reason, or to fright us into a belief of this doctrine, and a resolution to stand by it, than to gain us over to it by any evidence of its truth. For whereas they have been very sparing of demonstration, they have been as liberal in assurances (or rather asseverations) that it is the only security of our interests against the claim of one beyond the seas; and that if native right will not invalidate the duke's pretensions, we have nothing else that will. Such nonsense as this, were it found only in some of our homunculi, might be easily overlooked, but when men of education and character shall talk at this rate, it is scarcely to be forgiven. Nor is this the worst neither; but what deserves still a more severe censure is their want of truth and honesty in all, or that whereas in all they have acted under the specious umbrage of serving the publick, it is notorious that nothing less than this has been in design with them; but that, on the other hand, they have been under the governing influence of those corrupt views, which (supposing or allowing there were sufficient reasons, in the nature of the thing, for what they have done) could do no other than render them very guilty therein. I think I am nor too severe in this censure, not in the least break in upon charity by it, since they themselves have given and daily give, that evidence of its truth, which (as the blindest eye cannot see, so) amounts to a demonstration in the case.

JOHN BULKLEY.

Colchester, December 24, 1724.

A SKETCH OF A HISTORY OF GUILFORD, IN CONNECTICUT, FROM A MANUSCRIPT OF THE REV. THOMAS RUGGLES.

GUILFORD, whose Indian name was Menunkatuck, was purchased of the native Indians, who dwelt upon the land. The people who purchased and settled it were a part of the adventurers who came in the first embarkation with governor Eaton to Newhaven, for the enjoyment of religion and liberty: And this was the first town, excepting Newhaven, that was settled in the colony. The planters were from the counties of Surry and Kent, in England, near London; and gave the town the name of Guilford, from their native place in Surry, from whence they chiefly emigrated. With Messrs. Eaton and Hopkins they first landed at Newhaven, and were of the number who signed the agreement at Mr. Newman's barn, and there abode until the year 1639: And after their removal had an immediate connection with Newhaven, of which the whole colony then consisted, which union and intimacy continued as long as the government lasted; though they were nearly independent. The records of several of the first years are not to be found. There is a tradition, that they were accidentally consumed by fire, with the house in which they were lodged. The first things upon record, which follow, being compared with the records of Newhaven, exhibit a pretty good idea of the first transactions of the settlers, viz.

January 31, 1639. Upon a review of the more fixed laws and orders formerly, and from time to time, made, the General Court, here held the day and year abovesaid, tho't fit, agreed and established them according to the ensuing draught, as follows, viz. First, we do acknowledge, ratify, and confirm the agreement made in Mr. Newman's barn, at Quilliapiack, (now Newhaven), that the whole land, called Menunkatuck, should be purchased for us and our heirs; but the deeds and writings, thereabout, to be made and drawn (from the Indians) in the names of these six planters, viz. Henry Whitfield, Robert Kitchel, William Leetee, William Chittenden, John Bishop, and John Caffinge: Notwithstanding, all and every planter shall pay his quota or share towards all the charges and expenses for purchasing, settling,

settling, surveying, and carrying into execution the necessary publick affairs of this plantation, according to such rule and manner of rating as shall be from time to time agreed upon. The draught of the purchase of writing from the Indians is as followeth, viz.

“ Articles of agreement made and agreed upon the 29th day of September, 1639, between Henry Whitfield, &c, English planters, and the Sachem Squaw of Menunkatuck, together with the Indian inhabitants thereof, as followeth, viz. First, that the Sachem Squaw is the sole owner, possessor, and inheritor of all the lands lying between Rutawoo\* and Aigicomock† rivers. 2. That said Sachem Squaw, with the consent of the Indian inhabitants, (who are all to remove from thence), doth sell unto the said English planters, all the lands lying between the said Rutawoo and Aigicomock rivers. [The 3d article relates the particulars of the pay, &c.] Signed, *the Sachem Squaw, her mark; Henry Whitfield*, in the name of the rest. Witnesses, *John Higginson, Robert Newman.*”

However imperfect this short account may be, yet from it, it fully appears that the purchase from the natives was full, clear, and satisfactory: That the purchase was made for, and the purchasers acted in behalf of, the planters as well as themselves: That all divisions of the purchased lands were made to the respective planters, in an exact proportion to the sums they advanced in the purchasing and settling the town: And that the Indians, inhabiting the town, were to, and accordingly did, remove from said land. Where they went to, is not certain: The tradition is, that they removed to the Eastward, where Bransord and Easthaven now are: So that there is not one of the original Indians belonging to the township. From Aigicomock or East-river to Tuxisshoag, (a pond contiguous to East-Guilford meeting-house), was purchased of Uncas, sachem of the Mohegan Indians: From which it appears, that the East-river was the western limits of Uncas's jurisdiction. The remaining part of the town, to Hammonasset-river, Mr. Fenwick, of Saybrook, gave to the town, on this condition, that the planters should accommodate Mr. Whitfield (who was his particular friend) with land in the town, agreeable to his mind. There were some small purchases made of particular Indians, within the limits

\* Stoney Creek.

† East-river.

limits of the township, who claimed a right to particular parts.

As soon as the purchase was completed, the planters removed from Newhaven, though it was almost winter, and settled themselves at Guilford. How the planters conducted themselves until the year 1643, does not appear upon record : only this, the lands were left in the hands of their six purchasers, to whom the Indians gave the deed, as trustees, until a church should be gathered, into whose hands they might commit the fee of the land, to be properly divided amongst the planters. And while they remained in this unsettled state, they chose four of the principal planters, to whom they gave the full exercise of all civil power, for administering justice, and preserving the peace among the planters ; whose power was also to continue till the church appeared in form, when their power was to end.

As, therefore, so much depended on this, as soon as their wilderness state would admit, they did, in the month of April, 1643, form themselves into a congregational church, into whose hands the purchasers of the land, and the persons invested with civil power, did actually, in a formal manner, in writing, resign all their rights and authority unto the church gathered on that day. Presently after this, the planters, who were chiefly church members, made regular divisions of all the lands, according to their respective shares, agreeably to their original covenant, and according to their expenses and number in each family, (servants excepted). But their divisions of land were under two restrictions : First, that no one should put into stock more than £500, without liberty : And 2. That no person should sell or alien, in any manner, or purchase the share, or any part thereof, allotted to another, without express liberty from the community. The last article was strictly observed, which proved highly beneficial to the town, by preventing persons engrossing too much land ; and sundry persons, who presumed to violate this agreement, were punished by fines and whipping. As this plantation was connected with Newhaven, the inhabitants carefully adhered to the agreement made in Mr. Newman's barn, in all their affairs, religious and civil.

The planters, finding civil government absolutely necessary for their subsistence, established a system, as nearly as they could, conformed to the grant from the lords Say and Brook

Brook to Mr. Eaton and company. Their form of government was something singular. Like that at Newhaven, it was a pure aristocracy, yet modelled and exercised in a peculiar way. They had one magistrate, who was Mr. Samuel Desborow, allowed them as a part of Newhaven colony, of which he was one of the assistants and council, who was their head, and invested with the whole executive and judicial power. But the planters were allowed to choose, annually, three or four deputies to sit with him, in judging and awarding punishments in all civil causes, in courts held by him, which were called General Courts. The inhabitants were divided into classes, or orders, by the names of freemen and planters. The freemen consisted of all the church members who partook of the sacrament, and no others were admitted. They were all under oath, agreeably to their plan of government. Out of this number were those deputies, and all publick officers, chosen; and by them was managed all publick business that was regarded either interesting or honourable. The second class included all the inhabitants of the town, who composed their town-meetings, which were styled, emphatically, General Courts. It was however required, that they should be of age, (twenty-one years), and have a certain estate, to qualify them to act in said meetings. In these town-meetings, or general courts, all divisions of land were limited and established, and all the bye or peculiar laws, for the well-ordering the plantation, were made. And, in general, all transgressions of the town-laws, relating to the buying or selling land, were punished, and fines and stripes were imposed and executed, according to the nature of the offence, by the judgment of the said judicial court. Besides these general assemblies of the planters, and the said magistrates' court, they appointed particular courts for the administration of justice, much like our justices' courts at present. These were held quarterly through the year. The magistrate presided in these courts, and deputies were annually chosen to sit in council with him, in these courts also, by the freemen. Like Newhaven, they had no juries in any trial; their deputies, in some measure, supplied that defect. From this court lay appeals, in allowed cases, to the court of assistants at Newhaven. The said Mr. Samuel Desborow was the first magistrate who held the courts. In general, their judgment was final and decisive. Town officers

were annually chosen, viz. marshals, a secretary, surveyors of highways, &c. much in the present manner. Military order and discipline were soon established, and watch and ward were kept, day and night, under a very strict charge; and the punishments for defaults, in this duty, were very severe and exactly executed. Many of the houses were fortified with palisadoes, set deep in the ground. And a guard of soldiers, under a proper officer, was appointed every sabbath, in time of publick worship, that no enemy might surprise them, and this was continued many years. All the laws, orders, and regulations were entered at large upon the town records.

#### ECCLESIASTICAL MATTERS.

The Rev. Mr. Henry Whitfield, who led forth this little flock into the wilderness, was their first pastor and minister. He had been episcopally ordained in England. No mention is made on record, or by tradition, of any ordination of him here. As the members of his church came with him, and were his cure in England, gathering the church here seems to have been only matter of form, arising from place and local distance, on their removal; but he exercised his ministerial authority in the same manner, and by the same authority, he had done in England. Neither minister, church, or people, were ever dissenters or separates from the church of England, only by local remove from the realm. The minister and church were as truly such in Guilford as in England: All which rights, powers, and privileges remain to this day; and to depart from its communion, from any pleas of the professors of the church of England, are unreasonable, and without good foundation. Like the church in Newhaven, they required a relation of experiences of members on their admission into the church.

Mr. Whitfield, their pastor, was a well-bred gentleman, a good scholar, a great divine, and an excellent preacher. He was properly the father of the plantation. He loved his flock tenderly, and was extremely beloved by them. He was possessed of a large estate, and by far the richest of any of the planters; all which he laid out and spent in the plantation, for the benefit of it. At his own expense he built a large, firm, (and for those days), handsome stone house, which served as a fort for himself and many of the inhabitants, upon the land allotted to him by the planters, in a very



very conspicuous and delightful place, having an extensive view of the sea in front; and, with a comparatively small expense, might now be made the most durable and best house in the town: [That house has since been handsomely repaired]: A lasting memorial of his greatness and benefactions to the town. In the change of times in England, under the commonwealth, he returned thither. Several of the planters returned with him; among whom was Mr. Desborow, (who was a near relation of colonel Desborow), Mr. Jordan, &c. It was then the general opinion that the whole plantation would be deserted, as they had opportunity to transport themselves and families.

In consequence of his own expenses in purchasing the plantation, and Mr. Fenwick's gift of the eastern part of the town, Mr. Whitfield had a large and very valuable allotment of some of the best lands in the township allotted him.

Upon his return to England, he offered all his estate to the planters upon very low terms; but partly from poverty, but chiefly from a persuasion that they should all follow him, they did not make the purchase; but when it was too late, they repented their refusal. After his return home, he sold his estate to major Thompson, to whose heirs it descended. No mention is made on record of the time of Mr. Whitfield's removal; the tradition is, that he lived in the plantation about twelve years. When he left them, he left Mr. John Higginson, his son in law, their teacher. He was son to Mr. Higginson, first pastor of Salem church. He preached first at Saybrook fort, as chaplain, about the year 1643; after which he removed to Guilford, was one of the seven pillars, and assisted Mr. Whitfield in preaching until his removal. He was never ordained in Guilford; but Mr. Whitfield left him to take care of the flock, as their teacher. In this work he continued about twelve years, and then determined to go to England. After Mr. Higginson's removal, the town was in a very unsettled state for about twenty years. There were several who ministered to them, particularly Mr. Bowers, who had a house and land in the town, but afterwards removed to Newhaven and Derby. In this headless state of the church, they fell into great confusion, by diversity of opinions; many removed to Killingworth, (about ten miles east), which was then settling; some of them returned afterwards, of whom was Doctor Rosseter.

Rosseter. After they had waded through those troublesome times, about the year — Mr. Joseph Elliot, son of the famous and pious Mr. John Elliot, of Roxbury, the Indian New-England apostle, was ordained over the church here. After he had preached about thirty years, he died, May 24, 1694. Some time after, in the summer of this year, Mr. Thomas Ruggles, of Roxbury, came and preached as a candidate; and in the fall of the year 1695 was ordained pastor of the church, under whose ministry the church enjoyed great peace, and religion flourished, though the seeds of division were then sowed. He deceased June 1, 1728. His eldest son, Thomas Ruggles, succeeded him March 26, 1729, (who was the author of this manuscript.)

LETTER FROM THE REV. DR. BELKNAP TO THE HON. JUDGE MINOT, CONTAINING SOME PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO FIRE-ENGINES, FIRES, AND BUILDINGS, AT DIFFERENT PERIODS, IN BOSTON.

*June 30, 1725.*

DEAR SIR,

AN anxious desire that the strictest adherence to historical truth, in the most minute instances, may ever be a characteristic of every member of the Historical Society, induces me to send you some observations on an expression in your late elegant address to the newly-incorporated Fire-Society, of which you are the Vice-President.

In page 7, you speak of "eight extensive fires which took place in this town before the introduction of fire engines, *which probably was not till after the year 1711.*" The same remark is made by our brother Pemberton, in his "description of Boston," published in our collections for the last year, page 269. "We understand *they had not then (viz. 1711) in the town any fire engines*; and the method taken to stop the progress of the fire, by blowing up the houses, had a contrary effect, and served to scatter it."

This last remark I have frequently heard from persons who remembered that great and terrible fire; and the practice of blowing up houses has ever since that time been discontinued. But you and Mr. Pemberton have fallen into a mistake respecting the fire engines. Mr. Caleb Ray, now in the 90th year of his age, was a boy of five years old at the  
time

time of that fire. He says there were then two engines in the town, one at the north, and the other at the south end ; and he well remembers seeing the latter pass by the house, in which he then lived, to go to the fire. These engines were constructed of wood, with iron hoops, as some of the old engines are now ; but at what time previous to 1711 they were introduced into the town, he cannot tell.

He also remembers the old meeting-house which was then burnt, but it was not " the first erected in the town " as Mr. Pemberton says. Mr. Ray remembers being told, by one of his ancestors that the first meeting-house stood where the branch bank of the United States is now kept ; that it had mud walls and a thatched roof ; but that which was burnt stood in the place of the present old brick meeting-house. He told me these things some time ago ; but I have refreshed my memory by another conversation with him this morning.

Permit me to communicate one melancholy circumstance attending the fire of 1711. I had it from the late doctor Byles, and it is confirmed by Mr. Ray, both of whom were nearly of the same age. As the fire began in Williams's court, and the wind was southerly, the meeting-house was soon found to be in danger, and some sailors went up into the steeple or cupola to save the bell. Whilst they were engaged in this service, the house was on fire below, and the stairs were consumed. They were seen at work just before the roof fell in, and all perished in the flames.

Several persons were in the same perilous situation when Faneuil-hall was burnt in 1761; they were endeavouring to save the bell, and the stairs were burnt under them ; but they were happily delivered by means of a ladder, which being too short, was supported at the bottom on men's shoulders.

It is worthy of remark, that two of the greatest conflagrations in this town, those of 1711 and 1760, began nearly at the same spot; though the direction of the wind being different, in the former south, the latter north-west, the fire raged through different quarters of the town.

Curiosity has led me frequently to remark the various modes of building at sundry periods, especially after any great conflagration. The houses and warehouses near the town-dock, which were rebuilt after the great fire of 1679, were either constructed with brick, or plastered on the outside

side with a strong cement, intermixed with gravel and glass, and slated on the top. Several of these plastered houses are yet remaining in Ann-street, in their original form; others have been altered and repaired. They were two stories high, with a garret in the high peaked roof. Those which were built after the fire of 1711, were of brick, three stories high, with a garret, a flat roof and ballustrade. They are on both sides of Cornhill, and of the State-house. Those built after the fire of 1760, were almost wholly (except shops) of brick and slate. They extend from Devonshire-street, through Water-street, Quaker-lane, Kilby-street, the lower part of Milk-street, and round the east side of Fort-hill. The only remaining ruin of this fire is a brick wall by the side of a smith's shop, the corner of Water and Devonshire streets.

Those which have been erected since the fire of 1787, and some of those since that of last July, are of wood, with three upright stories, and a flat roof, *shingled*. This style of building prevails much at present. Three things ought to be attended to in the construction of such houses. (1.) That between the outside covering and the inside plastering, they be filled in with half-burnt bricks; this renders them warm, and checks the *rapid* progress of fire. (2.) That where two houses are contiguous, they be separated by a brick party wall, rising above the roofs; this has the same effects. (3.) That the shingles of the roof be well painted; this has three good effects; it preserves the shingles; it keeps the rain-water, that is caught in cisterns, very clean; and what is more than all, it prevents the growth of *moss* on the roof, which, when dry, like tinder, is susceptible of inflammation from the smallest spark.

I am, dear sir, with great esteem, your affectionate friend,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

G. R. MINOT, Esquire.

QUERIES RESPECTING THE SLAVERY AND EMANCIPATION  
OF NEGROES IN MASSACHUSETTS, PROPOSED BY THE  
HON. JUDGE TUCKER OF VIRGINIA, AND ANSWERED BY  
THE REV. DR. BELKNAP.

*Williamsburg, Virginia, Jan. 24, 1795.*

SIR,

HAVING never visited the eastern states, it has been my misfortune never to have had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with any of those eminent literary characters which that part of the United States has produced, and if I may credit fame, abounds with, more than any other part of our common country: A circumstance, probably not more mortifying to myself, than of real disadvantage to this part of the United States, since a more frequent intercourse, and intimate acquaintance, between the several parts of the Union, would probably contribute more to remove local prejudices, and cement the bond of union, than any other project, unsupported by such a foundation. To supply, as far as respects myself, this inconvenience, in some measure, I have prevailed on my friend, the Rev. Mr. Hust, to favour me with a letter of introduction, which I take the liberty to enclose, and to request your pardon for thus intruding my correspondence upon you; a liberty which private considerations, alone, could scarcely justify on any account, and which, I fear, you will think fully commensurate to the occasion which prompts it.

The introduction of slavery into this country, is at this day considered among its greatest misfortunes, by a very great majority of those who are reproached for an evil, which the present generation could no more have avoided, than an hereditary gout or leprosy. The malady has proceeded so far, as to render it doubtful whether any specific can be found to eradicate, or even to palliate the disease. Having, in my official character as *professor of law in the college* at this place, had occasion to notice the several acts of the legislature on the subject, I find that even before the commencement of the present century an attempt was made to check the importation of slaves, by imposing a duty on them: The act was indeed only temporary, but was renewed as often as the influence of the African company in England would permit. At length the duty was made payable by  
the

the buyers; but the acts imposing it were still temporary, though constantly renewed whenever an extraordinary supply of money was required; and was gradually increased from five to twenty per cent. ad valorem. As soon as the revolution took place, the legislature passed an act prohibiting the importation of slaves under the severest penalties; and permitting, what had hitherto been prohibited, the voluntary emancipation of them, by their masters. The question of a general emancipation has not, that I know, been brought on the carpet in the legislature; but I am fully persuaded that circumstance is altogether owing to the difficulties which present themselves to every reflecting mind. To assist in removing them, is the object of this letter; for having observed, with much pleasure, that slavery has been wholly exterminated from the Massachusetts; and being impressed with an idea, that it once had existence there, I have cherished a hope that we may, from the example of our sister state, learn what methods are most likely to succeed in removing the same evil from among ourselves. With this view, I have taken the liberty to enclose a few queries, which, if your leisure will permit you to answer, you will confer on me a favour, which I shall always consider as an obligation: And if, in the pursuits in which you are engaged, any subject should occur, in which you may be disposed to obtain information from this quarter, I will not promise to afford it you, but I assure you that I will most faithfully endeavour to do it.

I am, very respectfully, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

S. G. TUCKER.

REV. DR. BELKNAP.

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In consequence of the foregoing letter, the queries which it enclosed were printed, and about forty copies were distributed among such gentlemen as it was supposed would assist in answering them. Some of them gave answers, from which, and from other sources of information, the subsequent facts and observations were drawn, and sent to the querist.  
April 21, 1795.

J. B.

*Queries*

*Queries respecting the introduction, progress, and abolition of slavery in Massachusetts.*

1. The first introduction of negroes or other slaves into Massachusetts?

2. Whether the African trade was carried on thither? at what period it commenced? to what extent it was carried on? when it began to decline? and when it was wholly discontinued?

3. Whether it was carried on by European or American adventurers? by what means its declension first began? whether from legislative discouragement or other causes? and to what causes its abolition is to be ascribed?

4. The state of slavery in Massachusetts when slaves were most numerous? their number when most numerous? their proportion to the number of white persons at that period?

5. The mode by which slavery hath been abolished there? whether by a general and simultaneous emancipation? or at different periods? or whether by declaring all persons born after a particular period free?

6. At what period slavery was wholly abolished? what were their numbers and proportion to the whites at that period?

7. What is the condition of emancipated negroes? is any and what provision made for their education and maintenance, during infancy, or in a state of decrepitude, age or insanity?

8. What are their principal rights or disabilities? if there be any discrimination between them and white persons?

9. Is there any perceptible difference between the general, moral, or social conduct of emancipated persons or their descendants and others?

10. Are intermarriages frequent between blacks and whites? if so, are such alliances more frequent between black men and white women, or the contrary?

11. Does harmony in general prevail between the blacks and white citizens? do they associate freely together? or is there a pre-eminence claimed by the one, and either avowedly or tacitly admitted by the other?

Query 1. The first introduction of negroes, or other slaves, into Massachusetts ?

In answer to this query, I have made the following extracts from the most ancient histories, records, and laws, which I have had opportunity of examining.

In the month of June, 1630, governor WINTHROP, and others, who had just before arrived at Salem with the Massachusetts charter, came into the bay or harbour, which is now called Boston harbour, to look out a place for their settlement. Among other scattered planters or traders, who had previously seated themselves on the shores and islands of this bay, they found SAMUEL MAVERICK,\* residing on Noddle's island ; where he had built a small fort, mounted with four great guns, to protect him from the Indians.

In 1638, JOHN JOSSELYN came to New-England, and lodged at the house of said Maverick, whom he represents as a very hospitable man, "giving entertainment to all comers, gratis."

Whilst he lodged here, he says, "On the 2d of October, 1639, about nine o'clock in the morning, Mr. Maverick's *negro woman* came to my chamber window, and, in her own country language and tune, sang very loud and shrill. Going out to her, she used a great deal of respect toward me, and would willingly have expressed her grief, in English, had she been able to speak the language ; but I apprehended it by her countenance and deportment. Whereupon I repaired to my host, to learn of him the cause, and resolved to intreat him in her behalf ; for I understood before, that she had been a queen in her own country, and observed a very humble and dutiful garb used towards her, by another *negro*, who was her *maid*. Mr. Maverick was desirous to have a breed of negroes ; and therefore seeing she would not yield by persuasions to company with a *negro young man*, he had in his house, he commanded him, will'd she, nill'd she, to go to bed to her ; which was no sooner done, but she kicked him out again. This she took in high disdain, beyond her slavery, and this was the cause of her grief."

In a collection of laws respecting servants, enacted between 1630 and 1641, I find the following, viz.

"7. No servant shall be put off for above a year to any other, neither in the life time of their master, nor after their death,

\* This was the father of Samuel Maverick, who was one of the commissioners of king Charles II. to the colonies, 1665. See Hutchinson, vol. 1. p. 230. Josselyn's Voyage, p. 252.



death, by their executors or administrators, unless it be by consent of authority assembled in some court, or two assistants; otherwise, all and every such assignment shall be void in law.

“8. If any man smite out the eye or tooth of his manservant or maid-servant, or otherwise maim or disfigure them (unless it be by mere casualty) he shall let them go free from his service, and shall allow such further recompence as the court shall adjudge him.

“9. All servants that have served diligently and faithfully, to the benefit of their masters, *seven years*, shall not be sent away empty; and if any have been unfaithful, negligent or unprofitable, in their service, notwithstanding the good usage of their masters, they shall not be dismissed, till they have made satisfaction according to the judgment of authority.”

In 1645, the General Court of Massachusetts, which then exercised jurisdiction over the settlements at Pascataqua, “thought proper to write to Mr. Williams, residing there, understanding that the *negroes* which captain Smyth brought, were fraudulently and injuriously taken and brought from Guinea, by captain Smyth’s confession, and the rest of the company; that he forthwith send the negro, which he had of captain Smyth, hither; that he may be sent home; which this court do resolve to send back without delay. And if you have any thing to allege, why you should not return him, to be disposed of by the court, it will be expected you should forthwith make it appear, either by yourself or your agent.”

About the same time, viz. 1645, a law was made, “prohibiting the buying and selling of slaves, except those taken in lawful war, or reduced to servitude for their crimes by a judicial sentence; and these were to have the same privileges as were allowed by the law of Moses.”

Among the laws for punishing capital crimes, enacted in 1649, is the following, viz.

“10. If any man *stealeth* a man or mankind, he shall surely be put to death. Exodus xxi. 16.”

Josselyn, in his description of New-England, which he visited twice, and spent ten years in the country, from 1663 to 1673, speaking of the people of Boston, says,

“They have store of children, and are well accommodated  
with

with servants ; of these some are English and others *negroes*."

These are all the facts which I have been able to collect respecting *negroes*, in the early days of New-England. From thence it appears that slavery did exist in a small proportion ; that the laws discouraged it, and that the public sentiment was against it ; but that the evil was not eradicated.

No *other slaves* were known here in those days, excepting some of the aboriginals of the country ; who had, at various times, submitted themselves to the government, and received its protection ; and had enjoyed in a degree the benefits of civilization, and of evangelical missions, so that they were denominated "praying Indians." Of these, some did, in 1675, 6 and 7, join with other natives in a war against the colonies, commonly called king Phillip's war. Such as were taken in arms, were adjudged guilty of *rebellion*. A few of them were put to death, by a judicial sentence ; but the greater part were sold into slavery in foreign countries. Some of these latter found their way home, and joined with the hostile Indians, in a severe revenge on the English, in a succeeding war. (See Hist. N. Hampshire, vol. 1. p. 245.)

Query 2. Whether the African trade was carried on thither ? at what period it commenced ? to what extent it was carried on ? when it began to decline ? and when it was wholly discontinued ?

The African trade never was prosecuted in any great degree by the merchants of Massachusetts. No records or memorials are remaining by which any thing respecting it, in the last century, can be known. There was a connexion in trade between this colony and that of Barbadoes, which was begun about the same time ; and some families went from hence to settle there. It is therefore probable that *negroes* might have been introduced here by means of that connexion.

In 1703, a duty of £.4 was laid on every negro imported ; for the payment of which, both the vessel and master were answerable. How long this duty was exacted, I know not.

By the inquiries which I have made of our oldest merchants now living, I cannot find that more than three ships in a year, belonging to this port, were ever employed in the African

African trade. The rum distilled here was the main spring of this traffick. The slaves purchased in Africa, were chiefly sold in the West Indies, or in the southern colonies; but when those markets were glutted, and the price low, some of them were brought hither. Very few whole cargoes ever came to this port: One gentleman says he remembers two or three: I remember one, between 30 and 40 years ago, which consisted almost wholly of children. At Rhode-Island, the rum distillery and the African trade were prosecuted to a greater extent than in Boston; and I believe no other sea-port in Massachusetts had any concern in the slave business. Some times the Rhode-Island vessels, after having sold their prime slaves in the West-Indies, brought the remnants of their cargoes hither for sale. Since this commerce has declined, the town of Newport has gone to decay.

About the time of the stamp-act, this trade began to decline, and in 1788 it was prohibited by law. This could not have been done, previous to the revolution, as the governors sent hither from England, it is said, were instructed not to consent to any acts made for that purpose. The causes of its declension and prohibition will be more distinctly stated, in answer to the 3d and 5th queries.

Query 3. Whether it was carried on by European or American adventurers? by what means its declension first began? whether from legislative discouragement, or other causes? and to what causes its abolition is to be ascribed?

I do not find that European adventurers to Africa had any other concern here, than to procure cargoes of our rum, to assist them in carrying on their business.

A few only of our merchants were engaged in this kind of traffick. It required a large capital, and was considered as peculiarly hazardous, though gainful. It was never supported by popular opinion; and the voice of conscience was against it. A degree of infamy was attached to the characters of those who were employed in it; several of them, in their last hours, bitterly lamented their concern in it; and the friends of seamen, who had perished by the climate of Guinea, or in contests with the natives, became seriously prejudiced against the business.

Reflecting persons were divided in their opinions on the  
lawfulness

lawfulness of the traffick in slaves. SAMUEL SEWALL, formerly chief justice of the province, publickly protested against it, and wrote a pamphlet, entitled, "Joseph sold, a memorial." Others disliked it from prudential considerations. Many conscientious persons, who would by no means have engaged directly in the trade to Africa, yet, when negroes were brought hither, had no scruple to buy them; because they supposed that an education in "a land of gospel-light" was preferable to one in "heathenish darkness." They contended that the buying them, and holding them in servitude, might be justified by the example of Abraham, and other good men of antiquity; and as his servants were circumcised, theirs were baptized. Labouring people, of the white complexion, complained of the blacks as intruders; and the vulgar reprobated them as the "seed of Cain," and wished them back to their own country.

Not much, however, was said in a publick and formal manner, till we began to feel the weight of oppression from "our mother country," as Britain was then called. The inconsistency of pleading for our own rights and liberties, whilst we encouraged the subjugation of others, was very apparent; and from that time, both slavery and the slave-trade began to be discountenanced. The principal cause was *publick opinion*; and the present generation, at an early stage of life, imbibed that opinion, which has "grown with their growth, and strengthened with their strength."

I shall say more of this, in answer to the 5th query, and will then particularly relate the means by which the trade was prohibited.

Query 4. The state of slavery in Massachusetts, when slaves were most numerous? their number when most numerous? their proportion to the number of white persons, at that period?

We never had any thing like a *census* before the year 1763; and then, being an unpopular measure, it was not very accurately taken. There was another in 1776, and a third in 1784; in all of these, the number of whites stands distinguished from the number of blacks thus.

Years.	Whites.	Blacks.	Proportion.
1763	235,810	5,214	45 to 1
1776	343,845	5,249	65 to 1
1784	353,133	4,377	80 to 1

In 1790, a census of the United States was made by order of the federal government; the schedule sent out on that occasion contained three columns for free whites of several descriptions, which, in the state of Massachusetts and district of Maine, amounted to 469,326; a fourth for "all other free persons," and a fifth for "slaves." There being none put into the last column, it became necessary to put the *blacks* with the *Indians*, into the fourth column, and the amount was 6001. Of this number, I suppose the blacks were upwards of 4000; and of the remaining 2000, many were a mixed breed, between Indians and blacks. If we reckon the blacks at 5000, their proportion to the whites at that time was as 1 to 93.

I am inclined to think that slaves were more numerous before 1763, than at that time, because, in the two preceding wars, many of them enlisted either into the army or on board vessels of war, with a view to procure their freedom. One of my informants, PRINCE HALL, a very intelligent black man, aged fifty-seven years, thinks that slaves were most numerous about the year 1745. What their proportion was to the whites, at that time, I have no means to ascertain; but I think it could not have been more than 1 to 40. I do not make use of bills of mortality in estimating their number in proportion to the whites; because the blacks were always more sickly and died in greater proportion.

The winter here was always unfavourable to the African constitution. For this reason, white labourers were preferable to blacks; and as whites were more numerous, there was not much encouragement to the importation of blacks, nor were they ever so prolific here as the whites. In the maritime towns, blacks were more numerous than in the country; and I suppose Boston generally contained nearly one fourth part of the whole number of them. Excepting such tradesmen as rope-makers, anchor-smiths, and ship-carpenters, who employ a great many hands, scarcely any family had more than two; some not more than one; and many none at all. In the country towns, I have never heard of more than three or four on a farm, except in one instance, where the number was sixteen, and this was a distinguished singularity. The greater number of husbandmen preferred white to black labourers.

Negro children were reckoned an incumbrance in a family; and when weaned, were given away like puppies. They have been publicly advertised in the newspapers "to be given away."

The condition of our slaves, however, was far from rigorous. No greater labour was exacted of them than of white people; in general, they were not *able* to perform so much. They had always the free enjoyment of the sabbath as a day of rest. A house of correction, to which disorderly persons of all colours were sent, formed one object of terror to them; but to be sold to the West-Indies, or to Carolina, was the highest punishment that could be threatened or inflicted.

In the maritime towns, the negroes served either in families or at mechanical employments; and in either case, they fared no worse than other persons of the same class. In the country, they lived as well as their masters, and often sat down at the same table, in the true style of *republican equality*.

Persons of illiberal and tyrannical dispositions would sometimes abuse them; but, in general, their treatment was humane, especially if their own tempers were mild and peaceable.

They were never enrolled in the militia; but on days of military training, and other seasons of festivity, they were indulged in such diversions as were agreeable to them.

They were inventoried and taxed as rateable property, but were not so attached to an estate as to be sold with it.

Such of them as were prudent and industrious, purchased their freedom. Some were liberated by their masters; but there was a law against their manumission, unless their masters gave bonds that their estates and heirs should maintain them, in case of sickness or decrepitude, so that they might not become a burden to the public.

Another law forbade them to be out in the streets after nine o'clock in the evening, on pain of being sent to the house of correction. They were forbidden to strike a white man, on penalty of being sold out of the province. The marriage of blacks with whites was prohibited. If the man was white, a fine of five pounds was required of him; and fifty pounds was the fine of the person officiating; but the marriage was not annulled. The intercourse of the sexes was often irregular, but not more so than among the same people

people in other parts of America. Some of the owners of slaves were careful to instruct them in reading, and in the doctrines and duties of religion; and there have been instances among the Africans here, of persons who have profited by these instructions, and have sustained a virtuous and exemplary character.

Query 5. The mode by which slavery hath been abolished? whether by a general and simultaneous emancipation? or at different periods? or whether by declaring all persons born after a particular period, free?

The general answer is, that slavery hath been abolished here by *publick opinion*; which began to be established about thirty years ago. At the beginning of our controversy with Great-Britain, several persons, who before had entertained sentiments opposed to the slavery of the blacks, did then take occasion publickly to remonstrate against the inconsistency of contending for our own liberty, and at the same time depriving other people of theirs. Pamphlets and news-paper essays appeared on the subject; it often entered into the conversation of reflecting people; and many, who had, without remorse, been the purchasers of slaves, condemned themselves, and retracted their former opinion. The Quakers were zealous against slavery, and the slave trade; and by their means, the writings of ANTHONY BENEZET, of Philadelphia, JOHN WOOLMAN, of New-Jersey, and others, were spread through the country. NATHANIEL APPLETON and JAMES SWAN, merchants, of Boston, and Dr. BENJAMIN RUSH, of Philadelphia, distinguished themselves as writers on the side of liberty. Those on the other side generally concealed their names; but their arguments were not suffered to rest long without an answer. The controversy began about the year 1766, and was renewed at various times, till 1773, when it was very warmly agitated, and became a subject of forensic disputation at the publick commencement in Harvard college.

In 1767, an attempt was made by the legislature to discourage the slave trade. A bill was brought into the house of representatives "to prevent the unnatural and unwarrantable custom of enslaving mankind, and the importation of slaves into the province." In its progress, it was changed to "an act for laying an impost on negroes imported." It

was so altered and curtailed by the council, then the upper house, that the other house were offended, and would not concur, and thus it failed. Had it passed both houses in any form whatever, governor BERNARD would not have consented to it.

In 1773, another attempt of the same kind was made. It was grounded on a petition from the negroes, which was read in the assembly June 23, and referred to the next session. In January, 1774, a bill was brought in, entitled "an act to prevent the importation of negroes, and others, as slaves into this province." It passed all the forms in the two houses, and was laid before governor HUTCHINSON, for his consent, March 8. On the next day the assembly was prorogued, after a morose message from the governor, between whom and the two houses there had been a warm contest on other subjects. The negroes had deputed a committee respectfully to solicit the governor's consent; but he told them that his instructions forbid it. His successor, general GAGE, gave them the same answer, when they waited on him.

The blacks had better success in the judicial courts. A pamphlet, containing the case of a negro, who had accompanied his master from the West-Indies to England, and had there sued for, and obtained his freedom, was reprinted here; and this encouraged several negroes to sue their masters for their freedom, and for recompense for their service, after they had attained the age of twenty-one years. The first trial of this kind was in 1770. The negroes collected money among themselves to carry on the suit, and it terminated favourably for them. Other suits were instituted between that time and the revolution, and the juries invariably gave their verdict in favour of liberty. The pleas on the part of the masters were, that the negroes were purchased in open market, and bills of sale were produced in evidence; that the laws of the province recognized slavery as existing in it, by declaring that no person should manumit his slave without giving bond for his maintenance, &c. On the part of the blacks it was pleaded, that the royal charter expressly declared all persons born or residing in the province, to be as free as the king's subjects in Great-Britain; that by the laws of England, no man could be deprived of his liberty but by the judgment of his peers; that the laws of the province respecting an evil existing, and attempting to  
mitigate



mitigate or regulate it, did not authorise it; and, on some occasions, the plea was, that though the slavery of the parents be admitted, yet no disability of that kind could descend to children.

During the revolution-war, the *publick opinion* was so strongly in favour of the abolition of slavery, that in some of the country towns, votes were passed in town-meetings, that they would have no slaves among them; and that they would not exact of masters, any bonds for the maintenance of liberated blacks, if they should become incapable of supporting themselves.

In New-Hampshire, (where I then resided), those blacks who enlisted into the army for three years, were entitled to the same bounty as the whites. This bounty their masters received as the price of their liberty, and then delivered up their bills of sale, and gave them a certificate of manumission. Several of these bills and certificates were deposited in my hands; and those who survived the three years' service, were free.

The present constitution of Massachusetts was established in 1780. The first article of the declaration of rights asserts, that "all men are born free and equal." This was inserted not merely as a moral or political truth, but with a particular view to establish the liberation of the negroes on a general principle, and so it was understood by the people at large; but some doubted whether this was sufficient.

Many of the blacks, taking advantage of the *publick opinion* and of this general assertion in the bill of rights, asked their freedom, and obtained it. Others took it without leave. Some of the aged and infirm thought it most prudent to continue in the families where they had always been well used, and experience has proved that they acted right.

In 1781, at the court in Worcester county, an indictment was found against a white man for assaulting, beating, and imprisoning a black. He was tried at the Supreme Judicial Court in 1783. His defence was, that the black was his slave, and that the beating, &c. was the necessary restraint and correction of the master. This was answered by citing the aforesaid clause in the declaration of rights. The judges and jury were of opinion that he had no right to beat or imprison the negro. He was found guilty, and fined forty shillings. This decision was a mortal wound to slavery in Massachusetts. The

The state of New-Hampshire established their constitution in 1783; and in the first article of the declaration of rights, it is asserted, that "all men are *born* equally free and independent." The construction there put on this clause is, that all who have been *born* since the constitution, are free; but that those who were in slavery before, are not liberated by it. By reason of this construction, (which, by the way, I do not intend to vindicate), the blacks in that state are in the late census distinguished into free and slaves, there being no Indians residing within those limits.

In the same census, as hath been before observed, no slaves are set down to Massachusetts. This return made by the marshal of the district, may be considered as the formal evidence of the *abolition of slavery* in Massachusetts, especially as no person has appeared to contest the legality of the return.

*The prohibition of the slave trade* was effected in the following manner. In the month of February, 1788, just after the adoption of the present federal constitution by the convention of Massachusetts, a most flagrant violation of the laws of society and of humanity was perpetrated in this town, by one AVERY, a native of Connecticut. By the assistance of another infamous fellow, he decoyed three unsuspecting black men on board a vessel which he had chartered, and sent them down into the hold, to work. Whilst they were there employed, the vessel came to sail, and went to sea, having been previously cleared out for Martinico.

As soon as this infamous transaction was known, governor HANCOCK, and M. L'ETOMBE, the French consul, wrote letters to the governors of all the islands in the West-Indies, in favour of the decoyed blacks. The publick indignation being greatly excited against the actors in this affair, and against others who had been concerned in the traffick of slaves, it was thought proper to take advantage of the ferment, and bring good out of evil.

Accordingly, in the association of the Boston clergy, originated a petition to the legislature, praying for an act to prohibit the equipping and insuring vessels bound to Africa for slaves, and providing against the carrying innocent blacks from home. This petition was circulated, and signed by a great number of reputable citizens. The blacks were urged to present a similar petition, which they did; and fortunately

fortunately another of the same kind, from the society of Quakers, presented at a former session, was then lying on the table. All these were brought up together; and the effect was, an act passed March 26, 1788, "to prevent the slave trade, and for granting relief to the families of such unhappy persons as may be kidnapped or decoyed away from this commonwealth." By this law it is enacted, "that no citizen, residing within this commonwealth, shall, for himself or any other person, either as master, factor, supercargo, owner, or hirer, in whole or in part, of any vessel, directly or indirectly, import, or transport, or buy or sell, or receive on board his or their vessel, with intent to cause to be transported or imported, any of the inhabitants of any state or kingdom in Africa, as slaves, or servants for term of years, on penalty of fifty pounds, for every person so received on board, with intent to be imported or transported, and two hundred pounds for every vessel fitted out with such intent, or so employed;" and "all insurance made on such vessels shall be void." It also further provides for the friends of any person decoyed away, to bring an action, and recover damages, which shall be paid to the injured person at his return, or go to the maintenance of his wife and children. A prohibitory act of the same nature had a few months before been passed in the state of Rhode-Island, and soon after another was passed in Connecticut.

This was the utmost which could be done by our legislatures; we still have to regret the impossibility of making a law *here*, which shall restrain our citizens from carrying on this trade *in foreign bottoms*, and from committing the crimes which this act prohibits, *in foreign countries*, as it is said some of them have done since the enacting of these laws. But a stigma will ever attend their names, and I hope conscience will do its office, and be seasonably heard.

The three blacks, who were decoyed, were offered for sale at the Danish island of St. Bartholomew: They told their story publicly, which coming to the ears of the governor, he prevented the sale. A Mr. ATHERTON, of the island, generously became bound for their good behaviour for six months; in which time letters came, informing of their case; and they were permitted to return. They arrived at Boston on the 29th of July following; and it was a day of jubilee, not only among their countrymen, but all the friends of justice and humanity.

Query 6.

Query 6. At what period was slavery abolished? what were there numbers and proportion to the whites at that period?

By comparing what is said in answer to queries 4th and 5th, it appears that the complete abolition of slavery may be fixed at the year 1783; that by an enumeration made in the following year, the number of blacks was 4,377, and their proportion to the whites as 1 to 80.

Query 7. What is the condition of emancipated blacks? is any, and what provision made for their education and maintenance during infancy, or in a state of decrepitude, age, or insanity?

If a comparison be made between the former and present condition of this class of people in the New-England states, it may be said that unless *liberty* be reckoned as a compensation for many inconveniences and hardships, the former condition of most of them was preferable to the present. They have generally, though not wholly left the country, and resorted to the maritime towns. Some are incorporated, and their breed is mixed with the Indians of Cape-Cod and Martha's Vineyard; and the Indians are said to be meliorated by the mixture. Some are industrious and prudent, and a few have acquired property; but too many are improvident and indolent, though a subsistence for labouring people is here very easily obtained. Having been educated in families where they had not been used to provide for themselves in youth, they know not how to do it in age. Having been accustomed to a plentiful and even luxurious mode of living, in the houses of their masters, they are uncomfortable in their present situation. They often suffer by damp, unwholesome lodgings, because they are unable to pay the rent of better; and they are subject to many infirmities and diseases, especially in the winter. Those who serve in families of the whites, on wages, if steady and prudent, are the best fed, the best clad, and most healthy; but many of those who have families of their own to support, are oppressed with poverty and its attendant miseries.

The same provision is made by the public for the education of their children as for those of the whites. In this town, the committee, who superintend the free schools, have given in charge to the school-masters to receive and instruct  
black

black children as well as white ; but I have not heard of more than three or four who have taken advantage of this privilege ; though the number of blacks in Boston probably exceeds one thousand. It is a very easy thing for the children of the poorest families here to acquire a common education, not only at publick, but even at private schools. The means are supplied by the manufactories of wool-cards. Most of the labour is done by machinery ; but the sticking of the wires in leather is done by hand, and is an employment for children. The school-mistresses take the materials from the manufactories, and in the intervals of reading, set the children to work ; which, if they are diligent, pays for their schooling, and perhaps yields some little profit to the mistress. In this mode, the children of blacks, as well as whites, may be initiated in the first rudiments of learning, and at the same time acquire a habit of industry. No schools are set up by the community for the blacks exclusively ; though sometimes they have had instructors of their own colour, and at their own expense.

In age, decrepitude, or insanity, they have the benefit of the laws, which oblige every town to provide for the poor and infirm. In the alms-house of this town, provision is made for invalids and insane of all colours ; and there is a school for children who are born or put there, to which blacks have the same access as whites. When children are of proper age to be bound out, the boys to a trade or a farm, and the girls to serve in families, the persons who take them enter into indentures with the overseers of the poor ; they oblige themselves to perfect the boys in reading, writing, and arithmetick ; to provide them with clothing, and at the age of twenty-one to dismiss them with two suits of clothes and twenty pounds in cash. The girls are to be taught reading, writing, sewing, knitting and housewifery, and to be dismissed at the age of eighteen with suitable clothing. The same indentures are given for blacks as for whites.

In cases where negroes formerly took their freedom without the consent of their masters, and without a legal process, and have since become *paupers*, there is yet a question concerning their support. Some say, that their former masters ought to be at the expense. Others say, that as the publick opinion was in favour of their emancipation, they ought to  
come

come within the description of state paupers, to be maintained at the expense of the state, and not of any particular town. Others say, they are properly town-charges; but to this it is answered, that they are within no description of town inhabitants; that towns could never give them warning to depart; and that they could never gain a legal settlement. Disputes of this kind are not much known in Boston, but exist in several places in the country. Suits are still pending on this question, and the judges have not formed any system of opinion on the subject. Application has been made to the legislature, and a bill has been before them, but no decision is yet made. In the mean time, they are either maintained by the towns, with some hope of reimbursement from the state, or else by private charity.

By a law made at the same time with the prohibitory act in 1788, all negroes, not citizens of any state in the Union, but resident here, are required to depart in two months, or they may be apprehended, whipped, and ordered to depart. The process and punishment may be renewed every two months. The design of this law is to prevent deserting negroes from resorting hither, in hopes to obtain freedom, and then being thrown as a dead weight on this community.

I will only add under this head, that the negroes are fond of taking the surname of their former masters, or such one as they were most pleased with, not forgetting the *titles* which appended to them, as captain, colonel, doctor, esquire, &c. This shows that they have as much *vanity* as other people.

Query 8. What are their political rights or disabilities? is there any discrimination between them and white persons?

They are equally under the protection of the laws as other people. Some gentlemen, whom I have consulted, are of opinion, that they cannot elect, nor be elected, to the offices of government; others are of a different opinion. For my own part, I see nothing in the constitution which disqualifies them either from electing or being elected, if they have the other qualifications required; which may be obtained by blacks as well as by whites. Some of them certainly *do* vote in the choice of officers for the state and federal governments, and no person has appeared to contest their right. Instances of the election of a black to any publick office are very rare. I know of but one, and he

was

was a town-clerk in one of our country towns. He was a man of good sense and morals, and had a school education. If I remember right, one of his parents was black and the other either a white or mulatto. He is now dead.

The blacks are not enrolled in the militia. In time of the insurrection, 1786, they offered their service to governor BOWDOIN, to go against the insurgents, to the number of 700; but the council did not advise to sending them, and indeed there was no necessity for their services.

Query 9. Is there any perceptible difference between the general, moral, or social conduct of emancipated persons, or their descendants, and others?

Gentlemen who have studied this matter with philosophical attention, do not scruple to say, that there is no more difference between them and those whites who have had the same education, and have lived in the same habits, than there is among different persons of that class of whites. In this opinion I am inclined to acquiesce. It is neither birth nor colour, but education and habit, which form the human character.

\* Query 10. Are intermarriages frequent between blacks and whites? if so, are such alliances more frequent between black men and white women, or the contrary?

Instances of such intermarriages are very rare; and it is said, that the old law prohibiting them, is yet in force; but where the intercourse does take place, it is much more frequent between black men and white women than the contrary. These white women are, I believe, without exception, of the lowest class in society, both for education and morals. Blacks of a virtuous character intermarry with their own colour.

Query 11. Does harmony in general prevail between the black and white citizens? do they associate freely together? or is a pre-eminence claimed by the one, and either avowedly or tacitly admitted by the other?

I am not sensible of any want of harmony in general between persons of different colours, merely on account of that difference. People of loose and debauched characters, and ungovernable passions, especially when they meet at bad

houses, fall into disagreements and quarrels ; but these are not much known abroad, unless brought by complaint before magistrates.

The blacks are frequently employed by the whites as servants or labourers ; and receive the same wages and treatment as other persons of the same standing.

Perhaps it may be more agreeable to transcribe what was given me in answer to this query by the aforesaid PRINCE HALL. "Harmony in general (says he) prevails between us as citizens, for the good law of the land does oblige every one to live peaceably with all his fellow citizens, let them be black or white. We stand on a level, therefore no pre-eminence can be claimed on either side. As to our associating, there is here a great number of worthy good men and good citizens, that are not ashamed to take an African by the hand ; but yet there are to be seen the weeds of pride, envy, tyranny, and scorn, in this garden of peace, liberty and equality."

Having once and again mentioned this person, I must inform you that he is grand master of a lodge of free masons, composed wholly of blacks, and distinguished by the name of the "*African Lodge*." It was begun in 1775, while this town was garrisoned by British troops ; some of whom held a lodge, and initiated a number of negroes. After the peace, they sent to England, and procured a charter under the authority of the DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, and signed by the late EARL OF EFFINGHAM. The lodge at present consists of thirty persons ; and care is taken that none but those of a good moral character are admitted.

I shall add the following note, written by a white gentleman of the craft, of good information and candour.

"The African Lodge, though possessing a charter from England, meet by themselves ; and white masons not more skilled in geometry, will not acknowledge them. The reason given is, that the blacks were *made* clandestinely in the first place, which, if known, would have prevented them from receiving a charter. But this inquiry would not have been made about white lodges, many of which have not conformed to the rules of masonry. The truth is, they are *ashamed* of being on *equality* with blacks. Even the fraternal kiss of France, given to merit without distinction of colour, doth not influence Massachusetts masons to give an embrace



embrace less emphatical to their black brethren. These, on the other hand, valuing themselves on their knowledge of the craft, think themselves better masons in other respects than the whites, because masonry considers all men *equal* who are *free*, and our laws admit no kind of slavery. It is evident from this, that neither avowedly nor tacitly do the blacks admit the pre-eminence of the whites; but it is as evident, that a pre-eminence is claimed by the whites."

REFERENCES TO THE TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF BOSTON, PUBLISHED IN VOL. III. OF THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FOR 1794. COMMUNICATED BY ITS AUTHOR.

IN page 258, at the date 1669, let it be noted, that the old south spacious *brick* meeting-house in Marlborough-street was not built that year; that is the date of the old *cedar* meeting-house, which was pulled down to erect a new *brick* house on the same ground, by the same church and congregation; the foundation stone of which was laid March 31, 1729.

Page 269, at the date 1711, October, it is said, "The *first* house erected in the town was burnt." Since that publication, I find, by information from some elderly persons, who remember the fire mentioned under that date, that it was not the *first* house built for publick worship, (that house, as expressed in page 257, was sold by the proprietors); but the meeting-house burnt being built before another church was formed in the town, I thought it no impropriety to call it the *first*.

It was the *second* meeting-house burnt at the time referred to, built by the *first church and congregation* gathered in Boston, not on the same spot where the old *wooden* house stood, (the ground where the branch bank now stands), but in its vicinity. At the same date (1711, October) it is said, "We understand they had not then in the town any fire-engines." An elderly citizen, now living, thinks there were two engines. Another citizen, about the same age, does not recollect that there were any; but well remembers the blowing up of some houses was the means of spreading the fire, and occasioned the loss of some lives.

Page 271, next to the fire mentioned in February 17, 1767, the following should have been inserted ;

1774, August 10. At or about this time, a fire happened, at midnight, in a large brick dwelling-house in Fish-street, opposite the place formerly called Glidden's shipyard, north end. It consumed the inside of the building, and one house adjoining it. The flames were so sudden and rapid as immediately, on its discovery, to communicate with the staircase, and prevent the escape of those who occupied the chambers, unless by leaping out of the windows, which some did. The loss of property was not so great ; but the loss of lives greater than in any fire in the town we find on record ; (the lives lost in 1711 we do not find to be ascertained). The number now lost is three women and two children, burnt to death.

In page 273, at the conclusion of the account of remarkable fires in Boston, it may not be improper to relate the following *singular* instance of a fire in England, some years ago.

“ A gentleman, in the month of August, finding himself very hot, and uneasy in bed, got up before the rest of the family, and took a walk into the garden ; and when he had got to the bottom, turning back again, he cast his eyes upon the house, and saw a flame in his room, fronting the garden ; and in which, when he left it, just before, he perceived not the least symptom of any fire, there being no candle, nor smoke, nor any thing like it. He ran, very much amazed, and found his night-cap, which he had thrown carelessly upon a table in the room, all in a flame, which he happily extinguished, upon his timely discovery, before it had done any other damage than burning part of his cap, and the covering of the table. This accident, which might have been attended with dreadful consequences, was occasioned merely by a *globular* decanter, filled with water, being set upon the table, the sun shining upon it, and the gentleman happening to throw his cap upon the proper focal distance of the refracted rays which passed through said body of water in the decanter. The gentleman, afterwards, for experiment's sake, fired his cap again, by placing that, and the decanter of water, in the same position, that he might have no doubt of the cause of so unexpected an event.

ACCOUNT OF BURIALS AND BAPTISMS IN BOSTON, FROM  
THE YEAR 1701 TO 1774.

THE following account of burials is taken from the newspapers, chiefly from the Boston Gazette. To which we have added various collections from the records of churches, and private manuscripts.

It may not only gratify a certain class of readers, whose studies are thought by some to be *more curious* than useful; but afford satisfaction to all those who wish to compare the state of the town, and judge of the health and numbers of the inhabitants, at different times of the present century.

The more critical years of mortality are noted. Vide. No. 4, Boston Gazette, 1753.

Years.	Whites.	Blacks.	Total.
1701	146		
1702*	441	[No account till the year 1704.]	
1703	159		
1704	203	17	220
1705	238	44	282
1706	216	45	261
1707	225	38	263
1708	245	46	291
1709	295	82	377
1710	248	47	295
1711	305	58	363
1712	270	46	316
1713†	380	100	480
1714	340	73	413
1715	281	55	336
1716	284	71	355
1717	371	80	451
1718	334	46	380
1719	255	51	304
1720	261	68	329
1721‡	968	134	1102

\* Small-Pox spread through the town, after 13 years absence. About 300 people died of this disorder, (not counting 13 blacks). It began to spread in July, the most burials were in December, being 74 of the 300.

† Measles.  
‡ Small-Pox spread: 844 died of it, out of 5989 who were sick with it. 1 in 7 nearly, 286 were inoculated, six of whom died. Eneas Salter, who was employed by the selectmen to make a scrutiny, as Dr. Douglass relates, found the number of persons who continued in the town, were 10567, whereof about 700 escaped. Greatest number of deaths in October.

Years.	Whites.	Blacks.	Total.	Baptisms
1722	240	33	273	
1723	342	71	413	
1724	360	47	407	
1725	268	56	324	
1726	290	53	343	
1727	373	106	479	
1728	385	113	498	
1729*	471	99	570	
1730†	749	160	909	
1731‡	318	90	408	563
1732	400	99	499	526
1733	374	84	458	526
1734	440	88	528	536
1735	370	85	455	579
1736	532	85	617	514
1737	516	91	607	519
1738	476	100	576	530
1739	468	86	554	499
1740	568	136	704	591
1741	455	100	555	680
1742	445	72	517	716
1743	536	84	620	585
1744	425	72	497	566
1745	706	74	780	573
1746§	479	99	578	480
1747	710	67	777	492
1748	626	114	740	504
1749	581	96	677	493
1750	507	97	604	533
1751	548	76	624	488
1752	893	118	1009	357
1753	418	63	481	376
1754	380	54	434	439

Years.

\* Measles spread, but favourable ; few died of the distemper.

† The Small-pox spread, and above 400 died of it. Greatest number of deaths in June. Inoculation allowed in March. 4000 may be said to have it, according to Douglass ; and he says 500 died ; others less by 100. There was no exact scrutiny.

‡ The account of baptisms before the year 1731, could not be obtained. No adults are reckoned in this list.

|| Dr. Douglass has given a practical history of an eruptive military fever, with a throat-distemper, which prevailed in 1735 and 1736.

§ About this time an epidemical fever prevailed, which proved very mortal.

¶ Small-pox spread through the town. 7669 had it, of which died 569.

Years.	Whites.	Blacks.	Total.	Baptisms.
1755	419	65	484	442
1756	461	65	526	441
1757	361	73	434	415
1758	467	57	524	423
1759*	565	64	629	376
1760	508	68	576	417
1761	448	66	456	412
1762	390	33	531	418
1763	344	63	407	418
1764†	471	77	548	367
1765‡	508	52	560	479
1766	400	45	445	424
1767	403	65	468	439
1768	369	48	417	414
1769	579	66	645	440
1770	404	79	483	445
1771	423	59	482	399
1772§	458	59	517	373
1773	533	62	595	486
1774	546	50	596	521

With this account of burials, we may compare Dr. Douglass's statement of the number of inhabitants at different periods.

In the beginning of this century, the inhabitants of Boston, blacks included, were about 6750, and the burials, *communibus annis*, about 230.

Anno 1720, the inhabitants were *circiter* 11,000 ; and burials, *communibus annis*, about 350.

Anno 1735, (1729 and 1730 were measles and small-pox years) the inhabitants were about 15,000 ; and burials, *communibus annis*, 500.

He declares, likewise, that in 1752, this was the true state of those who died of the small-pox, and who had the disorder.

He is *always* positive, and *sometimes* accurate.

Small-pox

\* Measles.

† Small-pox spread through the town.

‡ It may be noticed that in several instances, greater numbers have died the year after, than the year in which a disorder has prevailed.

§ Measles.



There be 5 iron works, which cast no guns.

There are fifteen merchants, worth about 50,000 £. or about 500, one with another.

500 persons, worth each 3000 £.

No house in New-England has more than 20 rooms.

Not 20 houses in Boston which have 10 rooms each.

About 1500 families in Boston.

The worst cottages in New-England are lofted.

No beggars.

Not three persons put to death for theft (annually).

About 35 rivers and harbours.

About 23 islands and fishing places.

The three provinces of Boston, Maine, and New-Hampshire, make three fourths of the whole in wealth and strength. The other three of Kennecticut, Rhode-Island, Kennebeck, being but one fourth of the whole in effect. Not above three of their military men have been actual soldiers, but many such soldiers as the artillery-men at London.

Among the magistrates, the most popular are { Leverett, the governor,  
Major Dennison,  
Major Clarke,  
Mr. Bradstreet.

Among the ministers, { Mr. Thacher,  
Mr. Oxenbridge,  
Mr. Higginson.

There are no musicians by trade.

A dancing school was set up ; but put down.

A fencing school is allowed.

All cordage, sail cloth, and nets, come from England.

No cloth made there worth 4s. a yard.

No linen above 2s6.

No allum, nor copperas, nor salt made by their sun.

They take an oath of fidelity to the governor, but none to the king.

The governor is chosen by every freeman.

A freeman must be { Orthodox,  
Above 20 years old,  
Worth about 200 £.

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COPY OF A LETTER SENT FROM DUBLIN, IN IRELAND, TO  
MR. PROVOST DUNSTER, IN THE YEAR 1655.

HONOURED FRIEND,

I AM wholly a stranger to you, further than as to report, which hath spread itself to the rejoicing of many that fear the Lord; and hearing that your portion hath been to suffer in some measure for the cross of Christ, myself and some others, that truly love you on the ground aforesaid, made it our request to the truly virtuous lord deputy, to provide for you in this land; who readily embraced the same, and ordered fifty pounds for the bringing over yourself and family, as you may see by a copy of his lordship's and council's inclosed, with directions for me to send to you; which moneys I have sent by Mr. John Milam, of Waterford, once an inhabitant of New-England, who is bound with a ship to some parts of New-England, and who will send to you, and contrive your passage, and advise you as to the state of this country, and the christians among us. You need not fear accommodations here; though I hope that will not be your chief motive, but rather the honour of the Lord, and his great name. You may, through mercy, have free liberty of your conscience, and opportunity of associating with saints, and free publishing the gospel of truth, which is greatly wanted amongst us, there being but few able and painful men, who make the service of God their work. I pray be not discouraged at any thing you have heard, or shall hear, of this place; but consider the providence of God, who so unexpectedly, as to you, calls for your remove. Paul did not, in the like case, confer with flesh and blood; (haply you may have less reason, in some respects, so to do). I desire you to have a care, knowing that there is a crafty one, that lies in wait for to deceive. I shall add no more, but desire you to consider, that it is the duty of a christian to be guided by the call of God; and to be, and do, whatever he shall require from him; by which rule I desire you to walk; and the God of mercy be your counsellor herein, and guide you in the way he would have you to walk, and that his presence may attend you to the perfecting of your race with joy, and witnessing a good confession before men; that so,  
in



in the end, you may be perfected in the joy and glory of the Lord at his appearing; in whom I trust to be found.

Yours and all saints' sincere friend and servant,

EDWARD ROBERTS.

*Dublin, 3d, 1655.*

Received 10th July, 1656, from the hand of

GOODWIT PRICE.

The order of the council inclosed.

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ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST CENTURY LECTURE, HELD AT  
SALEM.

HAVING met with the following article, in an old publick paper, relative to the ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts-bay, the writer copied it, to be preserved in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, if approved by the editors.

“ *Salem, August 6, 1729.* On Wednesday was celebrated the *first century lecture*, in the meeting-house of the first church here, in commemoration of the good hand of the Lord in founding that church, on August 6, 1629; just one hundred years ago; enlarging, and making her the mother of several others, and preserving and blessing her to this day. She was the first congregational church that was completely formed and organized in the whole American continent, which was on the day abovementioned, when the Rev. Mr. [Francis] Higginson was ordained the teacher, and the Rev. Mr. Skelton their pastor. Governor Bradford, and others, deputed from the church at Plymouth, coming into the assembly in the time of the solemnity, (having been hindered by contrary winds), gave them the right hand of fellowship; wishing all prosperity, and a blessed success to such good beginnings.

“ The century lecture began with singing psalm cxxii. The Rev. Mr. Barnard then prayed. We then sang psalm cvii. 1 to 8. The Rev. Mr. Fisk then preached a very agreeable sermon from psalm lxxviii. 1 to 7. We then sang psalm xlv. 1, 2, 6, 7 verses. The Rev. Mr. Prescott then prayed. We then sang psalm c. first metre, and the Rev. Mr Fisk pronounced the blessing.

“ There

“ There were thirteen ministers present, and a considerable confluence of people both from this place, and the towns about.”

ANSWERS OF THE GENERAL COURT OF CONNECTICUT TO CERTAIN QUERIES OF THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COLONIES.

THE following answers of the General Court to the lords of the committee of colonies, disclose a variety of curious particulars of the state of Connecticut, at the end of 44 years.

*From New-England papers in the plantation office.  
Vid. Chalmers' political annals.*

The queries are implied in the answers.

1. We have two General Courts, as stated in the charter. Two courts of assistants for the trial of capital offences. Our colony in 4 counties ; 2 county courts in each, annually, of magistrates and juries for actions of debt.

2. The legislative is only in the General Court. The executive in these courts appointed, as before.

3. We have little traffick abroad, and therefore little occasion for a court of admiralty, distinct from the court of assistants.

4. We have sent one of our law books. Your lordships will take notice, whether any are made repugnant to the laws of England.

5. As to the number of our forces, we have only one troop of 60 horse, and are raising three more. Our forces are train bands. In each county there is a major, who commands its militia, under the general.

In Hartford county there are	835
New-London do.	509
New-Haven do.	623
Fairfield do.	540.

6. We have one fort at the mouth of Connecticut river ; good towns we have, one especially, New-London, formerly Pequot, &c.

7. It is rare any pirates or privateers come on these dangerous coasts ; two years ago a French one wintered at New-London.

8. As for Indian neighbours, we compute them 500 fighting men. Our chief trade for procuring clothing is by sending what provisions we raise to Boston, where we buy goods. The trade with the Indians is worth nothing, because their frequent wars hinder them from getting peltry.

9. We have neighbourly correspondence with New-Plymouth; with Massachusetts; since major Androse came to New-York, with him; but not with his predecessor: With Rhode-Island we have not such good correspondence as we desire.

10. Our boundaries are as expressed in the charter: We cannot guess the number of acres settled or manurable; the country being mountainous, full of rocks, hills, swamps, and vales; what is fit, is taken up; what remains, must be gained out of the fire, by hard blows, and for small recompence.

11, 13. Our principal towns are Hartford, New-London, New-Haven, and Fairfield. Our buildings generally of wood; some are of stone and brick; and some of good strength, and comely, for a wilderness. We have 26 small towns already seated; in one of them is two churches. Our rivers are numerous and navigable.

14, 15. The commodities of the country are provisions, lumber, and horses; but we cannot guess the yearly value. The most are transported to Boston, and bartered for clothing. Some small quantity is sent to the Caribbee islands, and bartered for products and some money. And now and then (rarely) vessels are sent to Fayal and Madeira, and the cargoes bartered for wine. We have no need of Virginia trade, as most people plant so much tobacco as they need. We have good materials for ship-building. The value of our annual imports amount probably to 9000 £. We raise no salt-petre.

16, 20. We have about 20 petty merchants. Some trade to Boston, some to the West-Indies, and other colonies; but few foreign merchants trade here. The number of our planters is included in the training bands, which consist of all from 16 to 60 years of age. There are but few servants, and but fewer slaves; not more than 30 in the colony. There are so few English, Scotch, or Irish, come in, that we can give no account of them. There come sometimes 3 or 4 blacks from Barbadoes, which are sold for 22 £. each.

We

We do not know the exact number of persons born, nor of marriages, nor of burials, but the increase is as follows:—In 1671, the number of men were 2050; in 1676, were 2303; in 1677, were 2362; in 1678, were 2490; in 1679, were 2507.

21, 25. We cannot guess the estates of the merchants; but the property of the whole corporation doth not amount to 110,788 £. sterling. Few vessels trade here but from Boston and New-York, which carry off our produce. Twenty-four small vessels belong to the colony. The obstruction to trade is owing to want of estates, and to the high price of labour. Commerce would be improved, were New-London, New-Haven, and Fairfield, made free ports for 15 or 20 years. This would increase the trade and wealth of this poor colony. There are no duties on goods, exported, or imported, except on wines and liquors; which, though inconsiderable, are appropriated to maintain free schools.

26. 27. The people are strict Congregationalists. A few more, large Congregationalists; and some moderate Presbyterians; but the Congregationalists are the greatest number. There are about 4 or 5 *Seven-day men*, and about as many *Quakers*. Great care is taken of the instruction of the people in the christian religion, by ministers catechising and preaching twice every sabbath, and sometimes on lecture days; and also by masters of families instructing their children and servants, which the law commands them to do. We have 26 towns, and there are 21 churches in them, and in every one a settled minister, except two lately planted. The stipend is from 50 to 100l. Every town maintains its own poor: But there is seldom any want, because labour is dear, being from 2s. to 2s6 a day for a labourer; because provisions are cheap; wheat is 4s. per bushel, peas 3s. indian corn 2s6. pork 3d. a pound, beef 2d $\frac{1}{4}$ . butter 6d. and so other matters in proportion. Beggars and vagabonds are not suffered; but when discovered, they are bound out to service. Vagabonds who pass up and down, are punished by the law.

WILLIAM LEATE, Gov.  
JOHN ALLEN, Secr'y.

15 July, 1680.

TO THE PUBLICK.

☞ The collections of the Historical Society are not designed as a vehicle of controversy between individuals, respecting their characters or interests. But in our first number for the present year, (page 65, 66), a postscript of a letter from the Rev. Gideon Hawley was *inadvertently* admitted, containing some assertions respecting two gentlemen in the county of Barnstable, which they have since contradicted. A letter, accompanied with several depositions, tending to disprove the facts asserted, is lodged in the hands of the Rev. James Freeman, recording secretary, and may be seen by any person who is desirous of information; but nothing farther on the subject will be published by this society.

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As there have been already printed very particular accounts of the earthquakes in New-England, which may be found in *the 1st vol. of the transactions of the American Academy*, and in the *Lecture upon Earthquakes*, by the late excellent professor Winthrop, the editors of the Historical Collections are desired to publish in one of their numbers the full account of the earthquake at Port-Royal, in Jamaica, 1692, which was written by the minister of that place, from aboard the Granada, in *Port-Royal harbour*, and is well worth preserving as a specimen of *natural history*. It was printed at London, on a half sheet of paper, for *Jacob Tonson*.

*The first Letter, dated June 22, 1692.*

DEAR FRIEND,

I DOUBT not but you will both from gazettes and letters hear of the great calamity that hath befallen this island by a terrible earthquake, on the 7th instant, which hath thrown down almost all the houses, churches, sugar-works, mills, and bridges through the whole country. It tore the rocks and mountains, destroyed some whole plantations, and threw them into the sea. But Port-Royal had much the greatest share in this terrible judgment of God: I will therefore be more particular in giving you an account of its proceedings in this place, that you may know what my danger was, and how unexpected my preservation.

On

On Wednesday the 7th of June, I had been at church reading prayers, which I did every day since I was rector of Port-Royal, to keep up some shew of religion among a most ungodly debauched people; and was gone to a place hard by the church, where the merchants used to meet, and where the president of the council was, who acts now in chief till we have a new governor. This gentleman came into my company and engaged me to take a glass of wormwood wine with him, as a whet before dinner.

He being my very great friend, I staid with him. Hereupon he lighted a pipe of tobacco, which he was pretty long a taking; and not being willing to leave him before it was out, this detained me from going to dinner. to one captain Ruden's where I was to dine; whose house upon the first concussion sunk into the earth, and then into the sea, with his wife and family, and some who were come to dine with him. Had I been there I had been lost. But to return to the president, and his pipe of tobacco. Before that was out, I found the ground rolling and moving under my feet, upon which I said, Lord, sir, what is this? He replied very composedly, being a very grave man, it is an earthquake, be not afraid, it will soon be over: But it increased, and we heard the church and tower fall; upon which, we ran to save ourselves. I quickly lost him, and made towards Morgan's fort, which being a wide open place, I thought to be there securest from the falling houses: But as I made toward it, I saw the earth open and swallow up a multitude of people, and the sea mounting in upon us over the fortifications.

I then laid aside all thoughts of escaping, and resolved to make toward my own lodging, there to meet death in as good a posture as I could: From the place where I was, I was forced to cross, and run through two or three very narrow streets. The houses and walls fell on each side of me. Some bricks came rolling over my shoes, but none hurt me. When I came to my lodging, I found there all things in the same order I left them; not a picture, of which there were several fair ones in my chamber, being out of its place. I went to my balcony to view the street in which our house stood, and saw never a house down there, nor the ground so much as cracked. The people seeing me, cried out to me to come and pray with them. When I came into the street every one laid hold on my clothes and embraced me, that  
with

with their fear and kindness I was almost stifled. I persuaded them at last to kneel down and make a large ring, which they did. I prayed with them near an hour, when I was almost spent with the heat of the sun, and the exercise. They then brought me a chair; the earth working all the while with new motions, and tremblings, like the rollings of the sea; insomuch that sometimes when I was at prayer I could hardly keep myself upon my knees.

By that time I had been half an hour longer with them, in setting before them their sins and heinous provocations, and seriously exhorting them to repentance, there came some merchants of the place; who desired me to go aboard some ship in the harbour, and refresh myself, telling me that they had gotten a boat to carry me off. I found the sea had entirely swallowed up the wharf, with all the goodly brick houses upon it, most of them as fine as those in Cheapside, and two entire streets beyond that. From the tops of some houses which lay levelled with the surface of the water, I got first into a canoe, and then into a long-boat, which put me aboard a ship called the Siam-merchant. There I found the president safe, who was overjoyed to see me; and continued that night, but could not sleep for the returns of the earthquake almost every hour, which made all the guns in the ship to jar and rattle.

The next day I went from ship to ship to visit those who were bruised, and dying; likewise to do the last office at the sinking of several corps which came floating from the point. This indeed hath been my sorrowful employment ever since I came aboard this ship with design to come to England; we have had nothing but shakings of the earth, with thunder and lightning, and foul weather ever since. Besides the people being so desperately wicked, it makes me afraid to stay in the place: For that very day this terrible earthquake happened, as soon as night came on, a company of lewd rogues, whom they call privateers, fell to breaking open ware-houses, and houses deserted, to rob and rifle their neighbours whilst the earth trembled under them, and the houses fell on some of them in the act: And those audacious whores who remain still upon the place, are as impudent and drunken as ever.

I have been twice on shore to pray with the bruised and dying people, and to christen children, where I met too

many drunk and swearing. I did not spare them, nor the magistrates neither, who have suffered wickedness to grow to so great a height. I have, I bless God, to the best of my skill and power, discharged my duty in this place, which you will hear from most persons, who come from hence, I have preached so seasonably to them, and so plain. In the last sermon I delivered in the church, I set before them what would be the issue of their impenitence and wickedness so clearly, that they have since acknowledged it was more like a prophecy than a sermon. I had, I confess, an impulse on me to do it; and many times I have preached in this pulpit, things, which I never premeditated at home, and could not, methought, do otherwise.

The day when all this befel us was very clear, and afforded not the suspicion of the least evil; but in the space of three minutes, about half an hour after eleven in the morning, Port-Royal, the fairest town of all the English plantations, the best emporium and mart of this part of the world, exceeding in its riches, plentiful of all good things, was shaken and shattered to pieces, sunk into and covered, for the greater part, by the sea, and will in a short time be wholly eaten up by it: For few of those houses that yet stand, are left whole, and every day we hear them fall, and the sea daily encroaches upon it. We guess that by the falling of the houses, opening of the earth, and inundation of the waters, there are lost fifteen hundred persons, and many of good note; of whom my good friend attorney-general Musgrove is one, provost-marshal Reves another, my lord secretary Reves another. William Turner, Thomas Turner's brother, is lost: Mr. Swymer escaped, but his house-mate, Mr. Watts, perished.

I came, as I told you, on board this ship in order to return home: But the people are so importunate with me to stay, that I know not what to say to them. I must undergo great hardships if I continue here, the country being broken all to pieces and dissettled. I must live now in a hut, eat yams and plantans for bread, which I could never endure; drink rum-punch and water, which were never pleasing to me. I have written to send a younger person, who may better endure the fatigue of it than I can: But if I should leave them now, it would look very unnatural to do it in their distress; and therefore whatever I suffer I would not have such



such a blame lie at my door; so that I am resolved to continue with them a year longer. They are going all in haste to build a new town near the rock in Linnavea, the guardian of this island. The French from Petit Goavias, did attack this island on the north side; but were all defeated and destroyed, it being about the time of the earthquake.

*Second Letter, June 28, 1692.*

Ever since that fatal day, the most terrible that ever I saw in my life, I have lived on board a ship; for the shakings of the earth return every now and then. Yesterday we had a very great one, but it seems less terrible on ship board than on shore; yet I have ventured to Port-Royal no less than three times since its desolation, among the shattered houses, to bury the dead, pray with the sick, and christen the children. Sunday last I preached among them in a tent, the houses which remain being so shattered, that I durst not venture in them. The people are overjoyed to see me among them, and wept bitterly when I preached: I hope by this terrible judgment, God will make them reform their lives, for there was not a more ungodly people on the face of the earth.

It is a sad sight to see all this harbour, one of the fairest and goodliest I ever saw, covered with the dead bodies of people of all conditions, floating up and down without burial: For our great and famous burial-place, called the palisadoes, was destroyed by the earthquake; which dashing to pieces the tombs, whereof there were hundreds in that place, the sea washed the carcasses of those, who had been buried, out of their graves. Multitudes of rich men are utterly ruined, whilst many, who were poor, by watching opportunities, and searching the wrecked and sunk houses, (even almost while the earthquake lasted, and terror was upon all the considerable people) have gotten great riches.

We have had accounts from several parts of these islands, of the mischiefs done by the earthquake. From St. Anns we hear of above 1000 acres of woodland changed into the sea, and carrying with it whole plantations. But no place suffered like Port-Royal; where whole streets (with inhabitants) were swallowed up by the opening earth, which then shutting upon them, squeezed the people to death. And in  
that

that manner several are left buried with their heads above ground; only some heads the dogs have eaten; others are covered with dust and earth, by the people who yet remain in the place, to avoid the stench.

Thus I have told you a long and a sad story; and God knows what worse may happen yet. The people tell me, that they hear great bellowings and noises in the mountains; which makes some very apprehensive of an eruption of fire: If so, it will, I fear, be more destructive than the earthquake. I am afraid to stay, and yet I know not how, in point of conscience, at such a juncture as this, to quit my station.

*Some farther accounts of the same Earthquake, from the Philosophical Transactions.*

A great part of Port-Royal is sunk:\* That where the wharfs† were, is now some fathoms deep under water. All the street where the church stood is overflowed; so that the water is arisen as high as the upper rooms of those houses which are standing.

The earth when it opened, swallowed up people, and they rose in other streets; some in the middle of the harbour, and yet were saved: Although at the same time, I believe there were lost above two thousand whites and blacks. In the north, above one thousand acres of land sunk, and thirteen people with it. All our houses were thrown down all over the island, that we were forced to live in huts.‡ The two great mountains, at the entrance into 16 mile walk, fell, and meeting, stopt the river: So that it was dry from that place to the ferry for a whole day; and vast quantities of fish were taken up, greatly to the relief of the distressed and terrified inhabitants. At Yellows, a great mountain split, and falling into the level land, covered several settlements, and destroyed nineteen white people. One of the persons whose name was Hopkins, had his plantation removed half a mile from the place where it formerly stood, and now good provisions grow upon it.§

The surprising accidents mentioned in the above paragraph

\* Another says nine parts in ten of the town was shook down, and drowned in two minutes time.  
 † The account from whence the former note was taken, says, the wharf side was swallowed in less than one minute, and that very few escaped there.

‡ Doubtless those of the negroes which stood the shock.

§ Phil. Trans. p. 88. Abridg. p. 411

graph are confirmed by the accounts of others. Dr. Morley writes, that in several places of the country the earth gaped prodigiously. He adds, that on the north side, the planters' houses, with the greater part of their plantations, (and the planters' houses are not very near to one another) were swallowed, houses, people, trees, all up in one gape; instead of which appeared for some time a great pool or lake of water, covering above 1000 acres.\* But that this lake is since dried up, and nothing is now seen but a loose sand or gravel, without any the least mark, or sign left whereby one may judge that either a tree, house, or any thing else had ever stood there.†

Another account takes notice that the road from Spanish town to 16 mile walk lies along the river; and that the two mountains about midway, which were almost perpendicular, especially on the other side of the stream, where by the violent shake of the earthquake joined together, which stopt the passage of the river, and forced it to seek another channel, a great way in and out amongst the woods and Savana's. The same writer adds, that the mountains at Yellows fared no better than those of 16 mile walk: That a great part of one of them falling down, drove all the trees before it: That at the foot of the mountain, a plantation was wholly overthrown and buried in it; and that the mountains in Liguania fell in several places, and in some very steep.§

The following relation will give the reader an idea of the terrible and sudden manner in which houses and people were swallowed up. The writer was a sufferer himself. He lost all his people and goods, his wife and two men: Only one white maid escaped; who informed him that her mistress was in her closet, two pair of stairs high: That being sent into the garret, where was Mrs. B. and her daughter, she there felt the earthquake: That upon this, she bid her, (Mrs. B.) take up her child and run down; but turning about, met the water at the top of the garret stairs: For the house, adds he, sunk downright, and is now near thirty feet under water. This gentleman and his son went that morning to Liguania; by which means they were saved. However the earthquake took them about midway, when they were near being overwhelmed by a swift-rolling sea six feet above

\* Doubtless the 1000 acres abovementioned.  
 § Phil. Trans. p. 88. Abridg. p. 413.

† Phil. Trans. p. 89. Abridg. p. 416.

above the surface, without any wind, which forced them back to Liguania. There he found all the houses even with the ground, except those of the negroes.\*

According to Dr. Morley it was thought that there were lost in all parts of the island 2000 people; and that had the shake happened in the night, very few would have escaped alive.†

But the mortality which ensued the great earthquake (for they had little ones daily), made greater havock than the earthquake itself. By an account dated the 23d of September following, almost half the people, who escaped at Port-Royal, were since dead of a malignant fever, from change of air, want of dry houses, warm lodgings, proper medicines, and other conveniences.‡ Dr. Morley observes that this sickness (supposed to proceed from the hurtful vapours belched from the many openings of the earth) spread all over Jamaica; and became so general, that few escaped it. It is thought it swept away in many parts of the island 3000 souls; most of them from Kingstown only.§

The same gentleman takes notice, that he had felt several lesser shakes, and heard the noise often; which is very loud, and, by those not used to hear it, may be easily taken for a ruffling wind, or hollow rumbling thunder: But he says it hath some puffing blasts peculiar to itself, most like those of a brimstone match when lighted; but in a much greater degree, and such as a large magazine of brimstone may be supposed to make when on fire. He adds, that in Port-Royal, and many places all over the island, much sulphureous combustible matter had been found, supposed to have been thrown out, upon the opening of the earth; which upon the first torch of fire, would flame and burn like a candle.||

We shall conclude the whole with remarks on the weather, both before and after the earthquake. Dr. Morley observes, that the year 1692, began in Jamaica, with very dry and hot weather, which continued till May, when there was very blowing weather, and much rain till the end of the month. From that time till the earthquake happened, it was excessive hot, calm, and dry. We learn from another hand, that the weather was much hotter after the earthquake than before; and that there appeared such an innumerable quantity of musquetoës, as had never been seen in the island till then.¶

\* Phil. Trans. No. 209, p. 83. Abridg. p. 411.

† The same, p. 411.

‡ The same, p. 418.

§ Abridg. p. 417.

¶ The same, p. 419.

¶ The same, p. 413.

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME EFFECTS OF THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE, IN THE YEAR 1755, CONTAINED IN A NOTE ANNEXED TO "A SERMON DELIVERED JUNE 16, 1756, AT THE SECOND PARISH IN LANCASTER, (NOW STERLING), OCCASIONED BY THE GENERAL MUSTER, AND INSPECTION OF ARMS, ON THAT DAY. BY JOHN MELLEEN, A. M. PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST THERE."

AT the north-east corner of the town of Holden, in a low, obscure place, there are several acres of land quite surrounded by a visible fracture in the earth, of a circular form, and of various width and depth.

A small rocky river is upon the north, and it is otherwise chiefly covered by a steep hill, set with thick wood. The breach upon the hilly sides is upon the declivity of the hill, and is a perpendicular sinking of the ground, in some places more than the height of a man, but without any present opening. The trees on each side of the breach, by this means, being thrown into various directions, and sometimes crossing one another, over head, at right angles, sometimes thrown out by the roots. Upon the less uneven land is now a rupture of different dimensions, not very deep or yawning, but sometimes dividing itself into two, and frequently emitting cracks to some distance from its main body; the ground being thereby very much broken into pieces, and some large masses entirely disjoined from the rest. Upon the river side, it is easy to see where the rupture was; but at present there is no opening, only a sand that seems to have been thrown out, and a great dislocation of the stones, of vast bigness, in the channel. The old channel is, indeed, in great measure blocked up, and seems to be raised something answerable to the sinking of the land at the hill, and causes a considerable fall of the water where, it is said, there used to be little or none; and this is not improbable from circumstances which seem to demonstrate that this whole body of earth, when torn from the hill, was pushed several feet towards the river. The stump of a tree, that happened to stand directly over the chasm, on the east, is divided into two equal parts, one standing upon the outside of the chasm, the other upon the inside, but not opposite to each other; the half within the chasm being carried five feet forward, towards the river. A large log also, that crosses the breach upon the same side, is dislodged  
from

from its ancient bed, at the end lying without the chasm, but retains its former situation within. The same thing is seen in the roots of a tree that is turned up in the chasm, upon the opposite side, to the west. Some trees, that stood upon the margin of the river, tumbled into it; and notwithstanding the large quantity of earth hanging to their roots, the place from which it was taken was not left void, but the earth behind has come forward and closed up the breach. The turf also, at the channel, is in some places doubled over, and crowded together.

I very lately saw this remarkable place, with a view at publishing the account of it here. It has been seen by many people; and some of them, persons of some distinction. It seems probable that the eruption and swelling was greater at the river than in any other part; which may possibly account, in some measure, for the descent of the other land that way, which, in the general, lay a little higher; and this might help to continue the channel in its raised situation.

I observed upon a little hillock, not far from the centre of the circumference, a small quantity of fine sand, spread upon the leaves, which seemed to be spewed out of the earth; and a little spring, to appearance, of a strong mineral tincture, oozing through it, and falling down its sides.

Had only such a rupture as this happened in a place inhabited, and set with houses, the terrible effects of it are not hard to conceive. And it ought to be improved as an admonition to thankfulness, and readiness for such and like events.

#### TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF NEW-BEDFORD.

THIS township lies 58 miles south from Boston; and is bounded north, by Freetown and a small part of Rochester and Middleborough; east, by Rochester; west, by Dartmouth; and south by Buzzard's bay.

It is 13 miles in length, 4 in breadth, and was originally contained in the limits of old Dartmouth, which comprehended the towns now called Dartmouth, Westport, and New-Bedford.

The Indian name of New-Bedford is Acchusnutt. The river Acchusnutt runs north and south through this place, and divides the villages of Oxford and Fair-Haven, from  
Bedford

Bedford village, from which the present town took its name, as the most considerable of these three little compact settlements. The distance between Fair-Haven and Bedford villages is a mile; a ferry boat constantly passes; and from the number of other boats, and small vessels sailing in the river, there appears to be much commercial intercourse between the places. From the head to the mouth of the river, the distance is 7 or 8 miles. The harbour is very safe; in some places, 17 or 18 feet of water, and vessels of 300 or 400 tons lie at the wharves. A most beautiful basin is formed, of very considerable extent, to the points which make the entrance of the harbour; the neck on the west side of the river is called Clark's neck, the other side retains its aboriginal name, Sconticut. An island, between these points of land, must needs cause the entrance to be very narrow. There are, also, several other islands in the river, most of them small, yet yielding some pasturage, and very commodious for several purposes, particularly for those who make a business of salting fish. There is good fishing in the river for the smaller kind; and not far distant from the mouth, they catch the larger sort. But few markets, in any of our seaports, are equally supplied with variety of fish, and such as are very excellent. Here are sold, cod, bass, black-fish, sheeps-head, &c. &c.

The trade of New-Bedford is likewise very considerable, and greatly upon the increase. The whale fishery employs a great number of hands, and the merchants engaged in this business are among the *opulent ones* of the commonwealth. The vessels sent to Faulkland islands, in the year 1774, were fitted out from this place, and owned almost entirely by the inhabitants. Had not the war, which commenced the next year, made a complete revolution of property, and altered every plan of business, they might have calculated, very reasonably, upon making immense profits from the voyage. No town has suffered more, perhaps, from the common chances of the war, and direct depredations of the enemy. Besides the fair prospects which were at once clouded, and soon cut off, the estimate of the property destroyed by the British troops, 1778, was

£. 11,241 real estate,  
85,739 personal.

But with all their losses, the property and trade of the place are now very respectable ; it is recovering, fast, the flourishing circumstances of its former state. It is a port of entry and delivery, upon the federal establishment.

A post-office is kept open in the town, and several stages run weekly to Boston. There are several schools in New-Bedford ; as many as five or six in the several villages, These include such as teach children the rudiments of general reading, grammar, arithmetick, &c.

A weekly news-paper is published ; new streets are laid out ; new buildings continually erecting ; and more people, in proportion to the extent of the town, and greater evidence of increasing numbers, than any other town in the county of Bristol.

The number of houses in New-Bedford are	454
number of inhabitants	1313

The air of the place is salubrious, and there are instances of longevity. Mrs. K. died, a few years ago, 106. She came from Plymouth ; and descended from a family, all of whom were remarkable for their age when they died. Though we can mention none besides her above a hundred, several old people, now living, are beyond fourscore, and there is one ninety.

The soil is rough and hard, good for grazing, but not for tillage. Most of the towns upon these shores are rocky ; and among the rocks, is a small quantity of the lapis specularis, or *isinglass*, used instead of window glass in some few houses. In some parts, besides good grazing land for cattle, the ground produces considerable crops of grain ; and there remain few places of woods and swamps still uncultivated.

**HISTORY.]** The coast opposite the Elizabeth islands was discovered by B. Gosnold, in the month of May, 1602. While some of his men laboured in building a fort and store-house upon one of these islands, (Naushaun), he crossed the bay in his vessel, and discovered the mouths of two rivers ; one was that near which lay Hap's hill ; and the other, that on the shore of which the town of New-Bedford is now built.\*

This part of it was not settled so soon as many other towns in the old colony of Plymouth, or the county of Bristol. When or by whom it was settled, we have not been able to learn ; but probably the first inhabitants were of the society called

\* Vid. Dr. Belknap's Biography.



called Friends, who, to this day, are much more numerous than any other religious denomination in New-Bedford, and make a far greater majority in Westport and Dartmouth; in which places there is no house erected for publick worship, except Friends.

In New-Bedford, there are three houses for this denomination of christians, and as many (including one now building in Bedford village) of the congregational society. There was only one church, at the head of the river, till, a few years ago, the people of Fair-Haven erected a meeting-house, and the people on the other side of the river, this year, built another. The old church has had several ministers. The first was Mr. Samuel Hunt, who died about the year 1735. The present generation know but little concerning him, only that he was settled at the beginning of the present century, and was educated at Harvard college, where he graduated in 1700.

Mr. Richard Pierce, their next minister, graduated in 1724, at the same university, was settled in 1737. He was obliged to leave the profession, after a certain number of years, on account of bodily infirmities, and was succeeded by Mr. Cheever, who took his degree at Cambridge in 1749, and in 1759 was dismissed from this people. He is now minister of Liverpool, Nova-Scotia. The Rev. Samuel West, D. D. now pastor of this church, whose literary character is among the most eminent of the profession, was settled in 1761. The people of Fair-Haven were made a distinct parish in 1792; and the year succeeding, Mr. Isaiah Weston was ordained their pastor. The people of Bedford village choose to remain connected with the church at the head of the river, and the pastor is to preach alternately at the village.

At this village, there is one Friends meeting-house. There is another at the head of the river, and a third at the northward boundary of the town. The last are not acknowledged by the other Friends of New-England, but are styled Separatists. At the southward, there are several societies who think and act with them. During the war, they wrote and agreed upon the propriety of paying indirect taxes: and, in other respects, are less particular and austere than the larger body of this people.

The present town of New-Bedford was incorporated by this name so lately as the year 1787. It

It is somewhat remarkable that in so few years from the settlement of the villages on the banks of the river, they reached nearly their present state of respectability and opulence among the trading towns. Fair-Haven and Bedford were settled about the same time, 1764. They increased rapidly until the war; and then declined for a number of years, from the adverse circumstances of their local situation, which by other alteration of the times, is now peculiarly advantageous. The first house in the village of Bedford was built by Mr. John Louden, of Pembroke. Mr. J. Willis, a respectable inhabitant of the town, now living, drew the deed of the land where his house is built. Fair-Haven, on the east side, took its name from the pleasantness of the situation. Bedford was so called from a whimsical circumstance. The land was owned on the west side of the river, by a Mr. Russell. This being the family name of the Duke of Bedford, Mr. J. Rotch, one of the principal purchasers and first settlers, declared that the place where they built should go by the name of Bedford. It was so called until the several villages, with the part of Dartmouth to the east of Acchusnutt river, were united in one town, and called *New Bedford*, on account of another town's bearing the name within the limits of the commonwealth.

Before the settlement made by the Rotch family, and the merchants who were connected with them in the whaling business, there was not a house in *Bedford village*, as it is called, to distinguish it from the other villages, where we may reckon, at this time, a hundred houses, and a large proportion of the inhabitants of the town.

During the war, there was a great concourse of strangers to the place. It was thought a safe and convenient port to fit out privateers, or to receive the abundance which flowed into these New-England states from that eccentric mode of doing business.

While the town was in this flourishing state, "The British troops, to the amount of 4000, landed on the west side of Clark's neck, and at Clark's cove, on Saturday evening the 5th of September, 1778; and marched round to the head of the river, over the bridge, and down the east side, into Scoticutt neck; leaving the villages of Fair-Haven and Oxford on the right; burning, on their way, houses, mills, barns, &c. They encamped on Scoticutt neck until  
Monday,

Monday, and then re-embarked on board their shipping. The succeeding night they attempted to land a large number of troops at Fair-Haven, in order to burn that village; but being discovered by major Israel Fearing, (now brigadier general), who had the command of about 100 or 150 men, and determined to save the place if possible; or lose his life in the attempt; and placed himself and men behind houses and stores, near where he supposed they would land; and suffered them to reach the shore with their boats, before a musket was discharged, and they were there in great numbers, beginning to land; and had set fire to two or three stores within 50 or 100 yards of major Fearing and his men; who then fired upon them; and by the screechings, and tracks of blood, afterwards discovered, supposed many were killed and wounded. They immediately retreated aboard their ships, taking their dead and wounded with them. Thus, by the bravery of one man, that village was preserved.”\*

This account of the burning of Bedford village differs from some other publications, in which the writers, not having the same information, have committed several mistakes. In the history of the reign of George 3d, by Belsham, he mentions that general Grey, an officer who had repeatedly distinguished himself by his military skill and courage, was detached, in the month of September, from New York to a place called Fair-Haven, on the coast of New England, where he destroyed about seventy sail of shipping, together with stores, magazines, wharves, &c. and proceeding to Martha's Vineyard, a beautiful island in the vicinity, he carried off an immense booty in oxen, sheep, &c.

The American historians have also mentioned the destruction of Bedford, and compute the loss of property about 20,000 £. sterling, real estate, besides the personal, which they pretend not to calculate. This was the general statement of the matter in the news-papers.

The very particular account of this expedition, given to the Historical Society, must be accurate. The information was from a very respectable gentleman, who was an eyewitness to the scene, one of the sufferers, and a few hours that night a prisoner among the British, from whom he made his escape before morning.

THE

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\* Manuscript letter of Edward Pope, esq. to Rev. John Eliot, Boston.

THE DISCOVERY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLANDS CALLED THE MARQUESAS, IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN. WITH A FARTHER ACCOUNT OF THE SEVEN ADJACENT ISLANDS, DISCOVERED FIRST BY CAPT. JOSEPH INGRAM, AND SINCE BY CAPT. JOSIAH ROBERTS. COMPILED FROM DALRYMPLE'S COLLECTION OF DISCOVERIES; COOKE'S SECOND VOYAGE, AND THE JOURNALS AND LOG-BOOK OF THE SHIP JEFFERSON, OF BOSTON.

THE islands called the *Marquesas*, were first known to the Europeans by a discovery made in 1595, by Alvaro de Mendana de Neyra, a Spanish governour in South-America, who sailed from Callao, with a view to make a settlement in some islands called Solomon's, which are supposed to be the same with the land of Papua, or New Guinea. He had four ships and four hundred people under his command, and his chief pilot was Pedro Fernandez de Quiros; to whom we are chiefly indebted for an account of this voyage; in a letter written by him to Don Antonio Morga, who was lieutenant-general of the Phillipines at the time when Quiros arrived at Manilla; and afterwards president of the royal audience of Quito. The letter was first published at Mexico in 1609.

Mendana sailed from Callao on the 9th of April, 1595, and touched at Paita, in lat.  $5^{\circ}$  S. where he took his colony on board, and from whence he steered W. S. W. toward the islands which he intended to visit. On the 21st of July, he discovered an island in the 10th degree of south latitude, to which he gave the name of *La Magdalena*. It is described as having high and steep cliffs to the sea, mountainous inland, with fertile vallies. It appeared to be very populous; for as ships passed on its southern side, the cliffs and beach were full of people, and above four hundred of them came off, some in canoes, and others swimming or floating on rafts, to visit the ships. The island was supposed to be about six leagues in circuit, and had a harbour under a mountain, on its south side.

Besides this, three other islands were discovered; the first they named *St. Pedro*; it lay about ten leagues N. by W. from *Magdalena*, and was supposed to be three leagues in circuit. It had much wood, was level, and not very high; they did not go near enough to see whether it were inhabited.

About

About five leagues N. W. from Pedro, was another island, which they named *La Dominica*. It appeared very pleasant, with fine plains and rising grounds, covered with wood. It was judged to be fifteen leagues in circuit, and was very populous.

To the south of Dominica, a little more than a league, was another island, to which they gave the name of *St. Christina*. It was high in the middle, with fine vallies. The island appeared to be about eight leagues in circuit, and full of people. The channel between it and Dominica was clear, with soundings.

The whole group was called Las Marquesas de Mendoça, in memory of the Marquis of Cannete, then viceroy of Peru.

On the 28th of July, the squadron anchored in a port on the west side of Christina, which they called *Port Madre de Dios*, where they found good water, and were supplied by the inhabitants with hogs, fowls, sugar-cane, plantanes, cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit. There they staid till the 5th of August, when they sailed W. by S. on their intended voyage; which proved very unfortunate; for after discovering two or three islands, on one\* of which they intended a settlement, they fell into a quarrel with the natives, and with each other. Mendana, with many of his people, were killed, and Quiros conducted the remnant to Manilla.

The four islands, called the Marquesas, were taken possession of in the name of the king of Spain; and Quiros, in his letter to Morga, was very desirous that the discovery should be concealed, lest the English, with whom the Spaniards were then at war, should get the knowledge of them. The secret was kept till the reign of James I. when the passion for discovery and conquest was repressed by a peace between the two nations.

In 1774, these islands were visited by Capt. Cook, who was then employed by the British government, in making discoveries in the southern hemisphere, with a view to determine the question respecting the existence of a southern continent. After leaving Easter island (lat.  $27^{\circ} 5' S.$  and long.  $109^{\circ} 46' W.$ ) he steered N. W. by N. and N. N. W. intending to touch at the Marquesas, in order to settle their situation, which was laid down differently in different charts.

Being

\* This is supposed to be the same which Capt. Carteret discovered, and named *Egmont*. The Spaniards called it *Santa Cruz*. It lies in lat.  $19^{\circ} 20' S.$  long.  $164^{\circ} 30' E.$  from Greenwich.

Being in the latitude of  $9^{\circ} 24'$  S. he altered his course to W. and on the 6th of April discovered an island, which proved to be one of the group of the Marquesas; but which had not been seen by Mendana. To this he gave the name of *Hood's island*. It is situated in the latitude of  $9^{\circ} 26'$  S. and bears N. by W. from the east point of Dominica, distant between five and six leagues. After this, he saw the other four islands which he thus describes.

“*Dominica* is the largest of all these islands, extending E. and W. six leagues. It is of unequal breadth, and is about fifteen or sixteen leagues in circuit. It is full of rugged hills, rising in ridges directly from the sea; these ridges are disjoined by deep vallies, which are clothed with wood, as are the sides of some of the hills; the aspect is barren, but it is inhabited. Its latitude is  $9^{\circ} 44'$  S. We ranged the S. E. coast of Dominica, without seeing the least signs of anchorage, till we came to the channel which separates it from Christina, through which we passed. *St. Pedro* is about three leagues in circuit, and of a good height. It lies S. four leagues and a half from the E. end of Dominica; we know not if it be inhabited; nature has not been very bountiful to it. *St. Christina* lies under the same parallel, three or four leagues more to the W. It stretches N. and S. and is three leagues long, in that direction, and about seven leagues in circuit. A narrow ridge of hills, of considerable height, extends the whole length of the island. Other ridges, rising from the sea, with an equal ascent, join the main ridge. These are separated by deep, narrow vallies, very fertile, adorned with fruit and forest trees, and watered by many fine streams. *La Magdalena* we saw only at a distance. Its situation must be nearly in the latitude of  $10^{\circ} 25'$ , longitude  $138^{\circ} 50'$ . These isles occupy one degree in latitude, and near half a degree in longitude, viz. from  $138^{\circ} 47'$  to  $139^{\circ} 13'$  W. which is the longitude of the W. end of Dominica.”

From the observations of Dr. Forster, who sailed with Capt. Cook in this voyage, we learn the names by which three of these islands are called by the natives. Dominica is *Heeva-roa*; Christina is *Waitahù*, and Pedro is *Onateyo*.

“The port of Madre de Dios (which Capt. Cook called *Resolution-bay*, after the name of his ship) is situated near the middle of the W. side of Christina, and under the highest land

land in the island. Its latitude is  $9^{\circ} 55' 30''$  S. Its longitude,  $139^{\circ} 8' 40''$  W. and the W. end of Dominica bears N.  $15^{\circ}$  W. The south point of the bay is a steep rock, terminating in a peaked hill, above which is a path, leading up a narrow ridge, to the summits of the hills. The north point is not so high, and rises with a more gentle slope. They are a mile apart, in the direction of N. by E. and S. by W. The bay is nearly three quarters of a mile deep, and has from thirty-four to twelve fathoms of water, with a clean, sandy bottom. In the bay are two sandy coves, divided from each other, by a rocky point. In each is a rivulet of excellent water. The northern cove is the most commodious for wooding and watering. Here is the little water-fall mentioned by Quiros, Mendana's pilot, but the village is in the other cove. There are several other bays on this side of the island, and some of them, especially to the northward, may be mistaken for this; therefore the best direction for finding it, is the bearing of the W. end of Dominica."

"The inhabitants of these islands, collectively, are, without exception, the finest race of people in these seas. For good shapes and regular features they perhaps, surpass all nations. Nevertheless, the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheité, and the Society islands, proves that they are of the same origin."

"The trees, plants, and other productions of these islands, are nearly the same as at Otaheité and the Society islands. The refreshments to be got, are hogs, fowls, plantanes, yams, and some other roots; likewise bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, but of these not many."

Capt. Cook remained in this port from the 8th to the 12th of April, and then pursued the voyage to the S. S. W. for Otaheité.

In 1791, Capt. Joseph Ingraham, in the brigantine Hope, of and from Boston, bound to the N. W. coast of America, touched at Resolution-bay; and in his passage from thence to the N. N. W. made a new discovery of *seven* other islands, belonging to this cluster; an account of which was published in the Collections of the Historical Society for the year 1793, page 20, &c. to which the reader is referred.

Before Ingraham's discovery was known, Capt. Josiah Roberts sailed from Boston on a voyage to the N. W. coast,

in the ship Jefferson. This ship carried the frame and rigging of a schooner, which was set up and launched at Resolution-bay, in the island of Christina; where Capt. Roberts lay from Nov. 11, 1792, to Feb. 24, 1793; a much longer time than any European or American vessel had lain in that or any other port of the Marquesas, since the first discovery of those islands.

During that time, the ship's company became intimately acquainted with the natives; and in conversation with them, the captain inquired how many islands they knew to be in their neighbourhood; they answered by describing *ten*. In a day or two afterward, an elderly man came to the tent on shore, who was introduced by the natives as an inhabitant of the island of *Nooheeva*, which they represented as the largest island of the ten, and the most productive; abounding with hogs of a larger size, and other provisions in great plenty. They said that the island might be seen in a clear day from the tops of their mountains, and was about one day's sail from thence.

On the 5th of February, the horizon being very clear, they saw, from the ship's deck, as she lay in Resolution-bay, high land, bearing N. W. by W. being one of the before-mentioned islands, which the natives call *Wooapo*; they told them that more of these islands could be seen from the mountains.

From the time of his first introduction, the old man continued with them, determined to take his passage to his native island, which they intended to visit. His name was *Tooe-no-haa*; he appeared to be between sixty and seventy years of age, was very robust, entirely free and unreserved, and had been absent from his own island, as well as they could learn, about ten years.

All the natives seemed to agree in respect to the number of these islands and their situation; and that they abounded with hogs, fowls, and all sorts of fruits, which are found on any of the islands. The hope of making a new discovery, and of obtaining a full supply of refreshments, induced Capt. Roberts and his officers to make the strictest inquiry into these matters.

On the 24th of February, 1793, at three o'clock, P. M. Capt. Roberts, in the ship Jefferson, in company with the schooner Resolution (named after the bay) came to sail,  
steering



steering N. W. by W. for the island of *Wooapo*; which they discovered the next morning at 4 o'clock. At 3, P. M. they saw the island of *Nooheeva*, which is reckoned the parent of all these islands. At 4, P. M. they came within sight of another island, called *Ooahoona*, which is said to be the northernmost of all this cluster. About 5, P. M. they sailed through a passage between *Wooapo* and a small island which lay to the southward of it, about a mile distant.

Two or three canoes, which came from *Wooapo*, brought a few cocoa-nuts and fish; but finding no prospect of supplies, the next day they bore away for *Nooheeva*. *Wooapo* appeared to be a smaller island than *Christina*; it has several heights, and the highest land is toward its southern extremity. By their observation, on the 26th of February, the body of the island was found to lie in lat.  $9^{\circ} 27'$  S. It bears N. W. by W. distant about 20 leagues from *Resolution-bay*. It is the same island to which *Ingraham* gave the name of *Adams*; and the small island southward of it he called *Lincoln*. *Roberts* gave to them the names of his ship and schooner; the larger *Jefferson*; and the lesser, *Resolution*.

On the same day, at 5, P. M. they saw an island, which *Tooe-no-haa* called *Fatoo-e-tee*, and said was not inhabited. It abounds with turtle and birds, and the natives of the other islands resort thither, at certain seasons, in quest of them. This is the island which *Ingraham* called *Franklin*, and which, from its rocky appearance, he supposed to be volcanic. *Roberts* gave it the name of *Blake*, one of the owners of his ship. It lies W. by N. from *Nooheeva*, at the distance of about seven or eight leagues.

At 5, P. M. they got up with the S. W. part of the island of *Nooheeva*. The night was calm, and the next day, (Feb. 27), with a light breeze, they stood to the northward. *Tooe-no-haa* informed them, that the place for anchorage was round the point, which then formed the northern extremity of the land; the shore along the S. W. side of the island appeared to be rocky, or, in the seaman's phrase, "iron-bound." The natives on the shore were highly entertained with the sight of the vessels. A canoe came off with some fish, plantane, and taro-roots, which were purchased with a few nails. They expressed great admiration at the ship, and particularly her iron work.

The next morning, (Feb. 28), at 7 o'clock, the first officer,

ficer, Bernard Magee, went in the pinnace, with six hands and Tooe-no-haa, in search of an anchoring place, and to purchase hogs or other provisions; at the same time that the ship stood off and on, the west side of the island. About 10, A. M. they landed in a small bay, and several natives, of both sexes, came to see them; they were highly delighted with the boat, but much more so with the looking glasses which were shown them. They examined the fire-arms with great attention; but had no idea of their effect, till, at the request of Tooe-no-haa, one of them was discharged; at the report, they all fell into the water; and when they came up, held their hands to their heads, and exclaimed as if they had been wounded. The old man laughed heartily, and told them, that their new visitors were friends, and would not hurt them if they behaved well; but that if they should attempt to steal any thing, they would certainly be killed. When Magee inquired for hogs, they pointed inland, and to the N. part of the island, where, they said, these animals were to be had in plenty.

He then went out of the bay, and attempted to coast the N. part of the island, where, the old man and the other natives assured him, there was good anchorage; but a strong N. E. wind prevented him from going so far as to determine whether there was so large a bay as had been described. The natives came down to a small bay abreast of the pinnace, and invited them on shore; but there was no possibility of landing. They had only a few cocoa-nuts and calabashes; from which it was concluded that they came from inland to the sea shore a fishing. There was no appearance of huts along the coasts; but the land had every sign of fertility.

As there was no possibility of landing here, or of proceeding against the wind to the northward, the pinnace put back to the bay where they had been in the morning. Their former visitors came again to them, and brought fish, which they had baked, rolled up in leaves, for which they received some pieces of iron hoops. Their stay here was but short, as there was another bay to be examined, which lay southward, about one mile. Here they found a few natives, but saw no huts. On landing, the greater part disappeared; and those who remained seemed very indifferent to the articles shown them, such as nails, knives, glasses, and pieces of

of iron. They all said that at the N. side of the island, and inland, there was a plenty of hogs. At this place the old man, Tooe-no-haa, took his leave of them, with much regret and many tears. Before he left the ship, he had been presented with a blanket, a hat, a hatchet, a knife, and a looking glass, with which he was much pleased. This bay is about a half a mile in the extremes of the two points which form it, and about the same depth into the beach; there is a regular decrease of soundings, from eighteen fathoms to the shore, and a fine sandy bottom.

About 4, P. M. Mr. Magee put off for the ship, and at 7 got along side. As it would require considerable time to be among these people before any effectual supplies could be obtained, and the season was fast advancing, it was thought best to give up any farther trial for supplies, and sail for the Sandwich Islands, where they knew that provisions were to be had in plenty and variety.

To the island of Nooheeva, Capt. Roberts gave the name of *Adams*; it is the same which Ingraham had called *Federal* island. The latitude of the body of the island is  $8^{\circ} 58'$  S. and it lies nearly on the same meridian with Wooapo, between  $140^{\circ}$  and  $140^{\circ} 10'$  W. from Greenwich. Capt. Ingraham has placed them about 40' more to the westward; but the difference of latitude between his observation and Roberts's is not material. They all lie in such a situation, and so much within sight of each other, that no voyager can mistake one for the other.

*Ooahoona* lies about ten leagues N. E. from Nooheeva. To this island Roberts gave the name of *Massachusetts*. Ingraham had before called it *Washington*. This name was given by Roberts to the whole group of the new islands, of which he then supposed himself to be the first discoverer. To avoid confusion, however, it may be most eligible to call each island by its proper name in the language of the inhabitants.

A few days before Capt. Roberts sailed from Resolution-bay, it was discovered, that the island *Waitahù*, or *Christina*, produced cotton, superior in fineness to any which they had seen. The natives said that it grew in great plenty on all the islands; a specimen of it is brought home, and deposited in the museum of the Historical Society.

The natives of these islands attend to no kind of cultivation.

tion. They live entirely by what nature produces, bread-fruit, plantanes, cocoa-nuts, and yams. The three former they have in great perfection; the last was not seen in plenty. They have a fruit something resembling a peach, which they call *kaieeka*. They have hogs in all the islands, and a few fowls were seen at Resolution-bay, but the price of a fowl was equal to that of a hog.

When the natives go to any distance from home, they carry their bread fruit, either baked or raw, in calabashes. They eat it with the oil of the cocoa-nut, which they call *powy*. They are very expert at fishing, which adds greatly to their support; they sometimes eat the fish raw, and are very fond of the head and eyes.

There is every reason to suppose them cannibals. The inhabitants of Resolution-bay would not own it of themselves; but freely declared that the other islanders, and the inland people of their own island, devour human flesh.

On the 2d of March, both vessels made sail to the N. N. W. Tooe-no-haa had told them that they would see more land in that direction. Accordingly, the next morning, March 3d, they discovered the two islands to which Ingraham had given the names of *Knox* and *Hancock*; but which they called *Freeman* and *Langdon*. These islands had every appearance of fertility. Their latitude is from  $8^{\circ} 3'$  to  $8^{\circ} 5'$  S. and their longitude very nearly  $141^{\circ}$  W.

It is much to be regretted, that Capt. Roberts could not spare time to make a full exploration of the northern part of the island Nooheeva, as all the accounts of the natives concurred in representing it populous and fruitful, and to have good anchorage in a large bay. As these islands lie in that part of the Pacific ocean through which vessels from Europe or America, bound to the N. W. coast must pass, and are not far out of their usual tract, they may be visited for refreshment in case of need. It is probable that we shall have a correct chart of them when Capt. Vancouver, who is now, by order of the British government, making a survey of the coasts and islands in the Pacific ocean, shall return to England, and publish his long desired observations.

The above minutes are agreeable to my observations.

JOSIAH ROBERTS.

And to mine.

BERNARD MAGEE.

Boston, Nov. 6, 1795.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ISLANDS OF JUAN FERNANDEZ, MASSAFUERO, AND ST. AMBROSE, IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN, AND THE COAST OF CHILI, IN SOUTH-AMERICA. EXTRACTED FROM THE JOURNAL OF MR. BERNARD MAGEE, FIRST OFFICER OF THE SHIP JEFFERSON, IN HER LATE VOYAGE ROUND THE GLOBE.

“ May 6, 1792. AT noon we observed the latitude to be the same that the latest publication of the English authors places the island of Juan Fernandez in, which is  $32^{\circ} 3'$  south; our longitude then, by account, was  $85^{\circ} 18'$  W. of Greenwich, which we supposed to be  $6^{\circ}$  or  $7^{\circ}$  to the eastward of the island. However, as all the authors we had on board differed much in regard to its situation, we thought it most prudent to keep well to the westward, as we expected to meet the wind strong from that quarter, and to run in the parallel of the island; but in that we were disappointed, as the wind, from the 6th to the 11th, was light and baffling, mostly from the southward and eastward. We kept as near the aforementioned latitude as the winds would admit, when, on the 11th and 12th, we had a good opportunity of determining our longitude by several good sights of the sun and moon, the mean of which gave the longitude  $79^{\circ} 30'$  W. the latitude  $31^{\circ} 45'$  south.

The 13th, had several more good sights, which I most depend on, on account of the atmosphere being very clear, and the sea exceeding smooth. Made the long.  $80^{\circ} 53'$  W. the latitude at noon  $31^{\circ} 50'$  south.

The wind still continuing to the S. E. and N. E. rendered our situation very disagreeable, as we were doubtful of making the island on account of the contrary winds, and the uncertain situation of it.

From the 13th to the 24th, the wind continuing as above, with dark, cloudy weather, we began to give up all hopes of making the island; but to make the best of our way to the main continent, either to Valparaiso or Cacumbo, to get water, and some other necessary supplies, our fresh stock being near expended, and water getting short; yet our ship's company were in exceeding good health, and clear of any symptoms of the scurvy; but to our great satisfaction, on the morning of the 24th, we very unexpectedly saw the long-looked-for island

island of Massafuero, bearing S. E. by S. 15 or 18 leagues distant. This lucky land fall was owing to baffling head winds, which prevented us from making the best of our way to the continent. If the winds had favoured our wishes, we should not have made any of the islands, as we should have run in the latitude of  $32^{\circ} 2'$  S. as far as the longitude of  $76^{\circ}$  W. and certainly would have missed the islands, as they were very erroneously laid down. However, we had a good opportunity of ascertaining their true situation, both in regard to latitude and longitude. The noon of the 24th our meridian observation was  $32^{\circ} 40'$ . The island of Massafuero then bore S. by E. half east; and from the appearance of the land, which is reckoned very high, I suppose it was 15 or 18 leagues distant from us; the bearing, with the variation of the compass  $13^{\circ} 29'$  east, places the body of the island in  $33^{\circ} 30'$  south, as near as we could estimate the distance from our situation. This island is reckoned, by some accounts, to lie 20 leagues to the westward of Juan Fernandez, but we found it to be very erroneous. We made their distance a-part, by a well-kept log, and a favourable gale, 38 leagues, which is 18 leagues more than the best account we had of them.

On the 26th, we made the island of Juan Fernandez, being thick, blowing weather, which prevented us, for some days, from attempting for the harbour, which is Cumberland bay, on the north side of the island. We had a good opportunity for determining the situation of this island, by several good sights of the sun and moon, when the atmosphere was very clear, and the sea exceeding smooth; the longitude of which we made  $79^{\circ} 50'$  west of Greenwich, latitude  $33^{\circ} 32'$  south, and the island Massafuero nearly in a parallel with it; our run between the two islands places the latter in the longitude  $82^{\circ}$  W. This account may be depended upon to be the true situation of these islands, which was very erroneously laid down in all our books and charts. The morning of the 29th, being then off Cumberland bay, and the wind blowing in squalls off the land, the weather cloudy, at 10 o'clock a heavy squall struck us, (being then under single reefed topsails), which, notwithstanding all our exertion in taking in sail, yet laid the ship over to near her beam ends.

On the 30th, toward the evening, sprung up a fine breeze from the westward, which continued all the night and the

next day. At day-light in the morning, got every thing in readiness for going into the harbour, which then bore S. by E. of us, about three miles distant. Got out the pinnace, and sent her ahead of us, into the harbour, with Mr. Kendrick, the third officer, and six hands, he having a knowledge of the best anchoring ground, having been in the port before, with his father, in the ship *Columbia*, in the year 1788, and met with a friendly reception. But to our disappointment, we soon found that government had taken a different turn. No sooner had the pinnace got on the anchoring ground, than a shore boat came off, sent by the governor, to order her on shore, which Mr. Kendrick complied with, and waited on the governor. When we saw the pinnace taken on shore, we immediately tacked, and stood out of the harbour, until they should return. At 11 o'clock the pinnace returned, and Mr. Kendrick informed us, that the governor would not permit us to anchor in the harbour; that there was an act of government, passed since the ship *Columbia* was there, that no foreigners should be allowed to anchor in the road; however, he sent his compliments to Capt. Roberts, and informed him that he might send his boat on shore for water, or any other thing that he could supply him with. The captain immediately went on shore, to wait on the governor, took along with him a few water casks, his sea-letter, and the Spanish ambassador's letter of friendship between the United States and his most Catholick majesty, in hopes it would gain us permission to go into the road. At two of the clock, the captain returned, with about 160 gallons of water, a number of fine cod fish, some pumpkins, a quantity of fine radishes, and about a bushel of small potatoes, of an inferior sort.

As the governor would not permit us to come into the harbour, and finding it impossible to get a sufficient supply of water by means of our boats, on account of the boisterous wind we found to prevail; the governor gave the captain a letter to the governor of *Valparaiso*, in the province of Chili, recommending to him to furnish us with every necessary supply. We sent the pinnace the third time, to the shore, for a bullock that the governor ordered to be killed for us, which, at that time, was very acceptable, and sent him in return a few bottles of gin and brandy, two large hams, and a cheese. At 5 o'clock, the pinnace returned with the meat,

some more cod fish and vegetables, hoisted her in, and made sail; stood on our course, with a fresh gale, for *Valparaiso* on the main continent. About  $7^{\circ} 30'$  E. of the above island, and in the latitude  $33^{\circ} 3'$  south, we observed the variation of the magnetic needle, between Massafuero and the island Juan Fernandez, to be from  $13^{\circ}$  E. to  $14^{\circ}$ ; and found it the same from thence to the continent. We likewise found it to have a regular decrease from the westernmost part of Terra del Fuego, in our way, as far as the longitude of  $86^{\circ}$  west, and the latitude  $32^{\circ}$  south.

The first and second of June, the weather continued thick and cloudy, with much rain; passed by several bunches of kelp, a sea lion, and a number of seals. The night of the second, we ran under an easy sail, sounding every four hours, but no bottom. This we did on account of the different accounts we had of the distance of the above island from the continent, which we found to be all erroneous. Lord *Anson's* account came the nearest of any we have had, which is 110 leagues.

Our meridian distance, at noon, was 308 miles, the latitude  $33^{\circ} 15'$ , and the longitude, by account,  $73^{\circ} 42'$  west. A pleasant gale still continuing during the third day, passed by a number of seals, which these seas abound with. At 5 o'clock, in the evening, rounded to, and sounded; no ground with 120 fathom line. At midnight, sounded again; no bottom; went under short sail all the night, with a light breeze from the southward. At 6 o'clock, made all sail, and at 8, A. M. saw the land from E. by S. to E. N. E. At noon, the extremes of it bore from S. E. by E. to N. E. by N. 5 or 6 leagues distant; our latitude then, by meridian observation,  $33^{\circ}$ ; longitude, by account,  $72^{\circ} 14'$  W. and meridian distance from Juan Fernandez, 382 miles, which, with the bearings of the land, places the island 390 miles west of the continent. This I take to be very near the true distance, as we had a fair wind all the way from the island, until we made the land, and paid particular attention to the log, being desirous of ascertaining their true distance apart; and all the accounts we had, differed much in regard to it. As our latitude at noon, as above, was  $33^{\circ}$  S. agreeing within two miles of the latitude that the nautical directory places *Valparaiso* in, which is  $33^{\circ} 2'$  S. and the land about 5 leagues distant from us, we hoisted a signal at the foretopmast head  
for



for a pilot ; but fearful of not getting any before night, and considering the probability of its not being customary, we thought most proper to prepare the pinnace, and proceed to a point of land, bearing E. of us, which we supposed the most likely for the harbour of *Valparaiso*. Accordingly, at 1 o'clock, which was the 4th of June, by log, we hoisted out the pinnace ; I went in her myself, and 6 hands, with the captain's orders to obtain a pilot, if possible, and the governor's permission to come into the harbour ; that if I could not get a pilot, I should sound, and examine the harbour, so as to form a sufficient knowledge of conducting the ship, in safety. I left the ship about half after one o'clock, with a fresh breeze from the southward, and considerable of a sea-running.

At 4 o'clock, opened the harbour and fortification of *Valparaiso*, which was then about 5 leagues from the ship. When I got well into the harbour, so as to open the village, I saw two ships lying there ; I immediately hoisted a flag, to show of what nation we were. I then soon saw two boats coming off from the shore, to meet me, being custom-house boats ; they soon got me in custody. The commandant of the port was on board one of them, who ordered me into his boat, to conduct me to the governor. I no sooner was landed, than a guard of soldiers took me in charge ; and at a moderate calculation, there were not less than 500 spectators. The governor closely examined me, in regard to what we wanted, and the nature of our voyage, to which my answer was, that we were fitted out from Boston, in New-England, under the authority of the United States, and were bound to the N. W. coast (to try the possibility of a passage, so long looked for in vain, for the good of all civilized nations) ; that the cause of our putting in here, was the necessity of water, and other refreshments, of which we stood greatly in need.

After many questions, he desired I would bring the ship into the harbour ; and sent an Irishman along with me, by whose means I made known to the governor the nature of my business. About sun-set, I went on board of my boat, to go off to the ship, went out of the harbour about three miles, saw the ship to windward, about four leagues distant ; found it impossible to get up with her that night, the weather having a very unsettled appearance. I thought it most prudent

dent to put back into the harbour, and wait for the next morning; and when landed, was conducted to the governor's as before. I spent the evening there with the governor, and a number of gentlemen from St. Jago, the capital of *Chili*. They were very inquisitive during the course of the evening, in regard to the voyage, and the affairs of the United States. At 11 o'clock, the governor ordered supper for me, as I was to remain at the custom-house during the night, with my boat's crew and guard, to be prepared for going off to the ship at day-light; but he did not sup himself before two o'clock, being their custom. Supper was laid in the best manner, and consisted of a great variety of dishes, and a good desert after it, grapes, apples of the best kind, and a variety of sweetmeats. After supper, I was conducted to the custom-house, to wait for the morning. At day-light, went on board of my boat, with the Irishman along with me, to afford us his assistance in getting the ship into the harbour. When I got out of the bay, I saw the ship to windward, bearing S. W. about three leagues distant. I hoisted the signal given me for coming into the harbour, when they immediately bore down for us, and at 3 o'clock, A. M. got on board, stood into the harbour, with light, baffling airs, got the boat ahead, and towed the ship into the harbour. When within three hundred fathoms of the mooring ground, the wind took us off the land, which obliged us to drop the anchor in thirty fathoms water, and run a warp to the Spanish ships; by which means we hauled to the proper mooring ground.

We here anchored for the first time since we sailed from Boston, being then six months and sixteen days out, during which time we had a boisterous, disagreeable passage.

At noon, the commandant of the port came on board, to direct the mooring of the ship, and the governor sent his compliments to the captain, that he should wait on him at three o'clock, which he accordingly did. Hauled the ship into the mooring ground, dropped the best bower in fifteen fathom water, and got the small bower cable fast to an anchor on shore, and hove tight on both, being the securest way of mooring in this harbour, the starboard cables out to the northward, and the larboard cables run on shore fast to anchors or piles there. It is necessary to have the best cables and anchors out to the northward, on account of the northerly

northerly winds, which sometimes blow very heavy, and heave in a heavy swell, the road being open to the northward.

When the governor came on board, he closely examined the captain in regard to the nature of his voyage; he likewise requested the liberty of examining his charts, which was complied with. The captain then gave him to understand, that he should be under the necessity, of applying to government for the supplies he then stood in need of; but the governor's answer was, that he had it not in his power to afford us any supplies without consulting the captain-general at St. Jago, nor could he suffer any of us to go on shore. After the governor had examined Meares's and Portlock's draughts, he requested the loan of them, to send to the captain-general, and desired the captain to write to him, and state the necessity that he was under, in regard to the supplies that he was in need of. The captain-general being an Irishman, was of course acquainted with the English language, which enabled us to make known, in a proper light, the nature of our cause. Accordingly, the next day, being the 5th, the captain wrote in regard to the supplies that he was in need of, that he would give bills to the amount on the Spanish ambassador at Philadelphia.

From the 5th to the 21st, we waited with impatience for an answer from Sir Ambrose Higgins, the vice-roy, and the draughts which the governor requested to have sent him, which were Meares's and Portlock's. In the mean time, we were industriously employed in overhauling and getting our ship ready for sea, and taking our stock of water on board, which amounted to six thousand gallons.

The morning of the 21st, the governor came on board, being his third visit since our arrival; he brought with him an answer to our letter, with all the books and charts, among which were the sea letter from General Washington. The vice-roy expressed in his letter the great satisfaction he had, in seeing "*his immortal name stamped with his own hand,*" for the first time. The letter we received was equal to our wishes, the copy of which follows.

SIR,

I received your agreeable favour, dated at Valparaiso, the 4th instant, wherein you are pleased to communicate your safe arrival, at that port, in the ship Jefferson, after a long

long voyage from Boston, in New-England, in so distressed a situation, that you found yourself under the indispensable necessity, for want of provisions, wood and water, as the said governor advises in his official letters, that he could not excuse admitting you to anchor; and I have desired him to assist you with all the necessaries you should require, in your present situation, so as to enable you to return to sea, resuming the course of your intended voyage, north of California; where, it seems, something considerable, as you express, may be added to general discoveries, and the better improvement of navigation. These, no doubt, are laudable objects; and by what I see, (through the sincerity of your sentiments,) hope to see you enrolled among the order of illustrious circum-navigators of our time, especially if you are so conspicuously successful as to fall into the north-west passage, so often spoken of, searched for through the Atlantic and North Pacific Oceans. A late certain navigator, Mr. Meares, whose voyage you were so good as to send me, and I return the two volumes by the bearer, with this letter through the hands of Don Louis De Olava, governor of Valparaiso, has been so ingenuous as to say, that his system of discoveries on the N. W. coast, were directed more properly to a lucrative fur-trade; but he is, at the same time, a writer of much merit; and to say the truth, there are some pieces, in his observations on the probability of a north-west passage, that must revive the old notion of Mr. Dobb's, and will so subsist until the world is entirely undeceived by some demonstration; which, at least, must be the case, for it is hard to believe, that, excepting through Behring's straits, there be any direct communication, by water, from the North Pacific to Hudson's bay, or any other part of the Atlantic or North Seas. In a land officer, like me, it is high presumption to give my opinion so decisively; but should you be so happy as to convince the world to the contrary, I shall have the honour to congratulate you most heartily on so glorious an enterprize. You will also receive, from the governor, the credential letter given in behalf of your expedition, at Philadelphia, by his Catholic majesty's envoy, or charge des affaires, Don Joseph Ignacius De Viar, which I return. Also the passport of the United States of North America, authorised with the signature of his excellency General WASHINGTON, *whose immortal name I have had infinite satisfaction*

*satisfaction to see stamped for the first time by his own hand ; a hand and arm so dexterously strong and fatal to the British empire, and no less beneficent to the happy country that gave him birth. I wish you a happy voyage, with my compliments to your second, Capt. Magee and command.*

Gentlemen, your affectionate, humble servant,

AMBROSE HIGGINS.

*St. Jago, De Chili,*

15 June, 1792.

*To Josiah Roberts, Esq. commander of the ship Jefferson,*

Valparaiso.

The 24th, we got all our supplies on board, consisting of the following articles, viz. 30 bushels of potatoes, for one dollar per bushel ; 10 dozen fowls ; 2 fat bullocks, at 9 dollars each ; 8 large hogs ; 2000 onions, weighing, on an average, one pound and a half each ; a number of pumpkins, and cabbages, a quantity of lemons, oranges, and nuts. The above articles this country abounds with, and produces them in the greatest perfection. The lands are fertile, and capable of as great improvement as any country on the globe ; they raise the best of wheat, and other grains, in great abundance. The next day was disagreeable weather ; but on the 26th, the weather having a settled appearance, at 4, P. M. unmoored ship, having all our business settled, and the governor's permission to put to sea ; hove out to the best bower, tripped it, the wind then got light and baffling, dropped it again, and run out a hauser to the Spanish ship in shore, until a breeze would favour us. During the night, the wind was light and baffling, though a fine clear moon and star light. At day-light, in the morning, sprung up a light breeze from the southward : Got under way, the wind continuing light ; got both boats ahead, and towed the ship out of the harbour. At 8 o'clock, A. M. the custom-house boat left us, with the officer and guard, who had been on board us since we came into port. When out clear of the harbour, we rounded to, to get our boats in. At noon, Valparaiso bore S. E. by S. 3 or 4 leagues distance, whose latitude we observed to be 32° 56' S. long. 72° 19' W. of Greenwich. Our stay in the above port was from the 4th to the 26th of June ; in which time, none of us had permission to go on shore,

shore, excepting the boat's crew, when filling our water, with a soldier along with them; and then they objected to an officer going in the boat. One day, the governor gave permission to land the forge, to get a palm to, and straighten the small bower anchor; which accordingly was landed on the beach, near the custom-house. The captain and second officer\* being on shore, attending the work, were visited by a number of gentlemen and ladies in the course of the day, some of whom belonged to St. Jago, the capital of Chili. The gentlemen and ladies were very polite, and seemed to feel much for us in not having the liberty of recreating ourselves on shore; if we had, they should be happy to entertain us in their different families; but the restrictions of the Spanish government deprived us of these pleasing enjoyments, while in this port, which we stood greatly in need of, after so long confinement on ship-board. In the afternoon, when the ladies and gentlemen made their second visit, they brought tea with them in silver pots and cups; and their manner of drinking it was through silver tubes. Some of the ladies presented the captain with some curious pocket pieces of silver and other metals. They were very agreeable all the afternoon, asking many questions in regard to how we liked the place, and the manner of their dress, which appeared very odd to us; or if the Boston ladies dressed different; and such like discourse. In the evening, the governor came to the works on the beach, and seemed much displeas'd with the company for having any communication with us; besides, he did not allow the captain, or any officer, to be on shore, though he did not give any orders to the contrary, when he gave liberty to land the forge. The ladies here, are extremely handsome; but their manner of dress did not seem pleasing to us. They wear large hoops, which extend 10 or 12 inches from the waist, all round; and the outside petticoat in large plaits all the way down, which must contain as much as 20 yards of silk, or any other cloth; it comes down a little below the knees; and from the hoop upward, they are laced tight, and wear a garment, similar to a cloak, round their shoulders.

We had pleasant gales, from the S. E. quarter, as far as the long.  $77^{\circ} 30'$  W. and the latitude  $26^{\circ}$  S. we then had the wind baffling, with light airs, for some days.

July the 5th, we made the island St. Felix, bearing S. W. about

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\* Mr. Burling.

about 10 leagues. We observed the variation of the magnetic needle in our way from the continent to these islands, to be from 9 to 10 degrees east. At 6 o'clock, the morning of the 6th, we made the island St. Ambrose. It lies due west of St. Felix, about 4 or 5 leagues; and at first making, appears like two small islands, which we afterwards found to join by a reef. The smallest makes in the form of a shoe, for which we gave it the name of *Shoe-island*. These islands lie in the latitude  $26^{\circ} 13'$  south; and the longitude of the island *St. Ambrose* we make, by several good sights of the sun and moon, to be  $80^{\circ} 55'$  W. of Greenwich. There is a large rock, about 4 miles to the northward of the island, which, at first making, appears like a sail, which we called *Sail Rock*. At 7 o'clock in the morning, we dispatched the pinnace, with the second officer and six hands, to examine *St. Felix* island, and found it inaccessible. They then proceeded to *St. Ambrose*, to examine it. At the same time, we stood on for it, with a light breeze from the eastward. At 5 in the evening, got abreast of St. Ambrose, bearing then south of us: Saw the pinnace, from 2 to 4 o'clock, examining the shore and inlets; hoisted a signal for her to return to the ship, but they did not perceive it. At half past 5, saw the pinnace, as it appeared to us, going into a creek; and at 7, they had a light on shore, from which we concluded they would remain all night. We kept a light at our mast-head, all the night, for the boat; but they did not return. At 7 o'clock, the next morning, we discovered the pinnace hauled up on the beach, with the people around her; we then supposed her stove, or that some accident had happened to them. We immediately dispatched the jolly-boat, with the third officer,\* and three hands, to know the cause of their detention; and about ten o'clock she returned. The third officer, who went in her, informed us, the boat and crew were all safe on the beach, but could not get off through the turf. We immediately sent her back again with an anchor and lines, to haul the pinnace off the beach; at the same time, we could discover, with our glasses, numbers of seals on the shore; and the third officer informed us, that the rocks and beaches were covered with them. At two, P. M. being then the 8th of July, saw both boats coming off from the shore, and at four o'clock got along-side; the pinnace had in her 128 skins, and some seals, superior in quality to any I ever saw. They

informed us, that there was no end to the quantity of seals on shore.

We immediately got out the long-boat, prepared her for going on shore, the next morning, with stores and a crew. Accordingly, the next morning got the stores and sealing gear, with twelve hands, the second officer and myself, in the long and jolly-boats; and at 8 o'clock, we put off from the ship, equipped for work; they gave us three cheers, which we returned, and proceeded for the shore, which was then about three leagues S. W. of us. At noon, we got in with the shore; found it impossible to land, on account of the surf, it being much higher than we discovered it since we made the islands. We immediately returned to the ship, got along-side at one o'clock, took all the stores out of the boats, and veered them astern, the weather having a threatening, unsettled appearance.

The weather continued unsettled until the 13th, during which time we kept between and about the islands, as near as the weather would admit; when, on that day, having a favourable appearance, we made the second attempt. At 8, A. M. left the ship, with both boats manned and stored as before; and at 10 o'clock got in with the shore, and anchored at the outside of the surf, landed in the jolly-boat myself and four hands, through a dangerous surf; took on shore with us, a hauling line from the long-boat, to haul the casks of water, and other stores, out of her. We launched the jolly-boat off a second time, and got all the people out of the long-boat, excepting the second officer and two hands, who remained to discharge her. The surf was then rising very fast; and when we got about half the stores on shore, the hauling line gave way; but by means of *Thomas Kilby*, who was an extraordinary good swimmer, brought it out again through a surf, that, at moderate calculation, ran from 12 to 18 feet high. This person we always found to be very serviceable, as oftentimes, when the boat came with supplies, we should find it impossible to land them, were it not for his exertions, who always would carry out a line to the boat, when it would be impossible for us to launch the jolly-boat. Got all the stores out of the boat, the surf rising to a prodigious height, and the weather having an unfavourable appearance; and finding it impossible to launch the jolly-boat again, to take the remainder of the people out of the long-boat,



long-boat, they therefore were obliged to put off for the ship, and the next day returned with more stores, which we got on shore as before.

Until the 15th, we were employed in getting our stores upon the island, and tents pitched; then we began our attack on the seals, which at that time were very numerous; and in seven weeks from that date, we killed and cured *eleven thousand skins*, superior in quality to any I ever saw. Having procured these, we thought it most prudent to ship them, as the season of the year made us fearful of heavy rains, that would damage the skins.

We then collected them all to the westernmost part of the island, which we found to be the best place for shipping them; which place, if we had known, when we first landed on the island, would have saved us a great deal of trouble and difficulty, which was oftentimes attended with a risk of our lives. Here we could land along side the rocks, as well as at any wharf, and seldom or ever any surf to hinder a boat to land; but when landed, we had to go up a steep bank, by means of a rope ladder, which we found very convenient latterly, in getting at seal, which otherwise could not be got at. We oftentimes went down banks 100 feet perpendicular, by means of it, to kill seal.

We completed shipping all the skins, that were cured, in three days; and fortunately, the weather during that time, continued pleasant, and the sea exceeding smooth. Our intention was to prosecute further the sealing business; but all at once the seal entirely quitted the island. We were informed by one of our people, that had been a sealing at the Faulkland islands, at all seasons of the year, that it was peculiar to that animal, at that season of the year, so to do, as they go off in deep water, to shed their fur, and wean their young, the latter part of every spring, and do not return for four or five weeks. This ended all our sealing on this island; yet we shared well for the time, having to the amount of 11,200 dried prime skins, and nearly 1800 pickled; in all near thirteen thousand, in my opinion, superior to any that were ever brought to the China market. From the first of *April* to the first of *August*, is the best time for sealing here; for in that time the fur is in perfection, and there is no end to the quantity of seal. If we had been fortunate enough to have got here two months sooner, I have no doubt but in  
three

three months from the time of our landing, we should have procured 20,000 skins.

However, this is all I can say in favour of this island, excepting fish, which are round it in great abundance; and I may venture to say, none in the globe can exceed them. The crawfish are likewise in great plenty all along the rocks; and when the spring of the year advanced we got the *sea-fowl's* eggs in great plenty. There is no water on the island, or the least appearance of a spring on any part of it; but from many gullies and water ways, that we saw there, the rains must fall very heavy at some seasons of the year. All round the island, excepting the north part, is a high perpendicular bank, from 60 to 100 feet of rotten rocks and stones; and on the north part, not more than 8 or 10 feet to the beach in some places. The whole face of the island is covered with stones and sand, apparently as if burnt, and run as if melted. I am fully convinced that there is not a more barren spot on the face of the earth. We have seen no kind of vegetation on the island, excepting a few small plants, too inconsiderable for description; and I have no doubt but an eruption has taken place at some former period. The 21st September, having got all the skins, which we had procured, on board, and finding the seal had entirely quitted the island, we repaired on board, with our baggage and gear.

From the 21st to the 23th, we lay off and on the island; sent the boats on shore every day, to catch fish for corning, for the remainder of our passage; as we concluded to go to the Marquesas, rather than to the Sandwich islands, on account of their being much nearer, and in our way to the coast of America. We had it from good authority, that they produced plenty of hogs and vegetables, which would conduce much to the health of our people, besides affording them plenty of water."

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF A GROUP OF ISLANDS  
IN THE NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN, BY CAPT. JAMES MAGEE,  
IN THE SHIP MARGARET, OF BOSTON, IN HIS RUN FROM  
CANTON TOWARD THE N. W. COAST OF AMERICA.  
EXTRACTED FROM HIS LOG-BOOK.

“ TUESDAY, 6th of March, 1793, steering N. E., at 3 o'clock in the morning, we saw land, bearing N. E. by E. ; tacked and stood to the N. W. At 5, tacked and stood to the E. At day-light, saw *six islands*, bearing from S. S. W. to N. by E. ; the nearest appeared to be about four leagues distant. At 7, the southernmost island, by our account, we judged to lie in latitude  $27^{\circ}$ , the northernmost in  $28^{\circ} 4'$ , north.

“ At 10, A. M. a large island was seen, bearing S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., to the southward of all which we had seen. At meridian, the extremes of the islands, in sight, bore as follows : That to the southward of us, from S. S. W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. to S. S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. ; the ship's distance from the body of the island, five miles. That to the northward of us, and forms the channel we passed through, bore, at the same time, N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., distant 6 or 7 leagues. Several, which we had seen in the morning, were now out of sight ; the most southern island not being in sight, but we supposed it to bear S. S. W., 8 leagues distant ; and the most northern, N. by E., 12 or 13 leagues distant.

“ The meridian altitude gave the latitude  $27^{\circ} 12'$  N. The longitude, by a good observation of the sun and moon, was  $214^{\circ} 20'$  W. from Greenwich.

“ This group of islands lies nearly N. and S., extending about 64 nautical miles. As they are not laid down in any chart in our possession ; and as I suppose myself the first discoverer, I give them the name of my ship, MARGARET'S ISLANDS.

“ Wednesday, 7th of March,\* at half past 5, P. M. while standing to the E., a large number of breakers were seen, off the E. end of the fourth island from the southward, which we found it impossible to weather. Wore ship, and stood to the westward, (the wind being then about E.), to clear these islands. At 6, the northernmost island, in sight bore  
N. N. W. ;

\* This was the same day, according to the civil account ; but it is to be noted, that the marine day begins at noon, and the log account is kept in conformity to that custom.

N. N. W.; the southernmost, S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. At half past 6, double-reefed the topsails, and hauled up the courses. At half past 7, hove to. At 11, filled and stood, during the night, first N. E., then S. by E., then N. by W. At 6, the next morning, the northernmost island, seen the preceding day, bore S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., 10 or 11 leagues distant. Being now clear of the islands, we let out our reefs, and set our top-gallant-sails, keeping our course to the N. E., as before this discovery. Latitude this meridian, 28<sup>o</sup> 19' N."

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A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE AGENCY OF THE HONOURABLE JOHN WINTHROP, ESQ. IN THE COURT OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND, ANNO DOM. 1662; WHEN HE OBTAINED A CHARTER FOR THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT. WRITTEN BY ROGER WOLCOTT, ESQ. HIS SUCCESSOR IN THE GOVERNMENT OF CONNECTICUT, FROM 1751 TO 1754.

THE night is past, and civil wars o'er blown,  
 And the right heir advanced to the throne;  
 A general joy runs through Great-Britanny,  
 At the appearance of his majesty:  
 Loud cannons from the ships upon the Thames,  
 And from the batteries, fill'd the air with flames:  
 Whilst from the tower such mighty thunders went,  
 As shook the islands, seas, and continent.  
 The rich, the poor, the old, the young, agree  
 To celebrate a joyful jubilee;  
 And to the utmost all themselves employ,  
 To make free demonstrations of their joy.  
 Some quaff full goblets of the richest wine;  
 And others make the blazing bonfires shine;  
 Whilst the devout their prayers to heaven sent,  
 For blessings on the king and government.

These happy tidings soon found out their way,  
 Unto the English in America;  
 Who join with Britain in the celebration  
 Of their just prince's happy restoration.  
 The sages of Connecticut do meet,  
 To pay their homage at their prince's feet;  
 To whom they seek to hasten an address,  
 To shew their duty and their joy's excess.

Learned Winthrop then, by general consent,  
Sat at the helm, to sway the government ;  
Who prudently the people doth advise,  
To ask the king for chartered liberties.

All like his counsel well ; and all reply,  
Sir, you must undertake our agency ;  
For there is none but you, we may expect,  
Can make the thing you counsel take effect :  
Your serving us in this important thing,  
And personating us before the king,  
Will sure endear a Winthrop's memory  
To us, and to our last posterity.

His mind, vast as the heavenly spheres above,  
Was all bespangled with the stars of love ;  
And zealous care for their posterity,  
Of all his acts the primum mobile ;  
Led on by these bright stars' kind influence,  
He hastens to the palace of his prince ;

There waiting for an opportunity,————

Ere long, great Charles was in his counsel sat,  
With some choice nobles of his cabinet :  
His royal mind, intent on his affairs,  
He thus unbosoms to his counsellors :

*What news, My lords ? How go affairs abroad ?  
What more remains to do for England's good ?  
Do distant parts of our dominion  
Want farther help or favour from the throne ?*

At this, arose one of the lords of trade,  
And to his majesty this answer made,  
An agent from Connecticut doth wait,  
With an address, before your palace gate.

*Let him come in, says Charles, and let us hear  
What has been done, and what's a doing there ?*

Winthrop, brought in before his prince's feet,  
Prostrates himself with reverence, the king to greet ;  
And thanks his majesty for his access :  
Then for his people offers this address :

' Great Sir, since reconciled Heaven restores  
 ' You to the throne of your high ancestors,  
 ' See how each subject emulating tries  
 ' To express our national felicities ;  
 ' The joy of your accession to the throne  
 ' Is like the lustre of the morning sun ;  
 ' Which from the east salutes the western shores,  
 ' Still trampling under foot night's horrid powers :  
 ' So the loud accents of this boundless joy,  
 ' Echoing in our ears from Britanny,  
 ' Gave light and gladness wheresoe'er it came,  
 ' And fill'd our joyful hearts with equal flame.  
 ' The sad remembrance of those days of woe,  
 ' Which in your absence we did undergo,  
 ' Transports our present joys to that excess,  
 ' As passeth all expressions to express.  
 ' May heaven preserve your majesty, and bless  
 ' Your reign with honour, and with length of days ;  
 ' And in your line the regal power extend,  
 ' Until the sun's last revolution end.  
 ' And since we are at mighty Cæsar's feet,  
 ' O may he pardon us while we entreat  
 ' Your royal favour in the thing we want,  
 ' T' incorporate us by your charter-grant.  
 ' The land we've purchased, or subdued by fight,  
 ' And bought of Fenwick what was Warwick's right,  
 ' And all at the endeavour of our own,  
 ' Without the least disbursement from the throne.'

*Rise up, quoth Charles ; my liberal hand supplies  
 All needful help to every one that cries ;  
 Nor shall I be illiberal to you :  
 But, prithee, Winthrop, please to let me know  
 By whom it was your place did first commence,  
 Your patriarchs that led your tribes from hence ?*

' If to declare their worth, is what you ask,  
 ' Then I must beg your pardon. That's a task  
 ' So worthy due performance, and so great,  
 ' As goes beyond my utterance and concept :  
 ' But virtue never fails ; succeeding days  
 ' Shall much regard their merits, and shall raise

‘ Men of bright parts and moving oratory,  
‘ Who shall emblazon their immortal glory.  
‘ But if you ask to gain intelligence,  
‘ What were the reasons why they went from hence,  
‘ What straits they met with in their way, and there ?  
‘ These facts I think I’m able to declare.  
‘ RELIGION was the cause : Divinity  
‘ Having declared the gospel shine should be  
‘ Extensive as the sun’s diurnal shine ;  
‘ This mov’d our founders to this great design.  
‘ And sure the Holy Spirit from above,  
‘ That first did quickning on the waters move,  
‘ Inspir’d their minds, and fill’d them with intents,  
‘ To bring to pass such glorious events.  
‘ And now they wholly to this work devote,  
‘ Mind not the country they are going out :  
‘ Their ancient homes they leave, to come no more.  
‘ Their weeping friends and kindred on the shore  
‘ They bid adieu, and with an aching heart  
‘ Shake hands ; ’tis hard when dearest friends must part.  
‘ But here they part, and leave their parent isle,  
‘ Their whilome happy seat. The winds a while  
‘ Are courteous, and conduct them on their way,  
‘ To near the midst of the Atlantic sea,  
‘ When suddenly their pleasant gales they change  
‘ For dismal storms that on the ocean range.  
‘ For faithless Æolus, meditating harms,  
‘ Breaks up the peace, and priding much in arms,  
‘ Unbars the great artillery of heaven,  
‘ And at the fatal signal by him given,  
‘ The cloudy chariots threatening take the plains ;  
‘ Drawn by wing’d steeds, hard pressing on their reins.  
‘ These vast battalions, in dire aspect rais’d,  
‘ Start from the barriers-night with lightning blaz’d.  
‘ Whilst clashing wheels resounding thunder cracks,  
‘ Struck mortals deaf, and heaven astonished shakes.  
‘ Here the ship captain, in the midnight watch,  
‘ Stamps on the deck, and thunders up the hatch ;  
‘ And to the mariners aloud he cries,  
‘ Now all from safe recumbency arise :  
‘ All hands aloft, and stand well to your tack,  
‘ Engendering storms have cloath’d the sky with black,

' Big tempests threaten to undo the world :  
 ' Down top-sail, let the main-sail soon be furl'd,  
 ' Haste to the fore-sail, there take up a reef :  
 ' 'Tis time, boys, now if ever to be brief :  
 ' Aloof for life, let's try to stem the tide,  
 ' The ship's much water, thus we may not ride :  
 ' Stand roomer then, let's run before the sea,  
 ' That so the ship may feel her steerage way :  
 ' Steady at helm ! Swiftly along she scuds,  
 ' Before the wind, and cuts the foaming suds,  
 ' Sometimes aloft she lifts her prow so high,  
 ' As if she'd run her bowsprit through the sky ;  
 ' Then from the summit ebbs and hurries down,  
 ' As if her way were to the center shown.  
   ' Meanwhile our founders in the cabin sat,  
   ' Reflecting on their true and sad estate ;  
   ' Whilst holy Warham's sacred lips did treat  
   ' About God's promises, and mercies great.  
   ' Still more gigantic births spring from the clouds,  
   ' Which tore the tatter'd canvass from the shrouds,  
   ' And dreadful balls of lightning fill the air,  
   ' Shot from the hand of the great Thunderer.  
   ' And now a mighty sea the ship o'er takes,  
   ' Which falling on the deck the bulk-head breaks ;  
   ' The sailors cling to ropes, and frighted cry,  
   ' *The ship is foundered, we die ! we die !*  
   ' Those in the cabin heard the sailors screech ;  
   ' All rise, and reverend Warham do beseech,  
   ' That he would now lift up to heaven a cry  
   ' For preservation in extremity.  
   ' He with a faith sure bottom'd on the word  
   ' Of Him that was of sea and winds the Lord,  
   ' His eyes lifts up to Heaven, his hands extends,  
   ' And fervent prayers for deliverance sends.  
   ' The winds abate, the threatening waves appease,  
   ' And a sweet calm sits regent on the seas,  
   ' They bless the name of their deliverer,  
   ' Who now they found a God that heareth prayer.  
   ' Still further westward on they keep their way,  
   ' Ploughing the pavement of the briny sea,  
   ' Till the vast ocean they had overpast,  
   ' And in Connecticut their anchors cast.



‘ Here came Soheage, and told the company,  
‘ The garden of America did lie  
‘ Further up stream, near fifty miles from hence,  
‘ Part of which country he himself was prince.  
‘ Much ask’d of th’ soil, much of the government,  
‘ What kings were there ? the land of what extent ?  
‘ All which, by his free answers, when they knew,  
‘ They o’er his back a scarlet mantle threw.  
‘ And now, invited with fresh southern gales,  
‘ They weigh their anchors, and they hoist their sails,  
‘ And northward for th’ expected country stood,  
‘ Upon the smiling pavement of the flood.  
‘ At length they entered those awful straits,  
‘ Where the stream runs through adamantine gates.  
‘ ’Twas strange to see the banks advanc’d so high,  
‘ As if with Atlas they bore up the sky.  
‘ But when those dismal straits were passed through,  
‘ A glorious country opens to their view,  
‘ Cloath’d all in green, and to the eye presents  
‘ Nature’s best fruits and richest ornaments.  
‘ Cheer’d with the sight, they set all sails a-trip,  
‘ And rais’d the English ensign on their ship.  
‘ Brave youths, with eager strokes, bend knotty oars,  
‘ Glad shouts bring cheerful echos from the shores.  
‘ As when the wounded amorous doth spy  
‘ His smiling fortune in his lady’s eye,  
‘ O how his veins and breast swell with a flood  
‘ Of pleasing raptures, that revive his blood !  
‘ And grown impatient now of all delays,  
‘ No longer he deliberating stays ;  
‘ But through the force of her resistless charms,  
‘ He throws him, soul and body, in her arms.  
‘ So we, amazed at these seen delights,  
‘ Which to fruition every sense invites,  
‘ Our eager mind, already captive made,  
‘ Grow most impatient now to be delay’d,  
‘ This most delightful country to possess ;  
‘ And forward, with industrious speed, we press,  
‘ Upon the virgin stream, who had, as yet,  
‘ Never been violated with a ship.  
‘ Upon the banks king Aramamet stood,  
‘ And round about his wondering multitude,

‘ Greatly

' Greatly amazed at such an uncouth show :  
 ' What is't, they cried ? Some say, a great canoe.  
 ' Others, a bird that in the air doth fly,  
 ' With her long bill, and wings' up to the sky.  
 ' But other some, whom fear did terrify,  
 ' Cry'd, 'tis some ill-presaging prodigy.  
 ' Nothing on earth more impetuous we find  
 ' Than terror, when it seizeth on the mind.  
 ' Dreadful effects of this did soon appear;  
 ' The multitude surpris'd with chilling fear ;  
 ' With looks distracted, and out-staring eyes,  
 ' Each scares himself, and others terrifies ;  
 ' Only the king, who had within his breast,  
 ' A heart which foolish fear could not infest,  
 ' Perceiv'd the matter, and the ship he hails,  
 ' Now drop your anchors, and unbend your sails ;  
 ' And if for peace and friendship you are come,  
 ' And do desire this land should be your home,  
 ' Let some of your chief leaders come to land,  
 ' And now with me join their right hand to hand.  
 ' Sails lower amain, nor oars now touch the flood,  
 ' Down drop the anchors deep into the mud :  
 ' Their chiefs repair to land, and with them bring,  
 ' Obliging presents for the Indian king.  
 ' Majestic Aramamet, with his lords,  
 ' Steps forth to meet those guests without his guards ;  
 ' Meeting he paus'd, astonish'd at the sight ;  
 ' Such men, such airs, with countenances bright,  
 ' He ne'er had seen, nor now to see expecting ;  
 ' Amaz'd he stood a while ! but recollecting  
 ' His scattered intellect, he cries, who's there ?  
 ' Whence come you ? Seek you with us peace or war ?  
 ' Britons you see, say they, and we are come  
 ' From England, happiest seat in Christendom,  
 ' Where mighty Charles obligeth sea and land,  
 ' To yield obedience to his sceptred hand ;  
 ' Nor came we here to live with you in wars,  
 ' As he knows best, that made sun, moon and stars ;  
 ' But rather here to live with you in peace,  
 ' Till day and night's successive changes cease.  
 ' This we propose ; and this if you approve,  
 ' And do respect our neighbourhood and love,

' Then

‘ Then sell us land, whereon we towns may plant,  
 ‘ And join with us in friendly covenant.  
 ‘ What you propose, (quoth he,) is just and good,  
 ‘ And I shall e’er respect your neighbourhood ;  
 ‘ Land you may have, *we value not the soil,*  
 ‘ *Accounting tillage too severe a toil.*  
 ‘ Then he his own right hand to theirs doth join,  
 ‘ Of his sure friendship the undoubted sign ;  
 ‘ Then brings them to his house, and from his boards  
 ‘ Feasts them with what his country best affords.  
 ‘ Whilst here they stay at Aramamet’s court,  
 ‘ Hither the neighbouring Indian kings resort,  
 ‘ And join with them in articles of peace,  
 ‘ And of their lands make firm conveyances ;  
 ‘ And being now by deeds and leagues secure,  
 ‘ Their towns they built, their purchas’d land manure.’

Thus far he said ; Then said his majesty,  
*Methinks, I have a curiosity*  
*To know this country, that for ages past*  
*Lay hid, and you have now found out at last ;*  
*This new found river, is it fresh and fair ?*  
*What land adjoins to it ? Has’t a pleasant air ?*

Learn’d Winthrop, bow’d with humble reverence,  
 T’ express his loyalty unto his prince.  
 And then these his demands to satisfy,  
 He with a cheerful air made this reply :

‘ This your desire, great Sir, bears me in mind,  
 ‘ What in the ancient register we find  
 ‘ Of the first king in Jesurun, from whose breast  
 ‘ Such vast and ample thoughts themselves exprest :  
 ‘ That they have by the world been held e’er since,  
 ‘ Of truth and wisdom clearest evidence.  
 ‘ This mighty man desired of his God  
 ‘ That he before his life’s last period,  
 ‘ Might be permitted once to look upon  
 ‘ The land, that goodly Mount and Lebanon ;  
 ‘ Which his desire was thus accomplished,  
 ‘ After his charge was done, then he was led  
 ‘ Up to the top of Pisgah, and his eye  
 ‘ From thence was well enabled to descry

' The land of promise in its full extent,  
 ' And all things in it that were excellent.  
 ' Long did he feast his hungry eyes, and gaz'd  
 ' Upon those objects, until, all amaz'd  
 ' And ravished with the sight thus to him given,  
 ' His vast capacious soul flew up to heaven.  
 ' But thus to view fine countries from afar  
 ' Must still remain that man's peculiar ;  
 ' And though I think our land is near as good  
 ' As that which then was unto Moses shew'd,  
 ' Yet may it not from me be now expected  
 ' Its worth should be so amply dissected,  
 ' Yet will I do my best to satisfy  
 ' What is demanded by your majesty.  
   ' This gallant stream keeps running from the head,  
 ' Four hundred miles ere it with neptune bed,  
 ' Passing along hundred of rivulets,  
 ' From either bank its chrystal waves besets,  
 ' Freely to pay their tributes to this stream,  
 ' As being chief and sovereign unto them ;  
 ' It bears no torrent nor impetuous course,  
 ' As if 'twere driven to the sea by force.  
 ' But calmly on a gentle wave doth move;  
 ' As if 'twere drawn to Thetis' house by love.  
   ' The waters fresh and sweet ; and he that swims  
 ' In it, recruits and cures his surfeit limbs.  
 ' The fisherman the fry with pleasure gets,  
 ' With seines, pots, angles, and his tramel-nets.  
 ' In it 'swim salmon, sturgeon, carp and eels ;  
 ' Above, fly cranes, geese, duck, herons and teals ;  
 ' And swans, which take such pleasure as they fly,  
 ' They sing their hymns oft long before they die.  
   ' The grassy banks are like a verdant bed,  
 ' With choicest flowers all enameled,  
 ' O'er which the winged choristers do fly,  
 ' And wound the air with wonderous melody,  
 ' Here philomel, high perch'd upon a thorn,  
 ' Sings cheerful hymns to the approaching morn.  
 ' The song once set, each birds tunes up his lyre,  
 ' Responding heavenly music through the quire,  
 ' Within these fields, fair banks of violets grows ;  
 ' And near them stands the air-perfuming rose,

' And

‘ And yellow lilies fair enameled,  
‘ With ruddy spots here blushing hang the head.  
‘ These meadows serve not only for the sight,  
‘ To charm the eye with wonder and delight ;  
‘ But for their excellent fertility,  
‘ Transcends each spot that ere beheld sol’s eye,  
‘ Here lady Flora’s richest treasure grows,  
‘ And here she bounteously her gifts bestows.  
‘ The husband-man, for all his diligence,  
‘ Receives an ample, liberal recompence,  
‘ And feasting on the kidneys of the wheat,  
‘ Doth soon his labour and his toil forget.  
‘ After the meadows thus have took their place,  
‘ The champion plains draw up to fill the space.  
‘ Fair in their prospect, pleasant, fruitful, wide,  
‘ Here Tellus may be seen in all his pride.  
‘ Cloud-kissing pines in stately man-groves stand,  
‘ Firm oaks fair branches wide and large extend.  
‘ The fir, the box, the balm-tree, here stand mute,  
‘ So do the nut-trees, laden down with fruit.  
‘ In shady vales the fruitful vine o’erwhelms  
‘ The waving branches of the bending elms.  
‘ Within the covert of these shady boughs,  
‘ The loving turtle and his lovely spouse,  
‘ From bough to bough, in deep affection move,  
‘ And with chaste joy reciprocate their love.  
‘ At the cool brooks, the beavers and the minks  
‘ Keep house, and here the hart and panther drinks.  
‘ And partridges here keep in memory,  
‘ How to their loss they soared once too high.  
‘ Within these spacious forests, fresh and green,  
‘ No monsters of burnt Africk may be seen.  
‘ No hissing basilisk stands to affright,  
‘ Nor seps, nor hemorhus, with mortal bite ;  
‘ The lybian lion ne’er set footing here,  
‘ Nor tygers of Numidia do appear.  
‘ But here the moose his spreading antlers sways,  
‘ And bears down stubborn standels with their sprays.  
‘ These sport themselves within these woods, and here  
‘ The fatted roe-buck and the fallow deer  
‘ Yield venison as good as that which won  
‘ The patriarchal benediction.

' Each plain is bounded at its utmost edge  
 ' With a long chain of mountains in a ridge,  
 ' Whose azure tops advance themselves so high,  
 ' They seem like pendants hanging in the sky.  
 ' Twenty-four miles, surveyors do account  
 ' Between the eastern and the western mount ;  
 ' In which vast interspace, pleasant and fair,  
 ' Zephyrus whispers a delightful air.  
 ' These mountains stand at equi-distant space  
 ' From the fair flood, in such majestick grace,  
 ' Their looks alone are able to inspire  
 ' An active brain with a mercurial fire.  
 ' The muses hence their ample dew distil,  
 ' More than was feigned from the twy-topt hill.  
 ' And if those witty men that have us told  
 ' Strange tales of mountains in the days of old,  
 ' Had they but seen how these are elevated,  
 ' We should have found them far more celebrated,  
 ' In the fine works that they have left to us,  
 ' Than high Olympus or long Cancassus ;  
 ' Or Latmos, which Diana stops upon,  
 ' There to salute her dear Endimion.

' Hither the eagles fly, and lay their eggs ;  
 ' Then bring their young ones forth out of those crags,  
 ' And force them to behold sol's majesty,  
 ' In mid-noon glory, with a steady eye.  
 ' Here the old eagle his long beak belays  
 ' Upon a rock, till he renews his days.  
 ' And hence they from afar behold their prey,  
 ' And with a steady pinion wing their way.  
 ' But why so excellent a land should lie  
 ' So many ages in obscurity,  
 ' Unseen, unheard of, or unthought upon,  
 ' I think there's no good reason can be shown  
 ' Unless 'twere as it seems the mind of fate,  
 ' Your royal name long to perpetuate,  
 ' So ordered it that such a land might owe  
 ' Thanks for it's liberties, great Sir, to you.

' The English settlements, when thus begun,  
 ' Were blest and prosper'd in their carrying on.  
 ' Churches embody, Heaven they address,  
 ' For preservation in the wilderness.

‘ The heathen they invite unto the Lord,  
‘ And teach them the good knowledge of his word.  
‘ Heav’n heard their pray’rs, and their labour crown’d  
‘ With health and peace, with all their neighbours round.

‘ Thus all succeeded well, until the sun  
‘ Had near one time his annual circle run,  
‘ When great Sasacus rose in impious arms,  
‘ And fill’d the land with mischiefs and alarms.  
‘ But since I’ve mentioned great Sasacus’ name,  
‘ That day so much a terror where it came,  
‘ Let me, in prosecuting of my story,  
‘ Say something of his pride and kingdom’s glory.

‘ Of the brave Pequot nation he was head,  
‘ And with such conduct had their armies led,  
‘ That by the power of his martial bands,  
‘ He had subjected all the neighbouring lands,  
‘ Upon the vanquish’d he would exercise  
‘ The most inhuman acts of cruelties,  
‘ By which, and by his often victories,  
‘ He grew so dreadful to his enemies,  
‘ That weaponless they fell before his feet,  
‘ For pardon and protection to entreat.

‘ Great was his glory, greater still his pride ;  
‘ Much by himself and others magnified.

‘ He hears the English in the eastern parts  
‘ Are of such stoutness and resolved hearts,  
‘ That they will do no homage to the throne  
‘ Of any sov’reign prince, except their own.  
‘ This suiteth not with his ambitious breast ;  
‘ He’ll have their homage too amongst the rest.  
‘ And such of them as fall within his power,  
‘ He like an hungry lion doth devour.

‘ He Norton, Stone, and Oldham, doth surprise,  
‘ Then murders them and all their companies ;  
‘ Seizeth their goods, and them for presents sends,  
‘ At once to comfort and confirm his friends.

‘ Their deaths the Massachusetts doth resent,  
‘ And Endicott is with an army sent ;  
‘ Who, though he wisely did the war pursue,  
‘ And did what a brave general could do ;  
‘ Yet he return’d again without success,  
‘ And Pequots kept insulting ne’ertheless.

' So great a work, and mighty was it found,  
 ' To fix your English on that distant ground.  
 ' Mean while, the English of that colony,  
 ' On whose account I'm here in agency,  
 ' Entered the river, and posses'd the same,  
 ' Paying no deference to his dreadful name.  
 ' This high affront the tyrant deep resents,  
 ' And vows to ruinate their settlements.  
 ' His priests, his captains, and great men of war,  
 ' He calleth to consult on this affair.  
 ' Who being met, the case to them relates,  
 ' And thus the wretch on us recriminates :  
 ' My noble captains and wise counsellers,  
 ' You know how that of old our ancestors,  
 ' By their known liberties and ancient laws,  
 ' Were well allowed to marry many squaws.  
 ' Their way of worship was to dance and sing,  
 ' By the religious rules of Powawing.  
 ' Their gods always accepted their address,  
 ' And crown'd their arms with glorious success.  
 ' Then was the Pequot name greatly renown'd,  
 ' And terrible to neighbouring nations round.  
 ' These rules and their estate so prosperous,  
 ' They handed down unblemished to us :  
 ' And we have been as prosperous in our days,  
 ' In following their long approved ways.  
 ' But there's of men a more audacious brood,  
 ' Lately come hither from beyond the flood,  
 ' Who teach us other doctrines to believe,  
 ' Than ever our fore-fathers did receive :  
 ' These tell the Indians they have got no eyes :  
 ' But as for they themselves are very wise.  
 ' They preach there is no other God but one ;  
 ' Him whom your fathers worship'd, he is none.  
 ' Their way of worship was a cursed way ;  
 ' They serv'd the devil in their antick play.  
 ' 'Tis very like they now are all in hell,  
 ' Where they in fire and brimstone roar and yell.  
 ' And you, for following the steps they tread  
 ' Are like enough so to be punished,  
 ' Unless for what is past you soon repent,  
 ' And turn you from those ways to full intent.



‘ You must not have so many handsome wives,  
‘ *That* dont consist with mortified lives ;  
‘ And we allow no such pluralities ;  
‘ Therefore forsake them, pity not their cries.  
‘ The Sabbath you must keep, yea fast and pray,  
‘ And watch your wicked hearts both night and day.  
‘ And when all this is done, you must complain,  
‘ All stands for nothing till your born again.  
‘ Now shall we all at once be rul’d by them,  
‘ And so our fathers and our gods condemn ?  
‘ Shall we at once forsake our pleasant wives,  
‘ That so we may live mortified lives ?  
‘ Shall we yield them the empire we command,  
‘ And humbly wait upon them cap in hand ?  
‘ Or shan’t we rather curb them now betimes,  
‘ And make them feel the folly of their crimes ?  
‘ Speak freely. On the honour of a prince,  
‘ I’ll hear as freely, and without offence.

‘ Then an old Panime rose, to ease his breast,  
‘ And thus his deep resentments he exprest :  
‘ Such horrid words, such sayings blasphemous,  
‘ Comes from no tongue but the most impious.  
‘ All nations yet have ever honoured  
‘ The sacred name and mem’ry of the dead.  
‘ No man till these dare ever yet despise,  
‘ And trample on immortal deities.  
‘ No strangers yet, till conquest gave them cause,  
‘ Dare once prescribe to native princes laws.  
‘ Which shews their blasphemy and insolence  
‘ Is great, and doth surpass all precedents.  
‘ Our laws, our empire, and religion too,  
‘ Are safely, Sir, deposited with you.  
‘ And you have kept them safely hitherto,  
‘ As ’tis your duty and your praise to do.  
‘ Suffer them not to keep insulting thus,  
‘ Nor put such impositions upon us.  
‘ But arm your warriors ; let us try the odds  
‘ ’Twixt them and us, ’twixt theirs and our gods.  
‘ For much I fear impending vengeance  
‘ Will ruin us, unless we drive them hence.  
‘ This said, one of his chiefest warriors rose,  
‘ And thus his mind did to his prince disclose :

' If they are so audacious while a few,  
 ' When grown a multitude, what will they do ?  
 ' Therefore 'tis my advice to arm, and try  
 ' The quarrel with them in their infancy.  
 ' Sure now, if ever, we may well succeed,  
 ' Whilst warlike Sasacus doth us lead ;  
 ' Whose very name and martial policy  
 ' Has always gain'd us half the victory.  
 ' To what he said, they all agreed as one :  
 ' Now is the trumpet of defiance blown.  
 ' War with the English nation is proclaim'd ;  
 ' (Their priests their martial men greatly inflam'd).

' A bloody host is sent to Saybrook fort,  
 ' To plunder, kill and cut the English short :  
 ' Where they arriv'd, and diverse murdered ;  
 ' Then round the English fort beleaguered.

' Another army cross the land is sent,  
 ' With fire and sword to kill the innocent.  
 ' At Weathersfield they lay in ambuscade,  
 ' And a sad slaughter of the people made.  
 ' Others they took, and them in captive led  
 ' Unto their forts, there to be tortured.

' Thus from our peace most suddenly we are  
 ' Wrapt up in the calamities of war.  
 ' So have I sometimes in the summer seen  
 ' The sun ascending and the sky serene ;  
 ' Nor wind nor cloud in all the hemisphere,  
 ' All things in such a perfect calmness were.  
 ' At length a little cloud doth up arise,  
 ' To which the nitrous sulphury vapour flies.  
 ' Soon a dark mantle over heaven spread,  
 ' With which the lamp of day was darkened.  
 ' And now the clouds in tempest loud contend,  
 ' And rain and dreadful lightning downward send ;  
 ' With which such loud and mighty thunders broke,  
 ' As made earth tremble, and the mountains smoke ;  
 ' And the convulsive world seem drawing on  
 ' Apace to her own dissolution ;  
 ' The awfulness of which amazing sight  
 ' Greatly did earth's inhabitants affright.  
 ' E'en so those halcyon days, that were with us,  
 ' Were soon turn'd into times tempestuous.

‘ Mischief on mischief every day succeeds,  
‘ And every mischief greater mischief breeds.  
‘ The numerous nations all the country o’er  
‘ Who had appeared friendly heretofore,  
‘ Seeing the Pequots had the war begun,  
‘ And well succeeded in their carrying on,  
‘ Calling to mind their former victories,  
‘ The English men grew abject in their eyes.  
‘ Some at the first the Pequot armies join’d  
‘ And all the rest but of a wavering mind ;  
‘ Waiting but for an opportunity  
‘ To murder us by force or treachery.  
‘ No confidence in any we repose,  
‘ Our seeming friends we find our real foes.  
‘ Fears never to behold the morning light,  
‘ Encumbered our natural rest each night.  
‘ Nor had we place of refuge to repair,  
‘ Only to the Most High in Heaven by prayer ;  
‘ To whom was offered up the sacrifice  
‘ Of broken hearts, and penitential cries.  
‘ A council met at Hartford, who conclude,  
‘ We must subdue the foe, or be subdued ;  
‘ And that the gangrene still would further stray,  
‘ ’Till the infected limb be cut away.  
‘ And thereupon they ordered and decreed,  
‘ To raise our utmost forces with all speed.  
‘ This resolution publish’d and declar’d,  
‘ Ninety brave combatants in arms appear’d.  
‘ This was the sum of all our infantry,  
‘ Yet scarce a tithe unto the enemy.  
‘ But what they wanted in their multitude,  
‘ ’Twas hop’d their resolution would make good.  
‘ These were the men, this was the little band,  
‘ That durst the force of the new world withstand ;  
‘ These were the men that by their swords made way  
‘ For peace and safety in America.  
‘ And these are those whose names fame hath enrol’d,  
‘ Fairly in brightest characters of gold.  
‘ The army now drawn up : To be their head  
‘ Our valiant Mason was commissioned ;  
‘ (Whose name is never mentioned by me,  
‘ Without a special note of dignity).

' The leader march'd them to the river side,  
 ' There to embark his army on the tide ;  
 ' Where lay our little fleet, to wait upon  
 ' Our army for their transportation.  
 ' (Going on board, Oraculous Hooker said,  
 ' Fear not the foe, they shall become your bread).  
 ' 'Twas here that Uncass did the army meet,  
 ' With many stout Mohegans at his feet.  
 ' He to the general goes, and doth declare,  
 ' He came for our assistance in the war.  
 ' He was that sagamore, whom great Sasacus' rage  
 ' Had hitherto kept under vassalage.  
 ' But weary of this great severity,  
 ' He now revolts and to the English fly.  
 ' With cheerful air our captain him embraces,  
 ' And him and his chief men with title graces ;  
 ' But over them preserved a jealous eye,  
 ' Lest all this might be done in treachery.  
 ' Then down the river with their fleet they stood ;  
 ' But stranding often on the flats and mud.  
 ' Uncass impatient of such long delays,  
 ' Stood forth, and freely to the general says,  
 ' Suffer me and my men to go on shore,  
 ' We are not us'd to shipping, sails and oar.  
 ' I'll range the woods to find the enemy,  
 ' Where they in their close ambushments may lie ;  
 ' And unto you at Saybrook will repair,  
 ' And so attend your further orders there.  
 ' Consented to, they land immediately,  
 ' And marching down, soon met the enemy :  
 ' And showers of arrows on them he bestows,  
 ' Swifter than ever flew from Parthian bows.  
 ' At length the Pequots left the field and fled,  
 ' There leaving many of their fellows dead.  
 ' The news of this our forces greatly cheers,  
 ' And turned to confidence our jealous fears.  
 ' Coming to Saybrook, Uncass on them waits,  
 ' Whose good success our men congratulates.  
 ' Here captain Underhill with our army join'd,  
 ' And being favoured with a lucky wind,  
 ' All haste on board, and soon forsake the shore,  
 ' With the rough winds, both sails and tackle roar.

' Their

‘ Their oaken oars they in the ocean steep,  
‘ And cuff the foaming billows of the deep.  
‘ Swiftly through tides and threatening waves they scud,  
‘ Ploughing the pavement of the briny flood :  
‘ So fetch’d about a compass on the sea,  
‘ And landed in the Narragansett-bay ;  
‘ And marching through that country, soon they met  
‘ The Narragansett prince, proud Ninegrett.  
‘ To whom the English says, We lead these bands,  
‘ Arm’d in this manner, thus into your lands,  
‘ Without design to do you injury,  
‘ But only to invade the enemy ;  
‘ You who to the expense of so much blood  
‘ Have long time born their evil neighbourhood,  
‘ Will bid us welcome ; and will well excuse  
‘ That we this way have took our rendezvous.  
‘ Quoth Ninegrett, your war I well approve,  
‘ And so your march, soldiers, I always love :  
‘ But sure Sasacus, is quite unknown to you,  
‘ Else had you never hoped, with so few,  
‘ One of his smallest captains to suppress,  
‘ Much less to storm him in his fortresses.  
‘ Never believe it : In these castles are  
‘ Brave captains and courageous men of war.  
‘ All men have found it so that yet have try’d.  
‘ To whom the English thus in short reply’d :  
‘ Their strength and courage doth not us affright,  
‘ ’Tis with such men we use and choose to fight.  
‘ Our army marching unto Nayantick goes,  
‘ Lying just in our progress towards the foes.  
‘ The news of this our march, fame doth transport  
‘ With speed to great Miaantinomoh’s court.  
‘ Nor had that pensive king forgot the losses,  
‘ He had sustain’d through Sasacus’s forces.  
‘ Cheer’d with the news, his captains, all as one,  
‘ In humble manner do address the throne,  
‘ And press the king to give them his commission,  
‘ To join the English in this expedition.  
‘ To their request the cheerful king assents,  
‘ And now they fill and form their regiments  
‘ To war : A cohort which came marching down  
‘ To us, who lay encamp’d before the town.

‘ Their

' Their chiefs go to our general, and declare  
 ' What's their intention, and whose men they are.  
 ' We come, say they, with heart and hand to join  
 ' With Englishmen upon this brave design ;  
 ' For Pequot's pride allows them no content  
 ' Within the sphere of their own government ;  
 ' Without essays to wrong their brethren,  
 ' And ravish freedom from the sons of men,  
 ' Which makes this work most needful to be done,  
 ' To stop their measureless ambition.  
 ' But sure the war that you intend to make,  
 ' And manage thus, must come from your mistake.  
 ' Can these un-arrowed white men, such a few,  
 ' So much as hope the Pequots to subdue ?  
 ' Yes, hope you may, while fatal ignorance  
 ' Keeps back the knowledge of their puissance.  
 ' But if you come to be engaged once,  
 ' You'll learn more wit by sad experience.  
 ' But happy you ; who thus yourselves expose,  
 ' To be the prey and triumph of your foes.  
 ' Thrice happy you to be preserved thus  
 ' From your destruction, and such deaths by us :  
 ' And since our numbers and our features show  
 ' Us men, as well and better men than you,  
 ' We hope it will offend not you nor yours,  
 ' The chiefest post of honour should be ours.  
 ' Mason harangues them with high compliments ;  
 ' And to confirm them, he to them consents.  
 ' Hold on, bold men, says he, as you've began :  
 ' I'm free and easy, you shall take the van.  
 ' And in this order marching, on they went  
 ' Towards the enemy, till the day was spent.  
 ' And now bright Phœbus had his chariot driven  
 ' Down from the lofty battlements of heaven,  
 ' And weary, put his tired steeds to rest,  
 ' Bearing himself on blushing Thetis' breast.  
 ' And lest the horrid darkness of the night  
 ' Should quite eclipse the glory of his light,  
 ' Fair Cynthia, towering up, did well embrace  
 ' Her brother's light into her orb'd face.  
 ' The Indians still kept up their boasted flame,  
 ' Till near the enemy's fortresses they came.

‘ But as we always by experience find,  
‘ Frost-bitten leaves will not abide the wind ;  
‘ Hang trembling on the limbs a while they may  
‘ But when once Boreas roars, they fly away,  
‘ To hide themselves in the deep vales below,  
‘ And to his force leave the exposed bough.

‘ So these who had so often, to their harms,  
‘ Felt the great power of Sasacus’s arms,  
‘ And now again just to endure the fame,  
‘ The dreadful sound of great Sasacus’s name,  
‘ Seem’d every moment to attach their ears,  
‘ And fill’d them with such heart-amazing fears,  
‘ That suddenly they run and seek to hide,  
‘ Swifter than leaves in the autumnal tide.  
‘ The Narragansetts quit the service clear,  
‘ But the Mohegans followed in the rear.

‘ Our men perceive the allies all are gone,  
‘ And scarce a pilot left to lead them on ;  
‘ Caused an alta, and then from the rear  
‘ Summon’d such Indians as were there to hear.  
‘ At last, after long waiting for the same,  
‘ Up trusty Uncass and stout Wequash came,  
‘ Of whom the general, in strict terms, demands,  
‘ Where stands the fort, and how their judgment stands,  
‘ About the enterprise ? And what’s the cause  
‘ They left their post, against all martial laws ?

‘ To which we had this answer from a prince :  
‘ The enemy’s fort stands on yon eminence ;  
‘ Whose steep ascent is now before your eyes :  
‘ And for my judgment in the enterprise,  
‘ Fain would my willing heart hope for success,  
‘ Fain would my eager tongue such hopes express :  
‘ But knowledge of the foe such hope denies,  
‘ And sinks my heart in deep despondencies.  
‘ You cannot know the danger of your case,  
‘ Not having yet beheld a Pequot’s face.  
‘ But sad experience hath instructed me,  
‘ How dreadful and invincible they be ;  
‘ What mighty battles often have they won,  
‘ And cut down armies like the grass that’s mown.  
‘ And my heart rues this day, because I fear  
‘ Those lions will your lambs in pieces tear.

‘ When once they are engag’d, ’tis hard to get  
 ‘ A dispensation from them to retreat.

‘ Sir, be advis’d before it be too late,  
 ‘ Trust not too far your evil-boding fate ;  
 ‘ Great pity ’tis to lose so brave an host ;  
 ‘ And more that such a general should be lost.  
 ‘ Then steer another course : thrust not yourselves  
 ‘ To certain ruin on these dangerous shelves.

‘ Here stop’d, and on the English fix’d his eye,  
 ‘ With care expecting what they would reply.  
 ‘ Brave Mason, who had in his breast enshrin’d  
 ‘ A prudent and invulnerable mind ;  
 ‘ Weighing the case and ground whereon they stood,  
 ‘ The enemy how hard to be subdu’d ;  
 ‘ How if the field should by the foe be won,  
 ‘ The English settlements might be undone.  
 ‘ His little army now was left alone  
 ‘ And all the allies’ hopes and hearts were gone :  
 ‘ These and all other things that might dissuade  
 ‘ From an engagement, having fully weigh’d ;  
 ‘ But looking on his cheerful soldiery,  
 ‘ True sons of Mars, bred up in Britanny ;  
 ‘ Each firmly bent to glorify his name,  
 ‘ By dying bravely in the bed of fame,  
 ‘ In his new country’s just defence, or else  
 ‘ To extirpate these murderous infidels ;  
 ‘ This rais’d his thoughts, his vital spirits cheer’d,  
 ‘ So that no enemy on earth he fear’d.  
 ‘ He now resolv’d the city to invade ;  
 ‘ And to the thoughtful prince this answer made.

‘ You say, my men han’t yet a Pequot seen ;  
 ‘ ’Tis true, yet they ere now in wars have been,  
 ‘ Where mighty captains and brave men have shed  
 ‘ Their blood, while roaring cannons echoed ;  
 ‘ Yet they undaunted resolute go on,  
 ‘ Where dying springs make sanguine rivers run ;  
 ‘ Out braving danger, mount the highest wall,  
 ‘ Yea play with death itself without appal ;  
 ‘ Nor turn the back till they have won the day,  
 ‘ And from the mighty torn the spoils away.  
 ‘ And do you think that any Pequot’s face  
 ‘ Shall daunt us much, or alter much the case ?



‘ The valour of our foes we always prize,  
‘ As that which most our triumph glorifies.  
‘ Their strength and courage but allurments are,  
‘ To make us more ambitious of the war.  
‘ Then don’t despair, but turn your back again  
‘ Encourag’d, and confirm your heartless men.  
‘ And hinder them in their intended flight,  
‘ Only to see how Englishmen will fight ;  
‘ And let your eyes themselves be judges then  
‘ ’Twixt us and Pequots, which are better men.  
    ‘ Down bow’d the prince, down bow’d this trembling ’squire;  
‘ Greatly the gen’ral’s courage they admire.  
‘ Back to the rear, with speedy haste they went,  
‘ And call the captains of their regiment ;  
‘ To whom the prince doth in short terms declare,  
‘ English or Pequots must go hunt white deer.  
‘ No counsel can the general’s wrath assuage,  
‘ Nor calm the fury of his martial rage.  
‘ His men are all resolved to go on,  
‘ Unto the Pequot’s ruin or their own :  
‘ Then we ourselves will stand in sight, and see  
‘ The last conclusion of this tragedy.  
‘ Mean while the general his oration makes,  
‘ And with his army thus expostulates :  
    ‘ There’s such a crisis now in providence,  
‘ As scarce has been since time did first commence.  
‘ Fate has determin’d that this very day  
‘ Shall try the title of America :  
‘ And that these hands of ours shall be the hands,  
‘ That shall subdue or forfeit all these lands.  
‘ If this day’s work by us be once well done,  
‘ America is for the English won :  
‘ But if we faint and fail in this design,  
‘ The numerous nations will as one combine  
‘ Their country’s forces, and with violence  
‘ Destroy the English and their settlements.  
    ‘ Here we are strangers ; and if we are beat,  
‘ We have no place for safety or retreat.  
‘ Therefore our hands must be preservatives  
‘ Of our religion, liberties and lives.  
‘ I urge not this as motives from despair,  
‘ To which I know you utter strangers are ;

' Only to shew what great advantages  
 ' Attends your valour, urging the success.  
 ' Mov'd with despair, the coward fights and storms,  
 ' But your brave minds have more angelick forms.  
 ' Your high-born souls in brighter orbs do move,  
 ' And take in fair ideas from above ;  
 ' Minding the laurels that the victor wears,  
 ' And great example of your ancestors.  
 ' I know you can't their mighty acts forget,  
 ' And yet how often did they them repeat ?  
 ' What did that ever famous black prince do,  
 ' At first at Cressy, after at Poictou ?  
 ' Bravely he led the English squadrons on,  
 ' Bravely they fought till they had took king John.  
 ' Bravely he did his father's message bear,  
 ' To save his life and honour in the war :  
 ' For in that fight he rais'd the English fame  
 ' Above the Grecian or the Roman name.  
 ' And with what force and martial puissance  
 ' Did great king Henry claim the crown of France ?  
 ' He like a gamester play'd his tennis balls,  
 ' Like bolts of thunder over Paris walls.  
 ' How lion-like he led his British bands,  
 ' Though few in number through the Gallick lands !  
 ' To Agincourt, then fac'd his mighty foe,  
 ' And gave his multitude the overthrow ;  
 ' Where'er his generals came they did advance  
 ' The English ensigns on the towers of France ;  
 ' Until that nation rendered up to him  
 ' Their heiress and imperial diadem.  
 ' And when of late king Philip did attempt  
 ' Quite to subvert the British government ;  
 ' And for that end, sent out his mighty fleet,  
 ' Whom Howards, Seymore, and bold Drake did meet,  
 ' And meeting, took or sunk into the main  
 ' The wealth, the hope, the power and pride of Spain.  
 ' By such exploits, the English glory went  
 ' Throughout from Britain to the Orient :  
 ' And there too soon 'twas bounded by the seas  
 ' And limited from the Antipodies.  
 ' Nought of their worth in the new world was told,  
 ' Nor more could be expressed in the old.

' Then

' Then fame itself dull and inactive grew  
 ' For want of other business to pursue.  
 ' But fate, which long hath destinated you,  
 ' To prove the stories of th' old world i' th' new,  
 ' Ship'd you on board, and with full gales hath sent  
 ' You forth from Britain to this continent ;  
 ' And by this foe gives opportunity  
 ' Here to evince the English bravery ;  
 ' And give the world assurance that we be  
 ' Sons of those mighty men of Britannie.  
 ' 'Tis true, our enemies are hard to tame ;  
 ' The more the danger is, the more's the fame.  
 ' But they are strong, immur'd, a multitude :  
 ' The more's the honour when they are subdu'd.  
 ' But they are valiant, us'd to overthrow ;  
 ' What glory 'tis to conquer such a foe !  
 ' Their very name hath made our allies run ;  
 ' Oh how will this adorn the field when won !  
 ' Leave the success to Him whose boundless powers  
 ' Will doubtless bless so just a war as ours.  
 ' Then let's not give the sense of danger place,  
 ' But storm the enemy's fortress in the face.  
 ' So shall the line of your high praises run  
 ' The same in time and circle with the sun :  
 ' And happy Albion shall forever glory,  
 ' Her distant sons did here make good her story.  
 ' No more he said, then through the regiment  
 ' Was heard a softly murmur of consent.  
 ' *Amen*, our forces said ; and then on high,  
 ' To the world's Arbiter, lift up their eye,  
 ' And with an humble air of earnestness  
 ' Unto his Majesty made this address.

' O Most Divine, Eternal Majesty,  
 ' Whose throne's exalted far above the sky ;  
 ' Where thou by spotless spirits art ador'd,  
 ' As their, and our, and every things great Lord.  
 ' Yea, so exalted is thy Majesty,  
 ' So infinite is thy Divinity ;  
 ' That what the best and utmost praises be,  
 ' Once to behold, is humbleness in thee ;  
 ' Yet albeit thou art exalted so,  
 ' Thou hast a kind respect unto the low :

' And

' And from thy most exalted stations there,  
 ' Viewest what's acting on thy footstool here.  
 ' Thou in thy word dost oft and oft declare,  
 ' Thy people's good is thine especial care :  
 ' And hast more often in thy providence,  
 ' Made good that word in their deliverance :  
 ' So that their motto hitherto hath been,  
 ' In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen.  
 ' Look down from thy immense sublimities,  
 ' To view our troubles and to hear our cries.  
 ' Our eyes are unto thee, who canst subdue  
 ' A multitude, and victors make a few.  
 ' Mind, Lord, it was thy power and right-hand  
 ' Hath brought us to, and set us in this land.  
 ' 'Twas for thy sake that we left Britannie,  
 ' And our enjoyments there, here to have thee.  
 ' But how the heathen rage, and how their kings  
 ' Against thee, and thy Christ, speak evil things ?  
 ' For sure the truth of their intentions be,  
 ' By driving us from hence to banish thee.  
 ' If thou art silent and allow'st the same,  
 ' What wilt thou do unto thy dreadful name  
 ' Thy promise to thy Son hast thou not \* \*  
 ' That thou wilt give the heathen \* \* \*  
 ' And of the earth the utmost \* \* \*  
 ' To be to him for his possession.  
 ' We hop'd of this to've seen th' accomplishment ;  
 ' Yea, and ourselves to help on the event.  
 ' Then, Lord, arise, and to our help incline,  
 ' And shout as mighty men shout after wine.  
 ' Let the proud dwellers of the nations see  
 ' There's none that is invincible but thee.  
 ' So shall the wrath of man honour thy name,  
 ' And this shall their remaining wrath restrain :  
 ' And this thy people's thankful hearts shall raise  
 ' To celebrate thy name with endless praise.

' After devotions thus to Heaven paid,  
 ' Up to the enemy our armies led,  
 ' Silent as the riphean snow doth fall,  
 ' Or fishes walk in Neptune's spacious hall.  
 ' Now Lucifer had just put out his head,  
 ' To call Aurora from old Tithon's bed.

' Whereat

‘ Whereat the troops of the approaching light,  
‘ Began to beat the reg’ments of the night.  
‘ But Morpheus, with his unperceived bands,  
‘ Had clos’d the Pequots’ eyes, and chain’d their hands.  
‘ All lay asleep, save one sagacious wretch,  
‘ Who destin’d was to stand upon the watch.  
‘ Firm to his charge, with diligence he applies,  
‘ And looks around with fierce lyncean eyes.  
‘ When our avant couriers he espy’d,  
‘ Opening his lungs aloud, Auwunux cry’d.  
‘ Auwunux, said our king, what doth that mean ?  
‘ It signifies, said Winthrop, Englishmen.  
‘ The startling news doth every soldier rouse,  
‘ Each arms and hastens to his rendezvous.  
‘ Meantime the English did the fort attach,  
‘ And in the same had opened a breach,  
‘ Through which our brave Alcides entered first,  
‘ In after whom his valiant soldiers thrust.  
‘ Before the breach an unappalled band  
‘ Of warlike Pequots, with bow and arrows stand.  
‘ With cheerful accents these themselves confirm,  
‘ To die like men, or to outface the storm.  
‘ Then gallantly the English they assail,  
‘ With winged arrows, like a shower of hail.  
‘ These ours endure ; and with like violence,  
‘ Send lead and sulphur back in recompence.  
‘ And now the fight grew more and more intense,  
‘ Each violent death enflames the violence.  
‘ Charge answered charge, and shout reply’d to shout ;  
‘ Both parties like enraged furies fought ;  
‘ Till death, in all its horrid forms, appears,  
‘ And dreadful noise keeps clamouring in our ears.  
‘ Now as some spacious rivers in their way,  
‘ By which they travel onwards to the sea,  
‘ Meet with some mighty precipice, from whence,  
‘ Enrag’d, they throw themselves with violence  
‘ Upon the stubborn rocks that lie below,  
‘ To make disturbance in the way they go.  
‘ Here, through the fury of the fray doth make  
‘ The near adjacent rocks and mountains quake,  
‘ Still the remorseless stream keeps on its course,  
‘ Nor will abate a moment of its force,

‘ But

' But rather hastens by impetuous facts  
 ' To throw itself into those cataracts.  
 ' And so it happened with our soldiers here,  
 ' Whose fortune 'twas to travel in the rear.  
 ' The combatings of these within the breaches,  
 ' With dreadful noise their listening ear attaches ;  
 ' And from their foes, and from their brethren,  
 ' Loud cries of fighting and of dying men.

' Sense of the danger doth not them affright,  
 ' But rather proves a motive to excite  
 ' The martial flame in every soldier's breast,  
 ' And on they like enraged lions prest ;  
 ' Determined upon the spot to die,  
 ' Or from the foe obtain the victory.

' Now fortune shews to the beholders' sight,  
 ' A very dreadful, yet a doubtful fight ;  
 ' Whilst mighty men, born in far distant land,  
 ' Stood foot to foot, engaging hand to hand.

' As when some mighty tempests that arise,  
 ' Meet with embattled fury in the skies :  
 ' Fire balls of lightnings and loud thunders rend  
 ' And tear the raging parties that contend.

' So did the fury of these mighty foes,  
 ' With which they did each others force oppose,  
 ' Bring on such ruins as might daunt with fears  
 ' The hearts of any men, excepting theirs.

' Never did Pequots fight with greater pride :  
 ' Never was English valour better try'd.  
 ' Never was ground soak'd with more gallant blood  
 ' Than the aceldama whereon we stood.  
 ' Sometimes one party victory soon expect,  
 ' As soon their eager hopes are countercheck'd.  
 ' And those that seem'd as conquered before,  
 ' Repel with greater force the conqueror.  
 ' Three time the Pequots seemed to be beat :  
 ' As many times they made their foes retreat.  
 ' And now our hope and help for victory,  
 ' Chiefly depended from the arm on high.

' As when Euroclydon the forest rends,  
 ' The bigger oaks fall down, the lesser bends ;  
 ' The beaten limbs and leaves before him scour,  
 ' Afrighted and enforced by his power ;

‘ To some huge rock, whose adamantine brow,  
‘ Out-braves the fury of all winds that blow ;  
‘ There hoping to be hid from the high charge  
‘ Of fierce pursuers, by his mighty verge.  
‘ The winds in pressing troops demand surrender,  
‘ Of the pursued, and boisterous storm and thunder :  
‘ But he brow-beats, and masters all their pride,  
‘ And sends them roaring to the larboard side.  
‘ So Mason here, most strongly dress’d in arms,  
‘ Re-animates his men, their ranks reforms ;  
‘ Then leading on, through deaths and dangers goes,  
‘ And beats the thickest squadrons of the foes.  
‘ Prince Mononotto sees his squadrons fly,  
‘ And on our general having fix’d his eye,  
‘ Rage and revenge his spirits quickening,  
‘ He set a mortal arrow in the string.

‘ Then to his god and fathers’ ghosts he pray’d,  
‘ Hear, O immortal powers, hear me, he said ;  
‘ And pity Mistick, save the tottering town,  
‘ And on our foes hurl dreadful vengeance down.  
‘ Will you forsake your altars and abodes,  
‘ To those contemners of immortal gods ?  
‘ Will those pay hecatombs unto your shrine,  
‘ Who have deny’d your powers to be divine ?  
‘ O favour us ; our hopes on you are built :  
‘ But if you are mindful of our former guilt,  
‘ Determine final ruin on us all ;  
‘ Yet let us not quite unrevenged fall.  
‘ Here I devote this of our enemies  
‘ His precious life to you a sacrifice.  
‘ Nor shall I covet long to be alive,  
‘ If such a mischief I might once survive.  
‘ But, O indulgent, hearken to my prayer ;  
‘ Try us once more ; this once the city spare :  
‘ And take my gift, let your acceptance be  
‘ An omen we shall gain the victory.

‘ That very instant Mason did advance,  
‘ Whereat rage interrupts his utterance ;  
‘ Nor could he add a word to what was said,  
‘ But drew the winged arrow to the head :

‘ And aiming right, discharg’d it ; whereupon

‘ Its fury made the piercing air to groan.

‘ But wary Mason, with his active spear,

‘ Glanc’d the prince’s arrow in the air :

‘ Whereat the Pequots, quite discouraged,

‘ Threw down the gauntlet, and from battle fled.

‘ Mason, swift as the chased roe on foot,

‘ Out-strips the rest in making the pursuit.

‘ Entering the palace, in a hall he found

‘ A multitude of foes, who gather’d round

‘ This mighty man, on every side engag’d

‘ Like bears bereaved of their whelps enrag’d.

‘ One finding such resistance where \* \* \*

‘ His mind, his weapons and his eyes \* \* \*

‘ Their boldness much his martial sprite provokes,

‘ And round he lays his deep inveterate strokes.

‘ Making his sword at each enforced blow

‘ Send great soul’d heroes to the shades below.

‘ But as when Hercules did undertake

‘ A doubtful combat with the Lernian snake,

‘ Fondly propos’d, if he cut off her head,

‘ The monster might with ease be vanquished.

‘ But when he the experiment did make,

‘ Soon to his hazard found his dear mistake,

‘ And that as often as he cut off one,

‘ Another instantly sprang in its room.

‘ So here, though Mason laid so many dead,

‘ Their number seemed not diminished ;

‘ And death, the umpire of this martial fray,

‘ Stood yet expecting Mason for his prey.

‘ \* \* \* that doth the rule of actions know,

‘ \* \* \* equal combat disallow.

‘ \* \* \* \* to force one man alone,

‘ \* \* \* army, take a garrison :

‘ \* \* \* \* in the enterprise,

‘ \* \* \* victim to his enemies ;

‘ \* \* \* in, who with his sure steel’d blade,

‘ \* \* the general such a slaughter made,

‘ Whereon the Pequots ceased to oppose,

‘ The matchless force of such resistless foes.

‘ After so many deaths and dangers past,

‘ Mason was thoroughly enflamed at last :

‘ He



‘ He snatch’d a blazing bavin with his hand,  
‘ And fir’d the stately palace with the brand.  
‘ And soon the tow’ring and rapacious flame  
‘ All hope of opposition overcame.  
‘ Eurus and Notus readily subjoin  
‘ Their best assistance to this great design ;  
‘ Drive pitchy flames in vast enfoldings down,  
‘ And dreadful globes of fire along the town.  
‘ And now the English army marched out,  
‘ To hem this flaming city round about ;  
‘ That such as strived to escape the fire,  
‘ Might by the fury of their arms expire.  
‘ But O what language or what tongue can tell,  
‘ This dreadful emblem of the flames of hell !  
‘ No fantasy sufficient is to dream,  
‘ A faint idea of their woes extreme.  
‘ Some like unlucky comets do appear,  
‘ Rushing along the streets with flagrant hair :  
‘ Some seeking safety clamber up the wall,  
‘ Then down again with blazing fingers fall.  
‘ In this last hour of extremity,  
‘ Friends and relations meet in company ;  
‘ But all in vain, their tender sympathy  
‘ Cannot allay, but makes their misery.  
‘ The paramour here met his amorous dame,  
‘ Whose eyes had often set his heart in flame :  
‘ Urg’d with the motives of her love and fear,  
‘ She runs and clasps her arms about her dear :  
‘ Where weeping on his bosom as she lies,  
‘ And languisheth, on him she sets her eyes ;  
‘ Till those bright lamps do with her life expire,  
‘ And leave him weltering in a double fire.  
‘ The fair and beauteous bride, with all her charms,  
‘ This night lay melting in her bridegroom’s arms ;  
‘ This morning in his bosom yields her life,  
‘ While he dies sympathising with his wife.  
‘ In love, relation, and in life the same,  
‘ The same in death, both die in the same flame.  
‘ Their souls united, both at once repair  
‘ Unto their place appointed through the air.  
‘ The gracious father here stood looking on  
‘ His little brood with deep affection ;

‘ They

' They round about him at each quarter stands,  
 ' With piteous looks, each lifts his little hands  
 ' To him for shelter, and then nearer throng,  
 ' Whilst piercing cries for help flows from each tongue.  
 ' Fain would he give their miseries relief,  
 ' Though with the forfeiture of his own life :  
 ' But finds his power too short to shield off harms,  
 ' The torturing flame arrests them in his arms.  
 ' The tender mother with like woes opprest,  
 ' Beholds her infant frying at her breast ;  
 ' Crying and looking on her, as it fries ;  
 ' Till death shuts up its heart-affecting eyes.

' The conquering flame long sorrows doth prevent,  
 ' And vanquished life soon breaks imprisonment.  
 ' Souls leave their tenements, gone to decay,  
 ' And fly untouched through the flames away.  
 ' Now all with speed to final ruin haste,  
 ' And soon this tragick scene is overpast.  
 ' The town, its wealth, high battlements and spires,  
 ' Now sinketh, weltring in conjoining fires.

' The general commands the officers with speed,  
 ' To see his men drawn up and martialled ;  
 ' Which being done, they wheel the ranks,  
 ' And kneeling down, to Heav'n all gave thanks.

' By this Aurora doth with gold adorn  
 ' The ever-beauteous eyelids of the morn ;  
 ' And burning Titan his exhaustless rays,  
 ' Bright in the eastern horizon displays :  
 ' Then soon appearing in majestic awe,  
 ' Makes all the starry deities withdraw ;  
 ' Veiling their faces in deep reverence,  
 ' Before the throne of his magnificéce.

' And now the English their red cross display,  
 ' And under it marched bravely toward the sea ;  
 ' There hoping in this needful hour to meet  
 ' Ample provisions coming with the fleet.

' Meantime came tidings to great Sasacus's ears,  
 ' That Mystick-town was taken unawares.  
 ' Three hundred of his able men he sent,  
 ' With utmost haste its ruin to prevent :  
 ' But if for that they chance to come too late,  
 ' Like harms on us they should retaliate.

‘ These, with loud out-cries, met us coming down  
‘ The hill, about three furlongs from the town ;  
‘ Gave us a skirmish, and then turn’d to gaze  
‘ Upon the ruin’d city yet on blaze.  
‘ But when they saw this doleful tragedy,  
‘ The sorrow of their hearts did close their eye :  
‘ Silent and mute they stand, yet breathe out groans ;  
‘ Nor Gorgon’s head like this transforms to stones.  
‘ Here lay the numerous bodies of the dead ;  
‘ Some frying, others almost calcined :  
‘ All dolefully imprison’d underneath  
‘ The dark and adamant bars of death.  
‘ But mighty sorrows never are content,  
‘ Long to be kept in close imprisonment ;  
‘ When once grown desperate, will not keep under,  
‘ But break all bands of their restraint asunder.  
‘ And now with shrieks the echoing air they wound,  
‘ And stamp’d and tore and curst the suffering ground.  
‘ Some with their hands tore off their guiltless hair,  
‘ And throw up dust and cinder in the air.  
‘ Thus with strange actions and horrendous cries,  
‘ They celebrate these doleful obsequies.  
‘ At length revenge so vehemently doth burn,  
‘ As caused all other passions to adjourn.  
‘ Alecto raves and rates them in the ear,  
‘ O senseless cowards, to stand blubbing here !  
‘ Will tears revive these bodies of the slain,  
‘ Or bring their ashes back to life again ?  
‘ Will tears appease their mighty ghosts, that are  
‘ Hoping to be revenged, hovering here ?  
‘ Surely expecting you will sacrifice  
‘ To them the lives of those their enemies :  
‘ And will you baffle them thus by delay,  
‘ Until the enemy be gone away ?  
‘ O cursed negligence ! And then she strips,  
‘ And jerks and stings them with her scorpion whips ;  
‘ Until with anger and revenge they yell,  
‘ As if the very fiends had broke up hell.  
‘ That we shall die, they all outrageous swear,  
‘ And vomit imprecations in the air :  
‘ Then, full speed ! with ejulations loud,  
‘ They follow us like an impetuous cloud.

' Mason, to stop their violent career,  
 ' Rallies his company a-new to war ;  
 ' Who finding them within a little space,  
 ' Let fly his blunderbusses in their face.  
 ' Thick sulphurous smoke makes the sky look black,  
 ' And heaven's high galleries thunder with the crack.  
 ' Earth groans and trembles, and from underneath,  
 ' Deep vaulted caverns horrid echoes breathe.

' The volley that our men first made,  
 ' Struck down their stout file-leaders dead.  
 ' To see them fall, a stupifying fear  
 ' Surpris'd and stop'd their soldiers in the rear :  
 ' The numerous natives stop'd, and fac'd about ;  
 ' Whereat the conquering English gave a shout.  
 ' At which they start, and through the forest scour,  
 ' Like trembling hinds that hear the lions roar.

' Back to great Sasacus they now return again ;  
 ' And of their loss they thus aloud complain,  
 ' Sir, 'tis in vain to fight : The fates engage.  
 ' Themselves for those with whom this war we wage.  
 ' We Mistick burning saw, and 'twas an awful sight ;  
 ' As dreadful are our enemies in fight :  
 ' And the loud thunderings that their arms did make,  
 ' Made us, the earth, yea heaven itself, to shake.

' Very unwelcome to great Sasacus's ears  
 ' Were these misfortunes, and his subjects fears :  
 ' Yet to his men, the English he contemns,  
 ' And threats to ruin us with stratagems.  
 ' And now his thoughts ten thousand ways divide,  
 ' And swift through all imaginations glide.  
 ' Endless projections in his head he lays,  
 ' Deep policies and stratagems he weighs.  
 ' Sometimes he thinks, he'll thus the war maintain  
 ' Reviews the scheme, and throws it by again :  
 ' Now thus, or thus, concludes 'tis best to do ;  
 ' But neither thus, nor thus, on the review.  
 ' And thus his mind on endless projects wanders,  
 ' Till he is lost in intricate meanders.  
 ' At last gives up the case as desperate,  
 ' And sinks, bewailing his forlorn estate.

' He and his people quite discouraged,  
 ' Now-leave their seats, and towards Monhattons fled.

' But

‘ But in his way the English sword o’er takes  
‘ His camp, and in it sad massacres makes.  
‘ Yet he escap’d, and to the Mohawks goes,  
‘ Where he to them keeps reckoning up his woes :  
‘ And they to cure the passions of his breast,  
‘ Cut off his head, and all his cares releas’d.  
‘ Thus great Sasacus ! and his kingdom fell,  
‘ Who in their time so greatly did excel.  
‘ So frail and full of mutabilities,  
‘ Are all times adjuncts, underneath the skies.  
‘ Since this, fair towns have spread the country o’er,  
‘ Both on the river and along the shore :  
‘ All which the English names your subjects style,  
‘ In dear remembrance of our parent isle.  
‘ The land thus either purchas’d or subdu’d,  
‘ ’Twas our intent then early to have sued  
‘ Unto the throne, where your illustr’ous father sate,  
‘ That he would graciously incorporate  
‘ Us, by his royal charter, with such liberty,  
‘ As I petition from your majesty.  
‘ But soon those cloudy days came on,  
‘ (Ripen’d for ruin and destruction) ;  
‘ Wherein the subjects in rebellion rose,  
‘ Drowning their sovereign and themselves in woes.  
‘ ’Till nothing could appease the multitude,  
‘ Less than that blessed martyr’s royal blood.  
‘ Nor yet content ; their rage inveterate,  
‘ Together with his life, seize on the state.  
‘ Neither could that extinct the hateful flame,  
‘ Without endeavours to destroy his name,  
‘ And all his race to ruin to consign,  
‘ For being branches of the royal line.  
‘ But here my tongue does falter, spirits sink,  
‘ And my heart bursts asunder, once to think,  
‘ That such a king, the glory of his age  
‘ Should fall a victim to the popular rage ;  
‘ And that such miseries should fall on them,  
‘ That were descendants of the royal stem.  
‘ But God, who dwelleth in approachless light,  
‘ And whose wise counsel doth surpass our sight,  
‘ As far as heaven doth the earth in height,  
‘ In his unerring counsel infinite,

' Covers sometimes the footstool of his throne,  
 ' And makes thick darkness his pavilion ;  
 ' And as we fondly guess by the event,  
 ' Laughs at the trial of the innocent.

' Yet he, by ways and means that seem to us  
 ' The clean contrary, and preposterous,  
 ' Bringeth about the good he did decree,  
 ' In his wise counsel, from eternity.  
 ' He having set his love transcendently  
 ' Upon your father from eternity,  
 ' The restless motions of his constant love  
 ' Ne'er ceas'd to act, but in his interest strove,  
 ' That he should be prepar'd to sit on high,  
 ' In some especial seat of dignity.

' Surely 'twas this that led him to and fro,  
 ' Along those pathless labyrinths of wo,  
 ' And made his life as 'twere a tragedy,  
 ' Concluding in that sad catastrophe.

' Being thus conformed to the king of kings,  
 ' Who was made perfect thorough sufferings,  
 ' He took him from his kingdom transitory,  
 ' And set him on a throne of endless glory.

' And then, to shew the good he did design  
 ' Unto that blessed martyr's royal line,  
 ' Accomplished your happy restoration,  
 ' And set you safely on your father's throne.

' From whence your liberal hand doth freely pour,  
 ' Most royal bounty, like an heavenly shower ;  
 ' Distilling on the grass that's newly mown :  
 ' And we your suppliants, before the throne,  
 ' Beg leave to hope, while all your favours taste,  
 ' Connecticut will not be overpast.'

Great Charles, who gave attention all the while,  
 Looking on Winthrop with a royal smile,  
 Until that of his father's woes he speaks,  
 Which drew the crystal rivers down his cheeks :  
 But seeing Winthrop his address had clos'd,  
 The king his mind and countenance compos'd,  
 And with as bright an air of majesty,  
 As Phœbus shews when he serenens the sky, }  
 Made this resolve upon the agency :

‘ Be it so then, and WE OURSELF decree,  
‘ CONNECTICUT shall be a COLONY ;  
‘ Enfranchis’d with such ample liberties  
‘ As thou, their friend, shalt best for them devise :  
‘ And farther know our royal pleasure thus,  
‘ And so it is determined by us ;  
‘ Chief in the patent, WINTHROP, thou shalt stand,  
‘ And valiant Mason place at thy next hand.  
‘ And for chief senators and patentees,  
‘ Take men of wealth and known abilities ;  
‘ Men of estates, and men of influence,  
‘ Friends to their country and to US their prince.

‘ And may the people of that happy place,  
‘ Whom thou hast so endeared to my grace,  
‘ Till times last exit, through succeeding ages,  
‘ Be blest with happy English privileges.  
‘ And that they may be so, bear thou from hence  
‘ To them these premonitions from their prince.

‘ First, let all officers in civil trust  
‘ Always espouse their country’s interest.  
‘ Let law and right be precious in their eyes,  
‘ And hear the poor man’s cause whene’er he cries.  
‘ Preserve religion pure ; and understand,  
‘ That is the firmest pillar of a land :  
‘ Let it be kept in credit in the court,  
‘ And never fail for want of due support.

‘ And let the sacred order of the gown,  
‘ With zeal, apply to th’ business that’s their own ;  
‘ So peace may spring from the earth, and righteousness  
‘ Look down from Heaven, truth and judgment bless.

‘ Then, let the freemen of your corporation  
‘ Always beware of the insinuation  
‘ Of those which always brood complaint and fear ;  
‘ Such plagues are dangerous to infect the air :  
‘ Such men are over-laden with compassion,  
‘ Having men’s freedom in such admiration ;  
‘ That every act of order or restraint  
‘ They’ll represent as matter of complaint.  
‘ And this is no new doctrine, ’tis a rule  
‘ Was taught in Satan’s first erected school.  
‘ It serv’d his turn with wonderful success,  
‘ And ever since has been his master-piece.

- ' 'Tis true, the sleight by which that field he won,
  - ' Was argued from man's benefit alone.
  - ' But these outdo him in that way of evil,
  - ' And will sometimes for God's sake play the devil.
  - ' And lastly, let your new English multitude
  - ' Remember well a bond of gratitude
  - ' Will lie on them, and their posterity,
  - ' To keep in mind their freedom came by thee.
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*The following Remarks, in Addition to the Extract from Capt. Magee's Log-Book, came too late to be inserted in the proper Place. See Page 261.*

“ THE islands, which lay to the northward of the channel through which we passed, were small and irregular, appearing to be mostly solid rocks, of a whitish colour, with very little wood on them, and great numbers of sea-fowl hovering over them. Two of those to the southward were well wooded, and covered with beautiful verdure. Each of them appeared to be about twenty miles in circumference, having a gradual ascent from the shore to the summit.

The nearest lands to these islands, according to the latest charts, are the *Sulphur* islands, discovered by Capt. King, in his return from Kamschatka, in 1780. Their latitude is  $24^{\circ} 40' N.$ , and their longitude  $141^{\circ} 12' E.$  It is probable, however, that the northernmost of the *Marian* islands, which lie nearly in the same longitude with the *Margaret's*, may not be much further distant than the *Sulphur* islands.”

JAMES MAGEE.

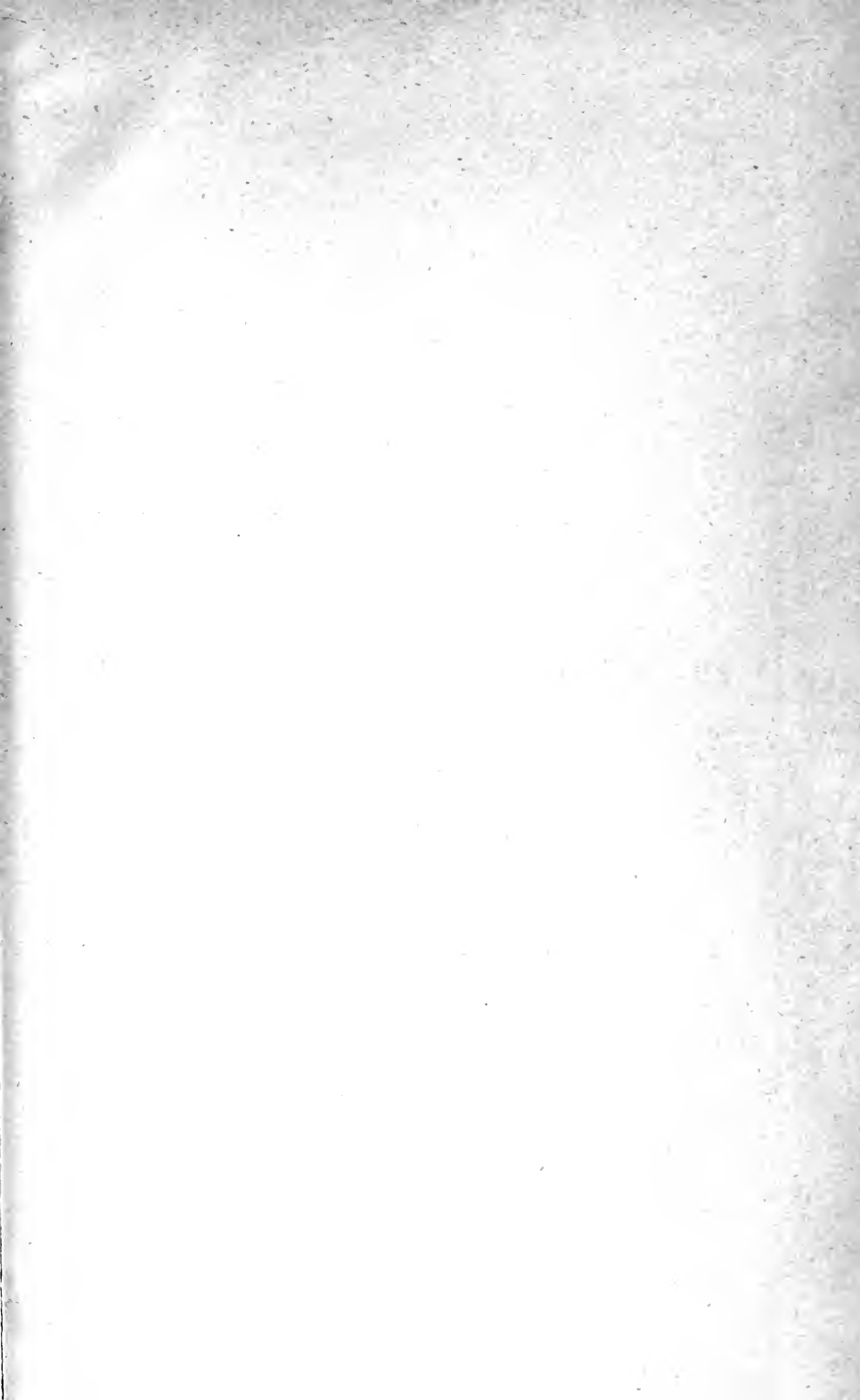
Boston, Dec. 14, 1795

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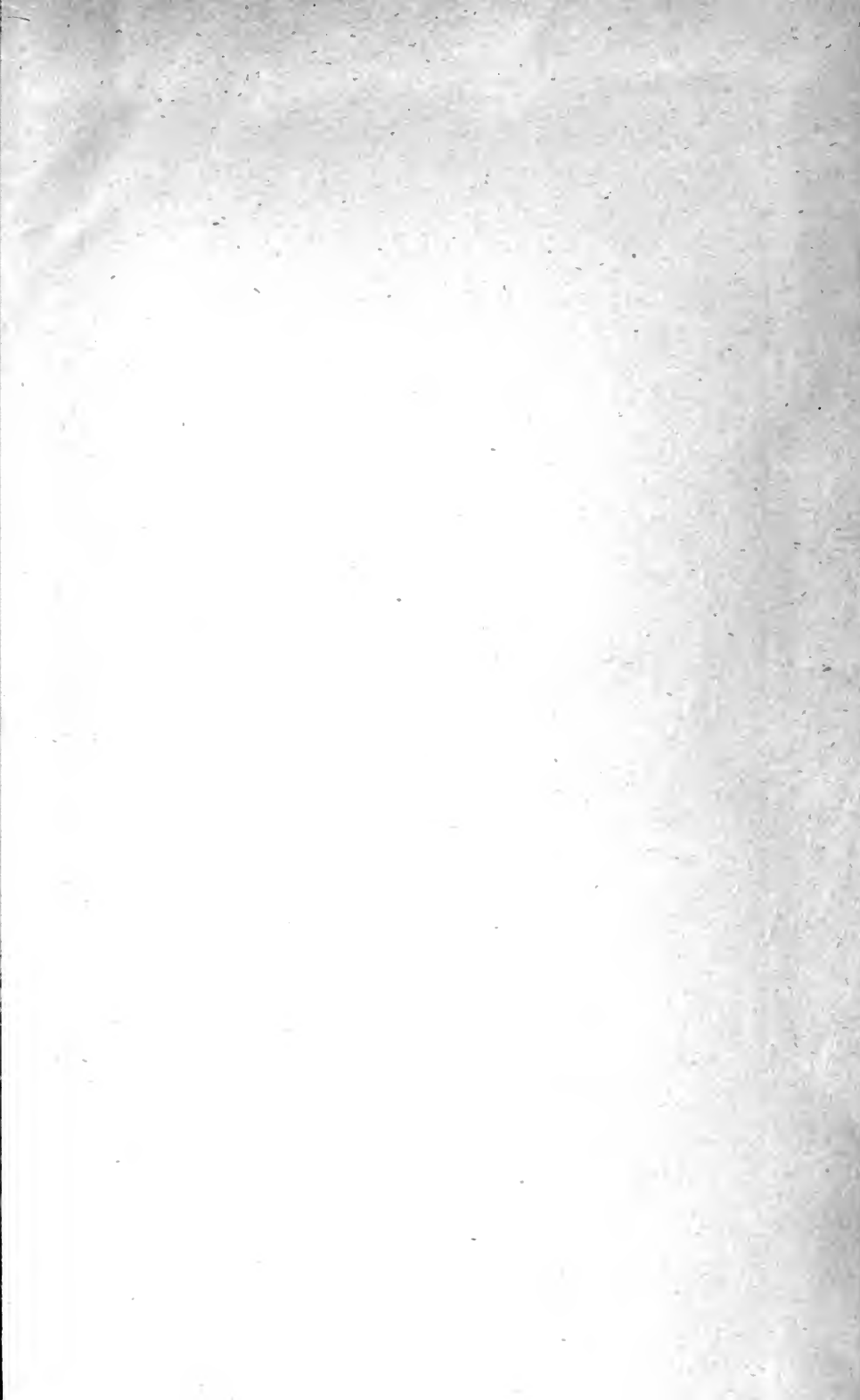
. In addition to the account of the burials in the town of Boston, in the third number of this work, a friend to the publication would inform the editors, that from the 19th April to 18th October, 1775, there were ninety-two buried in the place of interment at the north end. These were inhabitants; those of the army or navy are not included; nor any negroes.

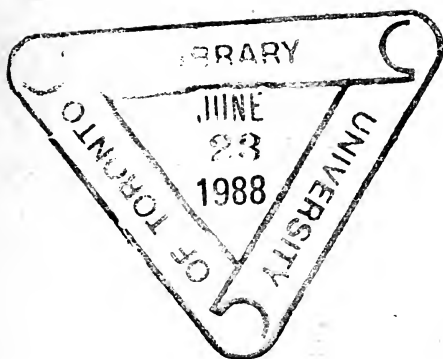
*Private manuscript of a gentleman then in the town.*











SERIAL

